A SHORT HISTORY OF CHINA

ARD THOMAS WILLIAMS

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A Short History of China

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CONFUCIUS
From a tablet at Hsianfu, Shensi
Date of sculpture, A.D. 1727

A Short History of

CHINA

EDWARD THOMAS WILLIAMS, M.A. LL.D.

Agassiz Professor Emeritus of Oriental Languages
and Literature, University of California
Formerly of the American Foreign Service
Author of "CHINA YESTERDAY AND TODAY"

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TO THE MEMORY OF

HENRY SCHELL LOBINGIER

1849–1887

But thou and I have shaken hands
Till growing winters lay me low:
My paths are in the fields I know,
And thine in undiscovered lands.

—TENNYSON

EDITORIAL PREFACE

Timely is not a word to apply to China. The great landlocked tideless body of its history seems in perspective changeless and unchanging through ages that stretch historically unbroken back to the youth of Mesopotamia and the Nile. The storms of invasion and conquest that have swept China from time to time seem to have sunk in futile exhaustion into the calm, and the wreckage is borne idly on the surface or sinks unmarked into the formless mystery called China.

But history knows nothing unchanging. Human interest is wide enough to call all things timely. Mystery yields its secrets before the advance of knowledge. Science in its manifold forms from ethnology to modern industrialism has invaded China, and the wall around it has fallen. The world too has put China in the foreground of its present interests; and so far as one can see, that place it will hold for much longer than our generation.

If timely does not apply to China, it certainly does to a book such as this on its history. A sound and scholarly volume on China's history is at this moment much more than a publishing enterprise. It partakes of the nature of a public service, for upon our national understanding of China's problems growing out of a past that is also a present will depend our wisdom, restraint, and foresight in dealing with an older nation attempting to live a new life in a world not of its making.

Granted the importance as well as the difficulty and complexity of the task, it is reassuring to have Professor Williams as historian and interpreter. Professor Williams long ago documented himself as a scholarly student of Chinese history and politics. What the reader will appreciate almost equally is that the volume comes from one long a resident in China, holding at various times offices of trust under both the Chinese and American governments, in all over thirty years of immediate conduct with the people and affairs of China. Such an experience is an invaluable supplement to the erudition of the scholar.

GUY STANTON FORD

PREFACE

FOR forty years the affairs of China have been the chief concern of the author of this volume. Upon his taking the chair of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California in 1918, opportunity was given him to carry out a long-cherished ambition to interpret Chinese history to Western students. It has been his desire to make the student realize the truth of the German proverb that "There are people on the other side of the hill," that on the other side of the world are people whose experiences and experiments have no less value for the man of today than those of Occidental nations.

In the long chronicle of Chinese history, covering more than four thousand years, there is no lack of events that have a certain historic importance, but to set them down in sequence would require many, many volumes. The history of the Sung Dynasty, covering the period from A.D. 960 to 1279, fills 496 books in Chinese. To condense the record of thirty-six recognized dynasties of China into the compass of a single volume is not an easy task. But, while dynasties rise and fall, the people remain, and the history of the development of the people has an interest which the intrigues of courtiers, the tramp of marching armies, and the follies of forgotten monarchs can never possess.

The author, therefore, has divided the history into periods, each of which is marked by some overshadowing event or distinguishing feature that has profoundly affected the lives of the people, modified their social institutions, influenced their superstitions, or created some new fashion in art or literature. Such, for instance, was the disintegrating character of feudalism during the Chou, or Classical, Period, the birth pangs and struggles attending the reorganizing of the state in the Period of Reconstruction during the Ch'in, Han, Hsin, and Later Han dynasties, the great literary and artistic activity in the Golden Age under the T'ang Dynasty, and the invasion of northern barbarians from Cathay, Mon-

golia, and elsewhere during the period of the Five Dynasties and the Sung and Yüan that followed.

It will be noted that the names of but few rulers are mentioned. For those who seek the date of any particular monarch there are tables, one at the end of each chapter, giving the list of the kings or emperors who ruled in the period covered by that chapter.

More than half of the volume—that is to say, thirteen out of the twenty-one chapters, are given to the recent history of China, beginning with the advent of the Manchus. This seems necessary because of the development of European commercial and political relations with China during the past two hundred years which have affected the life of the Orient in almost every particular and have made China one of the most serious problems in international relations today.

In dealing with the events of the closing years of the Manchu Dynasty and those of the Republican Period the author has relied to a great extent upon his own notes and diaries.

In eight years of experiment in teaching Chinese history he has repeatedly revised the lectures, upon which this work is based, in an effort to make the history interesting to the Western student. Whether he has in any degree succeeded in that effort he must leave to be decided by others. But he desires to acknowledge his gratitude to the students who have attended the lectures and who have by their attention and by the quality of their work encouraged the preparation of this volume.

To many who have labored in this field before him the author owes a great debt; to Legge, Hirth, Chavannes and Soothill for their work in ancient Chinese history, to MacGowan and Wieger for work done on later periods, to Cordier and Yule for the reign of Kublai Khan, and to Morse for modern international relations. Yet all of us owe a greater debt to the faithful historiographers of China who have preserved for us the wonderful records of their country's history. To many in the Western World even the names of these great writers are unknown. Let a few of them be mentioned here: Tso Ch'iu-ming, whose racy comments on the *Ch'un Ch'iu* have made life in the Chou Period a fascinating tale; Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the Chinese "Father of History"; Ssu-ma Kuang and

his *Mirror of History;* Pan Ku and his gifted sister, Pan Chao, who gave us their work on the Han Period; Sung Ch'i and Ou-yang Hsiu, who collaborated on the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty;* and T'o-t'o, who wrote the history of Cathay and the *Golden Horde.* For all important events of these periods the writer has sought the testimony of these and other Chinese authors to whom he can only in this inadequate way express his gratitude.

Berkeley, March 7, 1928.

E. T. W.

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A Short History of China

CHAPTER I

AN INTRODUCTION

As far as I ever saw or heard tell, I do not believe that any king or prince in the world can be compared to his majesty, the Cham, in respect of the extent of his dominions, the vastness of their population, or the amount of his wealth.

—JOHN OF MONTECORVINO (*c.* 1310).

THE LURE OF CHINA

CHINA from ancient times has had a fascination for the people of the West. Pliny, however, disliked it as the region from which extravagant women obtained those costly fabrics upon which they wasted the wealth of husbands and fathers. For many centuries the Arabs maintained the chief channel of communication between Europe and the Orient. Out of that mysterious East they brought not only the coveted articles of commerce, but less material treasures—charming stories like that of Aladdin and his wonderful lamp, legends of the Fountain of Youth and the Isles of the Blessed, and the occult practices of alchemists who were experimenting in a search for the Philosopher's Stone and the Elixir of Immortality.

Soliman and Ibn Wahab, Arab merchants, in the ninth century, the Polos in the thirteenth, John of Montecorvino, Ibn Batuta and Odoric in the fourteenth, all visited the realm of the Grand Khan and wrote of its wonders.

It was the desire to find a safe sea route by which they might bring to the markets of Europe the silk and tea, the porcelain and lacquered wares of China, and the spices of India, that led the bold navigators of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries out upon their voyages of discovery. Such was the inspiration of Prince Henry of Portugal and Columbus, the great Genoese. The adventurer was drawn by the

lure of the unknown; the merchant sailor by the desire for wealth; the missionary by the love of souls. Although thousands today visit China, the interest in that land has not grown less; rather has it increased. The herald of the Cross may sigh to see the pagoda instead of the church steeple rising over the city wall, but when he looks upon the calm face of the imaged Buddha or sees the gentle smile of the merciful Kuanyin, sitting enthroned amid the clouds of incense offered by their worshipers, he is fain to acknowledge the nobility of character and the worthiness of those virtues that have won the adoration of the Chinese even though he may strive to persuade them to accept his own faith.

The merchant may think of the wealth to be won by the sale of Western wares to the changing Chinese, yet even he cannot fail to be interested in the social transformation that is taking place. The statesman is puzzled by the partisan strife that seems to be tearing China to pieces, and wonders how order is ever to be brought out of the present chaos. The artist, ignoring the kaleidoscopic changes in the political situation, is delighted with the Chinese color sense and with the beauty of their architectural forms. He notes the love of the picturesque and is fascinated by the fondness shown for the grotesque. The geologist goes his way to search for fossils in the desert or the mineral wealth demanded by modern industry and the archæologist uncovers buried cities in the sands of Khotan.

Why Study the History of China?

Some one has said that he who knows but one language, knows none, for he has no other tongue with which to compare his own. This saying has been paraphrased by another writer who declares that "He who knows but one religion, knows none." [1] We may with equal truth affirm that he who knows but one civilization, knows none.

Most of us are content to trace our religion to Palestine, our art and philosophy to Greece, and our social and political institutions to Britain and Rome. We perhaps glance wonderingly at the discoveries of archæologists in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but remain satisfied with a very little knowledge

[1] Max Müller, *Science of Religion*, p. 11. New York, 1872.

of the early relations of western Asia with Europe, and are quite content to be almost entirely ignorant of the great events that gave birth to nations in eastern Asia and that marked the rise and fall of dynasties there and the development of Chinese civilization. This, however, is quite natural, for most of us have time to know a few things only, and those which most concern us are the things that affect our own environment. Nevertheless, the student of history, of sociology, of philosophy, or of theology cannot afford to ignore the thinking and doing of the majority of the human race during a period of five thousand years. The greater part of the civilized world is found in the Far East. Eight hundred millions of people live east of the Persian Gulf and the Pamirs, and half of that multitude is to be found in China.

China has been the civilizer of eastern Asia. She has given language and literature, religion and law, the mechanic arts and the fine arts, to Korea and Japan, to the Mongols and Manchus also, and in a lesser measure to Siam and Annam. Her political influence has been potent through all the Eastern World and her sway has been acknowledged at times in Korea, Formosa, the Sulu Archipelago, in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, in Ceylon, and as far west as Aden. Her armies carried her banners triumphantly over central Asia to the borders of Persia. But it is not the conquests of her armies and fleets that deserve our attention. Rather is it the influence of her thought, the triumph of her ideals. Her sway over distant countries, for the most part, was merely nominal; it was the great advancement of her people in the arts, the high degree of her civilization, that bound these dependencies to her.

China is the only existing independent nation that can claim to have flourished as a contemporary of the great empires of antiquity—Assyria, Babylon, and Egypt. To these great powers, however, she apparently owed nothing. Cut off from India by the mountain masses of Tibet and from western and northern Asia by the great deserts of Taklamakan and Gobi, and shut in on the east and south by the restless sea, the Chinese people in their seclusion, with no aid from Nineveh or Tyre, without the influence of Palestine or Egypt, and unacquainted with ancient Greece or Rome, nevertheless evolved a civilization that was in no particular inferior to the best

that these empires could show. In the arts that make for refinement and comfort, indeed, China was perhaps superior to the most advanced nations of the West until the great discoveries and inventions of modern science enabled the West to forge ahead.

Although the Chinese were so long untouched by the Western World, they did not during that period of isolation escape the struggle which is so essential to the development of national character. The pioneers who came into the Yellow River Valley some three thousand years before the Christian Era had to wage constant warfare with the forces of nature, with savage beasts, and with the hostile aborigines. They struggled with these enemies and overcame them just as our own forefathers conquered the wilderness and savage man in America. In the clearing of forests, in protection against flood and famine, in the subjection of barbarous peoples, and in the building of cities and the development of political organization they found opportunity and need for the exercise of physical strength and skill, for tact and leadership, and the employment of all their intellectual gifts. Difficulties stimulated thought and led to invention. The struggle called for courage and endurance. Through this process character was developed of that quality which made the Chinese the dominant race in eastern Asia. It was Mencius who said:

> When God is about to call a man to some great work, He first tests his resolution with suffering, wearies his sinews and bones with toil, exposes him to hunger, reduces him to extreme poverty, and obstructs his enterprises. By these means Heaven stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and supplies his deficiencies.

During the period of seclusion China had times of internal discord, strife, and division. Out of this experience came political growth, theories of government, the establishment of political principles and international practices that we are apt to regard as wholly of Western origin. She had her age of feudalism, ended in the third century B.C. It was an age of chivalry also, distinguished by deeds of daring. The feudal states became independent kingdoms, warred one with another, made treaties of alliance and commerce, gave asylum to political exiles, and arranged for the extradition of criminals. They established, too, a League of States to prevent

war. Through respect for territorial boundaries they arrived at the conception of sovereignty as territorial rather than personal, a conception to which the Western World has attained only in very recent times.

Ignorance is the chief source of racial antipathy and national prejudice. Acquaintance tends to destroy suspicion and hatred. The better we know our neighbors the more we respect them. To know China we should know the past from which she has sprung, in which are found the sources of her life and her institutions. This knowledge will be of service to us in all our relations with her, whether political or commercial. The study of Chinese history may even be of value to us in the consideration of domestic problems. China has had many political philosophers in her long past. They wrangled over questions some of which disturb the Western World today. We shall find them propounding solutions which we have supposed to be the wisdom of our own age. We shall find them trying experiments and failing in them—experiments to which we are sometimes urged as something heretofore unknown to the world. A knowledge of these things ought to be of value to the diplomat, the legislator, the political philosopher, and the social reformer. But it should have value, too, for every student who is interested in human progress, for we ought to say with Terence: *"Homo sum; et humani a me nil alienum puto"*—*i.e.*, "I am a man; and nothing that concerns man can I regard as wanting in interest to myself."

A Lesson in Geography [2]

The importance of the geographical element in history is now well recognized. Environment affects every living organism. In time it modifies species. Man may withstand or counteract its influence, but cannot wholly escape it. Its influence upon human history, therefore, is not to be ignored. Geographical location has much to do with climate, and climate, it has been shown, has much to do with civilization. It determines in a measure the products of a land and thus to some extent the occupations of its inhabitants. By promoting or impairing the efficiency of men it aids in deciding the degree

[2] The student should consult the map and familiarize himself with names and location of places mentioned in this chapter.

and character of the civilization of which they are capable under the given conditions.

In rough outline, the territory of China approaches the form of an isosceles triangle. Its apex rests upon the Pamirs in longitude 74 east of Greenwich and latitude 40 north. Its base rests chiefly upon the sea, with its southern extremity in Hainan, in longitude 110 east and latitude 18 north, and its northeastern angle at the junction of the Ussuri and Amur rivers in longitude 134 east and latitude 48 north. The northern boundary of the Republic, however, lies considerably farther north than the parallel 48; in some places it passes 53 degrees north. This vast territory covers an area of 4,442,745 square miles, being greater by 800,000 square miles than the United States, including Alaska, and extends in latitude from a region corresponding to the southern reaches of Labrador to the parallel that marks the southern boundary of Mexico.

The difference in latitude between Hainan and northern Manchuria, 35 degrees, is sufficient in itself to create great difference in climate, but there are other features of the topography that affect the climate. There is scarcely any sort of climate anywhere upon the surface of the earth that is not found somewhere in China, for arctic cold is found amid the glaciers of the Himalayas, the moist heat of the jungles in the canyons of Yünnan, and the aridity of Sahara in Turkestan. The loftiest mountains of the world are found in China, and there are depressions there that apparently sink below the level of the sea. There are gorges whose picturesque grandeur is surpassed only in America, and there are great plains whose fertility has made them among the most densely populated regions of the world. There are the vast barren deserts of Taklamakan and Gobi and there are the rich valleys of the Yellow, Yangtze, and West rivers and the less known but scarcely less fruitful valleys of the Liao and Sungari. Some of the mightiest rivers of the world are found there, and there, too, are innumerable lakes, some of them salt lakes and others of fresh water.

The apex of the Chinese triangle, sometimes called "the Roof of the World," is a lofty region lying at an elevation of from 25,000 to 29,000 feet above the level of the sea, amid eternal ice and snow. From these bleak and inhospitable

heights the surface of the land slopes in all directions toward the sea, and the mountains branch into numerous ranges that stretch out over China like the ribs of a fan. The Pamirs divide into two systems; one extending northeastward into the Altai, to form the northwestern boundary of Mongolia, and thence, continuing across eastern Siberia in the range known as the Yablonoi, the other striking eastward in the Tien Shan, which becomes the Ala Shan and the Ing Shan, and forms the southern boundary of Mongolia. The Ing Shan bends toward the north and forms the Great Hsingan Mountains that separate Mongolia from Manchuria. East of the Great Hsingan Mountains lies the fertile valley of the Nonni, beyond which rise the Little Hsingan Mountains, separating the waters of the Nonni from those of the Amur. At the southeastern extremity of the Little Hsingan range the united waters of the Nonni and Sungari find a passage to the Amur, and east of the valley of the Sungari lie the Ever White Mountains that form the eastern boundary of Manchuria and which, continuing toward the southwest, separate the valley of the Yalu from that of the Liao River.

From the southern extremity of the Pamirs the Hindukush extends southwestward over Afghanistan, and the Himalayas bend southeastward and then toward the east to form the southern frontier of Tibet. From the southern end of the Pamirs, moreover, the Karakoram and Kunlun ranges branch toward the east. The Kunlun Mountains separate into parallel ranges, one of which, known as the Altyn Tagh and the Nan Shan, forms the southern boundary of Turkestan and eastward the northern boundary of Ch'inghai or Kokonor, separating that territory from the panhandle of Kansu Province. Another range curves around the southern boundary of Ch'inghai. From these ranges spurs branch to cover the provinces of Kansu and Shensi with a mass of mountains through which the waters of the Yellow River force their way in a rocky channel that turns first to the north, then is bent eastward by the Ala Shan, and, when the high plateau of Shansi is reached, curves sharply to the south until the current strikes against another extension of the Kunlun Range known as the Pei Ling where it is forced again toward the east. At this point the Wei River, celebrated in Chinese history, enters the Yellow River from the west. The Pei Ling separates its

valley from that of the Han River, a tributary of the Yangtze. The Pei Ling branches out in a number of ranges which in the province of Honan gradually sink to the level of the great plain. East of the great plain the mountains appear again in the sacred T'ai Shan and the promontory of Shantung.

In northeastern Tibet a range of the Kunlun Mountains separates the head waters of the Yellow River from those of the Yangtze. In this region a number of parallel ranges known as the Snowy Mountains branch off toward the south. Between the Karakoram and the Himalayas in western Tibet the Indus and the Brahmaputra take their rise, and in eastern Tibet between the various ranges of the Snowy Mountains the head waters of the Mekong, the Salween, and the Irawaddy are found. These mountains spread out in a lofty tableland over the provinces of Yünnan and Kueichou. In deep gorges cut through this plateau the waters of the Mekong and Salween make their way. These gorges are from 2,000 to 3,000 feet in depth, with precipitous banks. In their hot moist climate the tropical jungle and tropical animals find a congenial environment, but disease germs carried by myriads of insects make the region unfit for human habitation. In this lofty plateau of Yünnan the Red and West rivers take their rise. The former flows across Tonking to the sea. The West River, increased by a number of tributaries from the north and south, runs eastward to meet the North and East rivers in the vicinity of Canton and with them to form the Pearl, whose delta is one of the most fertile plains in China. The Yünnan Plateau extends eastward in a range of hills known as the Nan Ling. Two passes over this range give easy communication between the head of navigation on the North River and the waters of the Siang in Hunan and those of the Kan in Kiangsi. Before the days of steamships, travelers from Canton to the north commonly used one or the the other of these routes. The Siang and Kan rivers unite with the Yangtze, and such travelers by sailing down the Yangtze to Chinkiang were enabled there to enter the Grand Canal and find their way either south to Hangchow or north to Peking.

The Nan Ling, extending eastward, unites with the coast range which divides Fukien Province from Kiangsi, and cross-

ing Chekiang diagonally, ends in the islands of the Chusan Archipelago off the mouth of Hangchow Bay.

In this extensive territory of the Republic of China varying widely in latitude and in elevation above the sea as well as in the character of its soil, there are great differences in temperature, in humidity, and in the productivity of the soil. The rainfall is determined in great part by the monsoons. In the south it is regular and abundant; in the north it is less abundant and less regular. In the deserts it is scanty.[3] Humidity combined with high temperature makes the south less conducive to health and energy than the north, but Canton is better favored than its locality would imply, for the heat is tempered by the prevailing winds.

As compared with northern cities, however, it is still handicapped to a degree by the climate. On the other hand, its progressive government has recently given it some advantage over its northern rivals by improvement in sanitation and by the introduction of various public utilities of a modern character. For centuries it possessed a monopoly of foreign commerce. Being the port nearest to Europe, it was the one most available for such trade. Its enterprising inhabitants have, therefore, very naturally taken the lead in business ventures. They have shown themselves more adventurous than the people of the north; the Chinese who go abroad are nearly all from the vicinity of Canton or Amoy, which is also a southern port. But except in commerce the southern provinces have shown no great capacity for leadership. They have not lacked scholars, statesmen, or military heroes, but these have not, as a rule, ranked with the greatest of their race. The great philosophers, poets, statesmen, and military leaders have nearly all come from the northern and central provinces. In the early ages of Chinese history, of course, nothing else was

[3] Observations covering a period of thirty-five years give the annual average rainfall in Peking as 25 inches, in Shanghai as 44.1 inches, and at Hongkong as 84.13 inches. Barometer readings give the mean annual pressure as 30.04 for Peking, 29.96 for Chefoo, 29.97 for Chungking, 30 for Foochow, 30.03 for Shanghai, and 29.96 for Hongkong. During thirty-four years, ended in 1921, the average temperature for the whole year at Shanghai was 58.8 F., at Hongkong, 71.6 degrees. The average humidity during the same period was 80 for Shanghai and 77 for Hongkong. It is unfortunate that there are but few statistics available for inland regions. We should very likely find a number of places where the climatic conditions approach as near to the ideal as they do anywhere.

to be expected, for the Chinese state began in the Yellow River Valley. But throughout the long period that has passed since the beginning of the Christian Era it is rather remarkable that so few men of creative genius or of dominating character have come from the provinces south of the Yangtze River.[4] There have been frequent rebellions in the south against the rule of the north, but in the end the northern men hitherto have triumphed. The northern and central provinces have never been ruled by those further south, save as a fleeting phase of a transition period. This would seem to indicate that conditions of life in the central and northern provinces were better fitted than those in the south to promote mental and physical efficiency.

The Races of China

The population of China is not homogeneous; it is composed of a number of races. The flag of the Republic,[5] adopted in 1912, has five horizontal stripes intended to represent the five principal races that inhabit the country. The red stripe stands for the Chinese, the yellow for the Manchus, the blue for the Mongols, the White for the Turkis, and the black for the Tibetans. These are the five primary colors according to Chinese philosophy, and from very ancient times have been correlated with the five elements, the five planets, the five tones of music, the five directions (south, north, east, west, and center), the five virtues, and many other quinary groups. But not until A.D. 1912 were they used to represent five races of people. Indeed, there are many other tribes among the population, but they are not of sufficient importance to demand separate representation in the government. In the south and southwest there are the Miao, the Shans, the Yao, and the Tung Chia (meaning troglodytes) and others; in the west, the Lolos and Mantzu; in the northwest, the Sarts and Hindus; and in the north and northeast, the Buriats, Goldi, Daours, Tunguses, Koreans, and a number of others.

[4] The present Nationalist movement originated in Canton, under the leadership of Dr. Sun, but two of the three military leaders, whose combined armies have just taken Peking (1928), came from the North.

[5] The two wings of the Nationalists who have just taken Peking have each adopted a new flag. It is impossible to say what design will eventually be chosen.

For the most part these various tribes and races have retained their distinctive characteristics and maintain each a separate habitat, and probably none save the Shans and, in part, the Koreans are related to the Chinese. The Manchus, however, are found in all parts of China. The Mongols, Tibetans, and Koreans, too, travel about freely.

Where different races come into contact a certain amount of intermarriage is natural. On the whole this seems to have occurred more often in the north than in the south. The purest Chinese are probably found in the southern provinces; the Cantonese and the Shans, who are apparently related, are perhaps those nearest to the original type. The south has been less subject to invasion than the north. The northern provinces have frequently passed under alien rule. Tibetans and Turks, Mongols and Manchus, have established their capitals there. Intermarriage of the Chinese with these races has been frequent. Social intercourse has been constant. The Chinese language and Chinese institutions have been modified. There is quite a noticeable difference between the physiognomy of the Chinese in the north and that of those in the south. Huntington has pointed out that nomadism tends to develop the power of initiative and the ability to lead, and says:

"It is no accident that throughout Chinese history the rulers have almost invariably been invaders who have recently come from nomadic stocks."[6]

This is not strictly true, for the exceptions to the supposed rule are numerous. Nomadic races, however, have frequently invaded and conquered either a portion or the whole of China. Mingling their blood with that of the conquered, they have left the impress of their character upon the people of the northern provinces. This perhaps has had as much influence as climate in promoting the qualities of leadership manifested by the people of that region.[7]

[6] *Civilization and Climate,* Introduction, p. xxxvii. New Haven, 1922.

[7] Professor Huntington's theory relating to the influence of climate upon human efficiency is well supported. The writer is disposed to accept it. But in illustrating the theory from conditions in China Professor Huntington has fallen into the error of attempting to account for a situation which does not exist—a supposed ability of the south to furnish leaders and reformers in a measure unknown to the north. This he would explain by a steady migration of the more energetic and progressive northerners from the famine-stricken regions of the north to the south. In times of famine and flood, it is true that many do migrate from the afflicted regions—usually the valley of the Yellow

Social Conditions

These differences in the character of the people north and south are emphasized by certain differences in social institutions. The more purely bred Chinese of the south adhere closely to the ancient institutions of their people. The family solidarity is more marked than in the north. The clans are larger and more jealous of their privileges. Clan interests are esteemed above those of the community and nation. The clan council is accustomed to the management of many matters that elsewhere are left to local officials. This tends to develop a capacity for self-government, but at the same time to lessen the disposition to coöperate harmoniously with others. Clan quarrels are common and not infrequently lead to clan warfare, which the national authorities are powerless to suppress. In the north, where the families have often been broken up by invasion, the clans are small and weak and show a less selfish and disintegrating tendency than in the south. Huntington has noted that the nomadic life develops not only the qualities necessary to leadership, but those also which promote loyal coöperation with the leader. Perhaps the northern people have inherited something of both these qualities from

River or that of the Huai—but they rarely go as far as Professor Huntington's supposition would require. They sojourn in the Yangtze Valley, as a rule. There have been migrations in the distant past into south China, but the immigrants have tended to segregate themselves and are not liked by the natives. The Hakkas are such a people. It was from a family of this stock that the T'aip'ing ruler sprang, but he was a freak and cannot be reckoned as a great leader. The distinguished men of the south appear to belong to the old families, whose clannishness is pronounced and who do not owe anything to a mixture of their blood with that of immigrants from the north, who in fact are rare in the coast provinces. The people of the south are restless, industrious, and progressive, but not inventive, as Professor Huntington would claim for them. They are imitative rather than inventive. They have the virtues of peace, of the trader and the good artisan. They are perhaps more ready than the men of the north to adopt new ideas, although this may be doubted, and they have produced a number of earnest reformers, but they seem to lack the ability to carry through successfully any enterprise that calls for sustained effort in the face of strong opposition. The frequent abortive rebellions inaugurated there are illustrations of this. When the revolution came that drove the Manchus from the throne, it did not originate in the south; it began in the far west and under leaders unknown to the south. The Cantonese, in fact, were the last of the southern people to cast in their lot with the revolting provinces. Thus there is no such remarkable capacity for leadership in the south as to make the people there an apparent exception to the rule formulated by Professor Huntington.

their mixed ancestry. At any rate, they are more easily governed than the people of the south. The near presence, until the recent revolution, of an imperial government with its display of pomp and power has had much to do with this tractability, no doubt, as has also the existence of a landed aristocracy in the vicinity of Peking and in Manchuria, where there are large estates farmed by a dependent tenantry. In the south no such social distinctions are known and the peasants, except in a few localities, own the land which they cultivate. This, too, makes for a more independent and democratic spirit in the south. This difference in social conditions explains in some measure the present strife between the political leaders in Peking and those in Canton. The people of the south want the largest measure possible of local autonomy and strongly object to the interference of the national government with their privileges; the northern people are less independent and more accustomed to yielding obedience to the higher authorities, and the statesmen who lead at Peking want a strongly centralized government.

Political Divisions

When the Chinese threw off the yoke of the Manchus in 1911 the leaders of that revolution showed great wisdom in recognizing the political equality of all races in the new Republic, and particularly in symbolizing the union of the five principal races in the new national flag. These five races from ancient times have divided the territory of China among themselves. Manchuria, Mongolia, Turkestan, Tibet, and China Proper are each and all names of historic interest, recalling old-time struggles, with the triumph now of one and then of another of these peoples. Under the Manchu Dynasty, Tibet, Turkestan, and Mongolia were originally governed through the Bureau of Dependencies, represented by Imperial Residents at the capitals of these territories, who were careful to allow the dependent races to observe their own customs and laws. Manchuria, the old home of the Manchu Dynasty, was ruled more directly by the Imperial Court, but the Manchus also had their own code. China Proper was known as the Eighteen Provinces and the Chinese were permitted to participate in the government and be ruled in accordance with

their ancient code of laws, slightly ameliorated by the decrees of the Manchu Emperor.

China Proper

China of the Chinese, the old Eighteen Provinces, commonly called "China Proper," is divided naturally into three regions—the Valley of the Yellow River, the Yangtze Valley, and the Southern Provinces.

The valley of the Yellow River was the earliest home of the Chinese after they arrived in the land we call China. It was there that they founded a state. This valley was the theater of most of the events of the early history of the nation. The capital of China has nearly always been in this region. Sometimes, when China has been divided, a city in the Yangtze Valley has been the seat of government of a portion of the country, and for a brief period Nanking was the capital of the whole empire. Generally speaking, however, the region in which the state was born has been that from which its sway was exercised.

The Yellow River Valley embraces an area of 514,000 square miles. Its population is about 85 millions.[8] Its territory is divided among six provinces—Kansu, Shensi, Shansi, Honan, Chihli, and Shantung. Much of it is mountainous, but the Great Plain extends over a great part of Honan, Chihli, and Shantung. The mineral wealth is important and is being developed to some extent. It includes coal and iron, chiefly, but gold is found in paying quantity, as is asbestos also.

Where cultivation is possible, the soil is fertile, but the whole region is periodically subject alternately to drought and flood. When the rains fail, famine results, with the loss at times of millions of lives. The Yellow River flows sluggishly across the Plain, depositing enormous quantities of silt. The bottom of the river in many places is higher than the surrounding country. The water is kept in the channel by dikes. In times of flood these dikes are often broken. Villages and growing crops are swept away and the destruction of life is but little less than in time of famine. This river has been very aptly called "China's Sorrow."

[8] Estimates of population are unreliable. The figures given are based upon the census of 1910.

The climate of north China is similar to that of our northern states, but it is drier and is not marked by such extremes of temperature as are recorded with us. The prevailing winds in winter come from the northwest and carry great quantities of dust from the Gobi Desert. This dust is deposited over the country sometimes as far south as the Yangtze River. It is a source of fertility when water is not lacking. Of the agricultural products the principal field crops are wheat, barley, millet, peanuts, beans, and hemp. There is some rice grown and not a little cotton. The orchards supply apples, apricots, cherries, grapes, pears, peaches, plums, persimmons, and jujubes. Chestnuts and walnuts, too, are grown in considerable quantity. The chief manufacturers of the region are pongees, cotton cloth, woolen and camel's-hair rugs, lacquer work, cement and bricks, wheat flour, laces, and straw braid. The principal exports are sheepskins, goatskins, hides of horses and cattle, wool, bristles, jute, straw braid, pongees, and rugs. A half-dozen cities and towns are open to foreign residence and trade, chief of which is Tientsin, a port of 800,000 inhabitants.

The Yangtze Valley

The Yangtze Valley is the richest portion of China. The river itself is one of the greatest in the world. It is 3,200 miles long and is navigable for ocean-going vessels as far as Hankow, 600 miles from its mouth. Steamers of lighter draught run regularly 250 miles further, to Ichang, and vessels that are especially constructed to breast the rapids are able to reach Chungking, 1,400 miles from the sea. The area of the Yangtze Valley is 750,000 square miles; its population is not less than 180 millions. Seven provinces are included within its boundaries—Szechuen, Hupei, Hunan, Anhui, Kiangsi, Kiangsu, and Chekiang. Shanghai, the chief seaport, has a population of a million and a half and a foreign trade amounting to 900 million taels [9] in value. There are more than a dozen other large cities in the region that are open to foreign residence and trade. The soil is rich and the rainfall reliable. The chief agricultural products are cotton, rice, tea, beans, ginger, indigo, flax, and citrous fruits.

[9] The Customs Tael fluctuates in value, varying from $0.65 to $0.80.

Maize and wheat are grown, but in small quantities only. Mineral deposits include coal, iron, lead, antimony, copper, salt, and natural gas. Petroleum is believed to exist, but it is not certain that it can be produced in profitable quantities. Hunan has the largest antimony mines in the world. Szechuen is noted for its deep salt wells, some of them over 2,000 feet in depth. Many of them have been worked for centuries. The brine is evaporated over fires fed by natural gas. The chief manufactures of the Yangtze Valley are silk, cotton, tea, porcelain, and steel. A number of mills, equipped with modern machinery are producing flour. Steam filatures are gradually replacing the old-fashioned method of reeling silk, but the weaving is still done on hand looms. Power looms have been introduced for weaving cotton cloth, but the great cotton mills that have been built are employed for the most part in spinning yarn.

Among the exports from this region, the chief are tea, silk, cotton yarn, wood oil, antimony, ginger, skins, and medicines.

Southern China

The five provinces of China Proper that have not yet been mentioned may very well be classed together. They are all very mountainous and contain large numbers of non-Chinese in their population—the Miao in Kuangsi, Kueichou, and Yünnan, the Yao and Tungchia in Kuangtung, the Lisu and Musu in the island of Hainan, and the Shans along the border of Indo-China and Siam. Fukien on the southeast coast is cut off by mountain ranges from easy communication with other parts of the country. Its people, therefore, have developed in comparative isolation. This is, no doubt, responsible for the fact that their language and customs are unlike those of other provinces. A large proportion of the inhabitants of Yünnan are Mohammedan in religion. They were formerly more numerous, but a rebellion that lasted twenty years, ending in 1873, destroyed millions of lives. The mineral resources of southern China are considerable and of great value. Copper and argentiferous lead have been mined in Yünnan from ancient times, but by crude methods. The tin mines of that province are probably more important today. Quicksilver

is mined in Kueichou, and coal and iron are found in all these provinces.

The agricultural products of the region are those of the temperate and sub-tropical regions. Citrous fruits are found in abundance. Not less than a thousand varieties are claimed to exist.

There are several important seaports. Foochow, capital of Fukien, is the chief port for the shipment of the Oolong tea. *Oolong* means "mist dragon." Amoy is also in Fukien and on the same bay as the Zayton of Marco Polo, from which we derive our word, satin. Swatow in eastern Kuang-tung is important for its export of sugar. Canton in the same province was for centuries the only port engaged in foreign trade. A number of other places are open to foreign residence and trade.

The principal manufactures of the region are silk, tea, porcelain, carved ivory, lacquer ware, black wood furniture, jewelry, and matting. All these are among the exports, and to them should be added essential oils (anise seed and cassia) and tin.

Turkestan

West of the province of Kansu, north of the Kunlun Mountains and east of the Pamirs, is an extensive region in central Asia, formerly called Chinese Turkestan. The T'ien Shan, or "Celestial Mountains," cross it from west to east, dividing it into two sections. That north of the T'ien Shan is the valley of the Ili, a river that flows westward into Lake Balkash. Kuldja, a fortified town in this valley, was once coveted by Russia. The region south of the T'ien Shan is mostly desert, but the Tarim River flows through it from west to east. It is fed by the eternal snows on "the Roof of the World," but its stream grows less and less as it flows onward until it loses itself in the marsh known as Lob Nor. This was, once, even in recent times, quite a large lake, but is gradually growing smaller, in keeping with the desiccation of the region. There are a few towns along the base of the T'ien Shan, where there are forests and grazing-ground. The ancient caravan trail passes through this region. The desert is known to the Chinese as the "Desert of Moving Sands," a

very appropriate designation, since the sands are continually moving under the force of the wind and encroaching upon the cultivated fields. By the Western World the desert is called the Taklamakan. Cities that flourished here in the days of Alexander the Great have been buried out of sight. Recent exploration has uncovered portions of these ruins and brought to light many interesting archæological remains.

After the suppression of the rebellion of Yakub Beg in 1878 the dependency was organized as the nineteenth province of the empire. It was given the name of Hsinkiang, or "New Dominion." It has an area of 550,000 square miles, more than twice that of the state of Texas. The population is not more than 2,000,000, who are confined to certain oases, such as those of Kashgar and Yarkand. The people are for the most part non-Chinese, chiefly Turkish, but with colonies of Hindus and Chinese. Most of them profess the Mohammedan religion. The chief products of the province are such fruits as apricots, peaches, raisins, and melons, and of manufactures, silk and rugs. In the pastoral regions, horses, sheep, and cattle are bred in large numbers. There are valuable mines of jade of the "mutton-fat," or white variety, so highly prized by the Chinese. The principal cities of the province are open to foreign residence and trade. The trade is chiefly with Russia.

Manchuria

Northeast of the Eighteen Provinces of China Proper lies the ancient home of the Manchus, commonly called today, "the Three Eastern Provinces." Manchuria was once separated from Mongolia by a barrier of stakes, remains of which are still to be seen. In 1907 the portion of Mongolia lying between this barrier and the Hsingan Mountains was annexed to Manchuria. The defeat of China in the war with Japan in 1894 and 1895, and the subsequent aggressions of Russia in Manchuria, aroused the Peking Government to the necessity of doing something to strengthen its hold upon this portion of the empire. The dependency from of old had been divided into three provinces: Shengking in the south, Kirin in the center, and Hei Lung Kiang, or the Amur Province, in the north. Shengking had long been a settled region with numer-

ous cities and with agriculture well developed, but Kirin and the Amur Province were the hunting preserves of Manchu princes. It was not until 1907 that these two provinces and the region added from Mongolia were organized into counties and the three provinces given the same status as the other nineteen provinces. The empire thus came to have twenty-two provinces. The area of Manchuria, including the portion taken from Mongolia, is about 460,000 square miles. Since the portion that had been unoccupied was thrown open to colonization, a great many Chinese have gone there to live. There are many Russians in the region of Harbin, and the Koreans have settled in considerable numbers in the valley of the Tumen, known as the Chientao region. There are also several aboriginal tribes and the Japanese have many colonies along the South Manchuria Railway. The population of these three provinces is therefore steadily increasing. At present it may be set down as about fifteen or sixteen millions. The mountains in many places are still covered by the primeval forest in which game abounds. There are huge tigers, black bears, and wild boars. Smaller game is more plentiful.

The three provinces have a very fertile soil. Large crops are produced of wheat, millet, and other grains, as well as of tobacco and the soya bean. This last is of great commercial importance, since from it bean oil is made, and beans, bean oil, and bean cake are all exported in large quantities. Manchuria is rich in minerals. Gold is found in several districts, but coal and iron deposits are of more importance. Asbestos mines, too, are being worked. Pongees and cigarettes are among the chief manufactures. The exports include pongees, furs, and skins, grain, coal, coke, and timber in addition to those already mentioned.

Taken altogether, Manchuria is an attractive region. It has within its boundaries the agricultural and mineral resources of a great state. It has a healthful and stimulating climate, not unlike that of Canada. The variations of temperature are considerable, but not too great. The range is from a maximum of 95° Fahrenheit in the southern province to a minimum in the northern province of 46° F. below zero. More than a score of cities and towns in these three provinces have been opened to foreign residence and trade.

Mongolia

Mongolia embraces all that vast region lying between Siberia on the north and the organized provinces of China on the south. It stretches from Russian central Asia on the west to Manchuria on the east. It has an area of about 1,300,000 square miles and a population of 2,000,000. There are lofty mountain ranges on the eastern and western boundaries. The central portion of the country is a tableland which has an elevation of from 4,000 to 5,000 feet above sea-level. It is mostly desert. On the south the land slopes down toward the Chinese provinces and provides a large territory capable of cultivation. The Chinese are steadily encroaching upon this territory, forming permanent settlements, organizing county governments, and forcing the nomadic Mongols farther and farther toward the desert. Not all the Mongols, however, are nomads, many of them, too, are becoming town dwellers. North of the desert, too, there is a region of fertile soil, affording good pasturage for herds and flocks. The rivers there flow toward Siberia. The desert must not be thought of as entirely barren. There, too, there is scanty herbage for grazing. Mongolia has many lakes, some of salt water, others of fresh water. The largest of the latter is the Koso Golo, which is the source of the river Selenga.

Mongolia is divided into two great divisions, Inner and Outer. Inner Mongolia embraces the region nearest to China Proper and includes the territory of the tribes that yielded allegiance to Manchuria before the Manchu conquest of China. Outer Mongolia extends around Inner Mongolia like a bow and includes the region brought under control subsequent to the Manchu conquest of China. The tribes of Inner Mongolia retain still the military organization adopted in the days of Genghis Khan. Outer Mongolia is divided into a number of khanates, controlled by hereditary princes. A Chinese Resident has usually been stationed at Urga, the seat of the hutukhtu, the chief ecclesiastical official. The religion of the Mongols is Lamaism, a corrupt form of Buddhism. The hutukhtu is the third in rank in the church, being subordinate to the Dalai Lama and Panshen Erdeni Lama of Tibet. There are altogether in China about 160 hutukhtus, each of whom is

believed by the followers of this religion to be a reincarnation of his predecessor.

The Mongols raise large herds of horses and camels and flocks of sheep and goats. The trade consists chiefly in the exchange of wool, camel's hair, hides and skins, for silk, tea, cutlery, and notions imported from China or Russia. The country abounds in game, particularly in deer, pheasants, the bustard, hares, and other small game.

Originally the Great Wall marked the southern boundary of the dependency, but the Chinese have so encroached upon the land that today a good portion of old Mongolia is within the confines of Chihli. The most ancient wall dates from the third century B.C., but parts are more modern. The inner section, which is that usually visited by tourists at Nankou, dates from A.D. 555.

Since the Republic of China was established, Mongolia has been allowed representation in the Parliament by 27 Senators and 27 members of the House.

Tibet

Tibet is another important dependency of the Chinese Republic. Formerly it comprised a much larger territory than at present. The Chinese have gradually encroached upon it. A portion of the eastern frontier has been annexed to the province of Szechuen. A larger section has been detached from the northeast to form a new territory or dependency, called Kokonor, or Ch'inghai. This new dependency is inhabited by nomadic Mongol tribes, who are governed by a Chinese officer stationed at Sining in Kansu Province, but who are allowed representation in the Chinese Parliament by three Senators and three members of the House. Tibet, if we include Kokonor, has an area of about 700,000 square miles. It is a lofty tableland surrounded by still loftier mountain ranges—the Kunlun on the north, the Himalaya on the south, the Himalaya and Karakoram on the west, and the Snowy Ranges on the east. For the most part it is a bleak and barren country; its mountain summits are covered with ice and snow at all seasons. Many of its streams flow into lakes that have no outlet. But some of its valleys that sink below 11,000 feet above the sea are pretty well populated.

Agriculture is possible in such valleys. Grain and fruits are grown and the shaggy yak and flocks of sheep find pasture. The people are extremely poor. Many men enter the lama-series, where celibacy is practiced. In some places polyandry is the form of marriage. These customs tend to keep down the birth-rate. The country is divided for administrative purposes into four provinces. The government is theocratic in form. It has a dual headship. The Dalai Lama at Lhasa exercises the civil functions aided by a Council of State. The ecclesiastical authority is in the Panshen Erdeni Lama at Tashihlunpo. The Chinese authority is represented by a Resident at Lhasa. The Chinese allow representation in Parliament by ten Senators and ten members of the House, but Tibet has been trying to break away from China and refuses to be represented in the Parliament.

Tibet is rich in minerals, which have been but little worked. Holdich says that it is richer than any other country in the world in gold.[10] Foreign trade is insignificant in amount. Foodstuffs in limited quantities are imported from India, and tea from China in exchange for wool, yak's hair, rugs, and gold.

Communications

China is sadly lacking in means of easy communication between the various portions of her vast territory. The roads for the most part are mere trails, in some places nothing more than a bridle path or a footpath. In the soft earth of north China the roads are often found sunken below the level of the fields. This erosion is due to the action of wind and rain. In the time of heavy rainfall these sunken ways become filled with water and the carters are compelled to détour through the fields, to the great injury of growing crops. Or, if on a hillside, the road becomes the channel for a roaring torrent that later is converted into an impassable gully. There have been in the past some real highways in north China. Their remains are still to be seen. The foundations of some of them were laid before the Christian Era. The splendid stone bridges, many of them now falling into ruin for lack of a little care, bear witness to the wisdom with which these roads were

[10] Holdich, *Tibet the Mysterious*, p. 329.

built. Marco Polo in the thirteenth century traveled over most of these highways and many travelers since his day have spoken of the neglect which has allowed them to become useless.

Where Europeans have established settlements they have built macadamized streets and roads and in some places, such as the vicinity of Shanghai and Tientsin, they have been permitted to extend these roads into the country. The introduction of the motor car has led to the formation of a Good Roads Society, and the famine relief funds in recent years have been employed in part in giving wages to the destitute in return for labor upon road-making.

The Chinese have made good use of their rivers from ancient times, and where canals are possible they have been constructed. Competent authorities have estimated that there are not less than 225,000 miles of canals, most of which are found in the delta of the Yangtze and in the lake region near Hankow. The Grand Canal, the longest in the world, extends from Hangchow to Peking, crossing both the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers. It is about 1,000 miles in length. Where waterways are lacking the want of good roads has made transport very expensive. This has been one of the chief items in expenditure for famine relief. The government has seen the need of improvement in communications and has begun the construction of railways, but continuous war for the past seventeen years has delayed the work. There are altogether a little more than 7,000 miles of railways in all China. Of this amount not less than 2,000 are to be found in Manchuria—that is to say, 2,000 miles of railway for 460,000 square miles of territory as against not more than 5,000 miles for 4,000,000 square miles of territory in the rest of China.

Industrial Conditions

An industrial revolution is but just beginning in China. In the main, industry is in a condition similar to that which prevailed in Europe in the Middle Ages. Agriculture is the principal occupation and the peasants are extremely poor. Up to the year 1910 many in the north were serfs attached to the land which was owned by princes. Slavery and serfdom were abolished in that year. Elsewhere, in the south par-

ticularly, the holdings of land were quite small. The average in Shantung today is about twelve acres to a family, but south of the Yangtze perhaps not more than three to five acres. In some places, however, the land, in farms of several hundred acres each, is held by clans, some of which number more than 1,000 persons. A Chinese saying is that a *mou* of land, which is one-sixth of an acre, will support one person, which implies a very low standard of living. Farm laborers receive from ten to twenty cents a day, according to locality, together with a bowl of rice. By the month they receive $1.50 and board in the interior districts, and by the year, $12, with lodging, board, and a suit of clothes.

In the cities mechanics—employers, journeymen, and apprentices—are organized in gilds that regulate wages, prices, and all conditions of labor. Manufacture is still in the handicraft stage, except in such few ports as have introduced steam and electricity. The apprentice lives with his master and pays to learn the trade. Work is done in the master's home and offered for sale in the room that fronts on the street. The great cotton and silk factories and the roller flour mills that have been erected at Shanghai, Tientsin, Hankow, and other open ports, have greatly disturbed the cottage industries. Many workmen have been attracted by the better wages paid in the ports. In the past twenty-five years wages for skilled labor have increased from 20 to 50 per cent in Shanghai, but they are still very low. The average is perhaps as low as thirty-five cents a day, but some occupations command better pay. It is to be remembered, however, that the cost of living has also increased during this period. A study of wages and prices in Peking has shown that wages doubled in the twenty-five years 1900-25, but that the real gain for the worker was only 8 per cent for the unskilled laborer and but 12 for the skilled workman.

With the introduction of the new industrial system the gilds have lost somewhat of their former influence. The factories are owned by corporations, whose shareholders know nothing of the business. Salaried experts are managers and are chiefly interested in securing dividends. Thus the operatives have been driven to organize labor unions, so that instead of gilds in which master and workman coöperate to protect

the craft, there is today in the factories a struggle between capital and labor.

Population and Subsistence

The estimates of the population vary considerably. China has had census reports for centuries, but until the establishment of representative government they made returns of households liable to taxation, and of able-bodied males between sixteen and sixty years of age, but not of total population. There was, therefore, a temptation to conceal the exact number of males in order to escape possible demands of the central government. The establishment of tithings and hundreds, required by the Manchu statutes, furnished excellent machinery for taking the census, and one would suppose that a desire to have proper representation in Parliament would induce citizens to make an accurate return or perhaps tempt them to pad the lists, but the people were not familiar with the conception of a national Parliament and distrusted the Manchu Government that ordered the census taken. The probabilities are that age-old habits of concealment would retain their force and that even the census of 1910, preparatory to the election of a Parliament, was no more reliable than any that preceded it.

The estimate, based upon the returns of that year, gives China a population of 342,639,000. Ten years later the post office estimated the population of the Eighteen Provinces, with Hsinkiang and Manchuria, as 427,679,214, to which it would be necessary to add about 4,000,000 to include the population of Mongolia and Tibet. Let us take the highest estimate, 431,679,214, and divide it by the smallest estimate of the area of China, 4,278,352 square miles. We thus discover that at the extreme possibility the density of the population is less than 101 per square mile. Compared with the 177 on each square mile of India, the 468 of Great Britain, or the 636 of Belgium, the density of the population in China cannot be called great.

It must be remembered, however, that large portions of Mongolia and Turkestan are desert and that much of Tibet is uninhabitable. On the other hand, there are millions of acres of fertile soil in Manchuria and Mongolia that have

never been touched by the plough. There is a steady migration of the Chinese toward these last-mentioned regions. As yet, then, we cannot say that there is real overcrowding in China.

But there are districts in which the congestion of population surpasses anything that has been stated. The density of population in Kiangsu is 875 per square mile. This province, however, lies in the delta of the Yangtze, the richest region in China, the fertility of whose soil is well-nigh inexhaustible, a region, too, of great cities and of large manufacturing interests. It is here that steam and electricity have come most extensively into use and where modern steam filatures, cotton factories, and roller flour mills are most numerous.

Shantung has an area of 56,000 square miles and a population of 30,000,000, but about one-half of the province is too mountainous for cultivation. Franklin H. King, who made a careful study of the province, found one district where he estimated the population to be 3,072 per square mile. There are other regions, as in the delta of the Pearl River near Canton and around Amoy, where the population is so dense as to force emigration overseas.

Some light is thrown upon the question of the pressure of population upon subsistence by the returns of the customs dealing with imports and exports. In the year 1920, a year of comparative quiet, the value of all food imports into China was Tls. 89,294,483, while the value of foodstuffs exported during the same year was Tls. 176,252,512, nearly twice that of the food imported. This would indicate that China is still able to feed herself. Yet it was in this same year, 1920, that a great famine occurred in the Yellow River Valley that took a toll of several million lives.

The truth seems to be that China is rich in natural resources, only partly utilized, and that lack of cheap transportation coupled with misgovernment is responsible in large degree for much poverty and distress. The building of railways and the diversification of industry that will follow the development of her resources will no doubt greatly improve the economic situation. Today civil war, famine, and pestilence probably keep the population nearly stationary, and bring great suffering as well. With peace, good government, and general

education China ought easily to be able to support twice her present population.

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CHAPTER II

LAYING THE FOUNDATIONS

Pre-dynastic Period, 2357-2206 B.C.
Hsia Dynasty ..... 2205-1766 "
Shang " ..... 1766-1122 "

History, at least in its state of ideal perfection, is a compound of poetry and philosophy.

—MACAULAY.

ORIGIN OF THE CHINESE[1]

THE Chinese race in all probability originated in central Asia. Recent excavations there indicate that 10,000 years ago there existed in that region a number of cities whose inhabitants had already attained to a high degree of civilization. The gradual desiccation of central Asia, however, caused many of the people to emigrate. Some appear to have gone southwestward into Mesopotamia, where they imposed their civilization upon the people there. Others seem to have moved eastward in successive waves and in time to have reached the valley of the Yellow River. The possession in common by Sumerians and Chinese of a physical peculiarity—eyes that appear to be placed obliquely in the face—suggests a racial connection. The inheritance by both of certain elements of a common culture—an ideographic script, similar religious rites and similar features of religious architecture—indicates a cultural connection. It is impossible to believe that the Chinese came from western Asia. It is equally impossible to believe that Mesopotamia borrowed civilization from China or China from Mesopotamia. The facts are best explained by the derivation of such common elements of culture from an intermediate source. About the year 2700 B.C. a great leader, known to the Chinese as Huang Ti, commonly called the "Yellow Emperor," is reported by tradition to have been

[1] For a detailed treatment of this topic see Appendix II.

moving about in the region now included in northwestern China, having no fixed abode. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the Chinese Herodotus, accepts this tradition as reliable. It harmonizes with the belief that the ancestors of the Chinese were immigrants. The theory of a central Asian origin for the race is further supported by the fact that within historic times such a movement of population from the region of the Pamirs and the T'ien Shan toward the east and south has been continuous. The ancestors of the kings of the Shang Dynasty once lived in the valley of the Wei River, in modern Shensi, but were later forced to move eastward into modern Honan. They were followed in the Wei Valley by the Chou tribes, who in turn were harassed by other tribes pressing in from the northwest. By the aid of other western peoples the Chou tribes overthrew the Shang Dynasty, and in time they were themselves overthrown by the Ch'in, another tribe that crowded in from the northwest. Thus the earliest immigrants were pressed eastward by later comers and subsequently the movement expanded toward the south. The traditions of the Burmese and the Siamese support the theory.[2]

The Chinese state began in the valley of the Yellow River. Its founders, however, appear to have been already in possession of a high degree of civilization. But they had traditions of a more primitive period. These traditions tell of Suijen, the fire-maker, of Fuhsi, who was supposed to have invented writing and a system of numbers, and of Shennung, who first taught agriculture. It is significant that the folklore of China seems to locate the legendary heroes of the race in the far northwest. The land of the "Yellow Emperor" is described as being in the outside regions" "beyond the northwestern sea." The Chinese forefathers seem to have looked back with fondness to that distant region, as if to the childhood home of the race, and they gave free rein to their fancy as they spoke of its wonders.[3]

Fragments of History

With the exception of the "Bamboo Records," the historical books of China pay slight attention to these legends. They

[2] Sir J. G. Scott, *Burma, a Handbook of Practical Information*, p. 64, and A. W. Graham, *Handbook of Siam*.

[3] These legends are preserved in the *Shan Hai King*.

have very little of the marvelous in them. This is especially true of the *Shu King,* or "Classic of History." It does not purport to give us a continuous history of ancient China. It is a collection of documents that have preserved valuable fragments of that history, which describe the character and relate some of the deeds of ancient worthies. This is done without any appeal to credulity and with only a very little pardonable exaggeration.

Carlyle said: "The history of the world is but the biography of great men." Not all of us are willing to accept this saying. The ambitions of monarchs, the tramp of marching armies, the glory of conquest, and all the shouting and tumult that follow are not the most important events of history. The common man, his beliefs and hopes, his tools and occupations, his home, his social and political institutions—these are the warp and woof of history. The love and labor of the millions have made the race what it is and transformed the earth, our common home.

Yet there is a profound truth in Carlyle's statement. There has always been some man who has stood head and shoulders above his fellows and who has been unwilling to follow the beaten path. He has sought short cuts. He has propounded new creeds, suggested new explanations, invented new processes. Such leaders of the race have blazed paths through the wilderness. They have enlarged the vision of the race. They have added to the joy and comfort of living. They have turned the current of history into new channels. Such are truly great men and these are they whose lives mark epochs in human history.

In the period upon which we are entering, extending from the accession of Yao in 2357 B.C. to the establishment of the Chou Dynasty in 1122 B.C., a period of 1235 years, we shall find all that is of value for us preserved in a few pages torn from the story of Yao and Shun, Yü and T'ang, four great heroes of antiquity. Yet during those twelve centuries and more there were not less than forty-eight monarchs who reigned in China and whose names are preserved in the records. Of all these we need to remember but the four whose names have been mentioned. These we must remember, for their names are household words in China. To this day the patriotic Chinese looks back with pride to the days of these

great men as to a golden age in which wise and righteous rulers led the way and a happy people followed. At the beginning of this period a little Chinese colony began to lay the foundations of a state in the untamed wilderness that was then the valley of the Yellow River. Dense forests had to be cleared, waters had to be drained from the lowlands, and floods to be checked by dikes. Wild beasts and wild men had to be subdued, government had to be established, laws enacted, crime punished, and provision made for the education of the young and the reverent worship of the gods.

Yao

The first fragment in the *Shu King* deals with the reign of Yao. This, however, was not his name during his lifetime. It is a posthumous title, meaning "Eminent One." The custom of bestowing such names after death is one that has continued to our own day. During the modern period, in fact, the personal name of an emperor was taboo. To employ the written symbol that had been declared taboo, even though in its ordinary sense and not as part of a name, rendered one liable to punishment. Yao's name while he lived was Fanghsün, but history refers to him usually by his posthumous designation and we will follow that precedent. Yao had been preceded upon the throne by an elder brother. This brother, however, had proved so unfit for the high position that the feudal lords had deposed him and had given the scepter to Yao, who seems to have been worthy of the choice. We are told that the people looked to him as they did to the sun or moon and that they loved him as they did their own parents. His benevolence is spoken of as being like the radiance of the sun and as falling in blessing like the rain. He said of himself: "I am hungry with every hungry subject and cold with every one who is cold. I suffer with all who are oppressed." Although he was powerful, he was not arrogant and, notwithstanding his high station, he did not despise the humble.

The ancient philosophy of the Chinese recognized five elements—water, wood, metal, fire, and earth. During each reign in antiquity and in later times during each dynasty one of these elements was supposed to be dominant. Yao reigned by virtue of the element, fire. His empire is said to have ex-

tended from the modern province of Shantung on the east to the head waters of the Wei River in the present province of Kansu on the west, and from the region now known as Mongolia on the north to what is today called Tongking on the south. This we know could not have been true of the extension north and south. The visit of a prince from the region of Cambodia, of which the record speaks, may have led the historian to claim that region as tributary to China, but we know that for many centuries after Yao's time the country south of the Yangtze was outside the boundary of the Chinese state.

When Yao had been upon the throne for seventy years he sought some one to whom he might transfer the responsibilities of office. His ministers suggested his son, Tanshu. Yao refused, declaring the son to be unworthy. One of the ministers then recommended a man whom we know by his posthumous name, Shun. He was unknown to the ruler, who inquired about him. The minister replied: "He is the son of a blind man, a father who was obstinate and unprincipled. He has a stepmother who was formerly insincere. His half-brother was arrogant. Yet Shun by reason of his filial piety was able to live in harmony with them and to lead them gradually to a reformation of their conduct." Yao said: "I will test him by giving him my two daughters in marriage." His idea, apparently, was that if Shun could live with the two sisters without continual quarrels he could get on with the rule of the state. Shun married the two daughters of Yao and became associated with the latter in the government of the country. At the traditional site of Shun's grave today there grows a slender speckled bamboo. The people say that the marks upon the bamboo are made by the tear-drops of his two wives, who visited the grave and wept together there. The tale would imply that the father's test had been successfully passed by Shun. But we may suspect another explanation of the union of Yao and Shun in the government. Mencius tells us that Shun belonged to the Eastern Yi,[4] a tribe once in possession of eastern Shantung, as we call the region today. The commentator upon the *Chu Shu,* or "Bamboo Records," an ancient historical work, tells us that Yao was conquered by Shun. In such a case the marriage of the two princesses may well be

[4] Mencius, bk. iv, pt. 2, ch. i.

considered as a settlement of a struggle between two primitive states, which by the union of the two ruling families were thus united into one. Upon some such supposition only would it be easy to accept the statement that Yao's kingdom extended from Shantung on the east to the head waters of the Wei River on the west.

Shun

It was about 2286 B.C. that Shun became associated with Yao in the government. Yao remained nominally at the head of the state, but Shun was the actual ruler under the title of Regent. One of the first measures adopted by him was to clear the court of a clique of nobles into whose hands the government of Yao had fallen. Notwithstanding that these nobles were of royal blood, he sent them into exile and in their stead selected men upon whom he could depend to carry out his policies.

Before Shun became Regent the country had been devastated by a great flood. It was probably one of those periodical deluges that through all the centuries since have wrought destruction of life and property in the valleys of the Yellow and Huai rivers. Yao, describing the calamity, is made to say, "The floods assail the heavens." [5] Early missionaries thought they had found in the account of this flood a reference to that described in the book of Genesis. That, of course, is impossible. Yao asked his ministers to recommend some one to assist him in controlling the waters. They proposed the name of K'un, but Yao was unwilling to appoint him, saying, "He disregarded my orders and tries to injure his peers." [6] The ministers insisted, and Yao gave him a trial. But after nine years the situation was not improved. When Shun came to the regency he made a tour of the kingdom and saw how unsuccessful K'un's work had been. He therefore dismissed him and sent him into exile, where he died. The son of the unsuccessful engineer was then put in charge of the work. His name was Wen-ming, but he is known to the world as Yü the Great, Yü being his posthumous title. The young man no doubt profited by his father's experiments, for after a few

[5] *Shu King*, "Canon of Yao," 3.
[6] *Ibid.*

years he had drained the water from the lowlands and had improved the river channels. Legend has been busy with his work, which it greatly exaggerates. If we were to accept the accounts given of its extent, we should have to believe that new channels had been created for the streams by cutting gorges through the mountains by unaided human labor, and that thousands of miles of dikes had been constructed along the banks of the Yellow, Huai, Han, and Yangtze rivers. But at the time under consideration China was a small state in the Yellow River Valley and it is sufficient praise for Yü to say that he succeeded in delivering the country, for a time at least, from the danger of floods, a work which has had to be repeated a great many times since his day.

In 2258 Yao died, and Shun, as the custom was, retired for three years to accomplish the mourning for his predecessor. The people, too, mourned his death. "Within the four seas all instruments of music were hushed."[7] This period of mourning gave the people an opportunity, if they so desired, to place Tanshu, the son of Yao, upon the throne instead of Shun, but they called for Shun. Accordingly, on the first of the new year after the close of the mourning period he offered the imperial sacrifices which were reserved for the ruler to make, and thus assumed the government in his own name. He established his capital at P'ufan in southwestern Shansi and chose earth as the element emblematic of his rule. He gave Tanshu a fief and bestowed one also upon his own unworthy half-brother, Hsiang. The latter, however, was sent to the southern frontier, so that his gift was really a sort of sentence to exile. Tanshu was required to keep up the sacrifices to his father, so that we may assume that ancestor worship was already an established institution at that time. Shun introduced a number of reforms in the government. He is credited with the establishment of a custom of requiring the feudal lords to come to court once a year for four years, and that of having the ruler on the fifth year make a tour of the kingdom to see with his own eyes how things were being done.[8]

[7] *Shu King*, "Canon of Shun," 4.

[8] During the late Manchu Dynasty some of the Mongol princes came to court every year, but most of the vassal states sent missions once in four years; others once in three or five years. During the reigns of the earlier monarchs occasional tours of the provinces were made by the emperors, but the cost to the people was so great that the Ministers discouraged them.

He also revised the penal code to the extent of providing exile as a substitute, when circumstances justified, for the very severe punishments stipulated in the law. It is said, too, that he established schools in all the fiefs and a higher school at the capital. At his palace gate a drum was placed, and a bulletin board beside it. Any subject was privileged to write a complaint upon the board and call attention to it by beating the drum.[9]

When Shun was ninety-four years of age he selected the engineer Yü as his successor, following the precedent, said to have been set by Yao, of choosing some one not connected with the royal family. Yü politely declined, as would be expected in China, but finally accepted and served as Regent during the remainder of Shun's life. But it was not until sixteen years later that he became sole ruler, for Shun lived to be one hundred and ten years of age according to the record, and Yü, after keeping the three years' mourning, was already ninety-three years of age when, in 2205 B.C. the scepter was placed in his hand.

Yü the Great

Yü was reputed to be the offspring of a miraculous conception. His mother, startled by a falling star, swallowed a pearl. It was common in ancient China to identify the great men with stars that had descended to earth and become incarnated. Many cities claim the honor of having been the birthplace of Yü, but none of these traditions are trustworthy. He is regarded as one of the greatest of Chinese heroes. In praise of him, it is said that his voice gave the keynote to the musical scale; his foot became the standard of length and his body the unit of weight. Although he repeatedly passed his own door while he was engaged in the work of reclaiming the fields from the floods, for thirteen years he did not enter the house. His own home was very humble, yet he spent vast sums in the construction of dikes and ditches and canals.

While he was still in the service of Shun he was sent to suppress a rebellion among the Miao, a race of aborigines

[9] The custom of placing a drum at the gate of the *yamen* has been continued to our own day, and many tales are told of appeals made in this way by the poor against the extortion of underlings.

not unlike our American Indians. They gave the early Chinese settlers much the same sort of trouble as the savages of America did to the pioneers here. The Miao still maintain their separate organizations in southwestern China, where there are more than seventy different tribes of them. The section of the *Shu King,* known as the "Counsels of Yü," tells us that this war made by Yü upon the Miao lasted for thirty years and still they were unconquered. A man named Yi came to the assistance of Yü with this sage advice: "It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride loses; humility wins. This is Heaven's way. Real sincerity will move even the gods; how much more a Miao chieftain." [10] Yü accepted the advice. He withdrew his army and devoted himself to works of peace. In seventy days, so the record says, the Miao chieftain made his submission. Such a theory of peaceful conquest is thoroughly Chinese, but it was also substantially that of William Penn.

A curious tale is told of Yü's humility. On one of his tours of the kingdom, in the year 2201 B.C., he met a criminal being led to the place of punishment. Yü descended from his car and asked him some questions. As the ruler talked, the tears fell from his eyes. His attendants were astonished and said: "This man is a wicked criminal. Why do you weep for him?" The monarch replied: "In the days of Yao and Shun the people did as their sovereign desired. In my time every man does that which is right in his own eyes. It is my fault; I am responsible. Therefore I weep." This has always been among the Chinese the generally accepted view of the responsibility of the government. Even famine and flood have been charged to the wickedness of the rulers, but there is reason for that if the dikes are not kept in repair or if the government fails to provide the roads and transportation necessary to the distribution of food. That drought and pestilence are sent upon the people in punishment of the sins of the ruler, however, does not accord with one's sense of justice. The Confucian teaching is that the virtuous example of the sovereign will transform the people. "When the wind blows, the grass bends." Therefore the ruler is responsible for disorder. Another legend tells us that on one occasion Yü was crossing the river when a great dragon lifted his boat and his attend-

[10] *Shu King,* "Counsels of the Great Yü," 3.

ants were frightened. The monarch preserved a dignified attitude and said: "It was from Heaven that I received a mandate to serve the people. I live by the will of God; I shall die when it pleases Him. What can a dragon do to me!" The dragon, in chagrin, plunged beneath the waves and disappeared. Yü ruled in his own name from 2205 to 2198 B.C. Metal was the element that represented his house. His capital was in southwestern Shansi.

In the year 2198 B.C. he held a meeting of the feudal lords. One of them arrived late. The ruler put him to death, which seems rather severe punishment for tardiness. He was evidently getting testy. He was old and feeble and died during this same meeting. His grave is shown near Shaohsing in Chekiang, but there is no proof of its genuineness.

When he was dead the Prime Minister, Yi, retired from office, that Yü's son might take the government, if the people should so desire. The people attached themselves to Yü's son, the historian says, and were indifferent to the retirement of Yi. Thus the son succeeded to the throne and a hereditary monarchy was established. The dynasty is known as the Hsia, the name of the fief that Yao had conferred upon Yü. Some writers have been disposed to blame Yü for establishing his family upon the throne instead of imitating the example of Yao and Shun. Mencius was one day asked whether he regarded the criticism as just. He replied: "No; the kingdom is for the sage, when Heaven gives it to him. When Yi withdrew in favor of Yü's son, the feudal lords who came to court, and all who had any suits at law, addressed themselves not to Yi but to Ch'i, the royal son, saying, 'This is our sovereign's son.' So, too, in their songs the people did not chant the praises of Yi, but of Ch'i, saying, 'He is the son of our sovereign.' Tanshu, son of Yao, was unworthy. Shangchün, son of Shun, was also unworthy. Shun had assisted Yao; Yü had assisted Shun. During long years they had both done much for the benefit of the people. But Ch'i was wise and worthy to succeed Yü and capable of continuing his work. Yi had assisted Yü but a few years only and did not deserve much from the people. It was Heaven that was responsible for the situation; man had nothing to do with it. That which happens of itself without anyone's doing it, that is the work

of Heaven. That which comes to pass without man's action, that is caused by God." [11]

Mencius also denied that Yao had given the kingdom to Shun.[12] It was Heaven, he said, that had given the power to Shun. He explained that Yao might present Shun to Heaven, but could not cause Heaven to make him ruler. He caused Shun to preside over the sacrifices, and the spirits were well pleased. He caused him to preside over the affairs of the people, and the people were satisfied and well pleased. This to Mencius was proof that Heaven had given Shun the kingdom, for he said, "It is written in the Great Declaration,[13] 'Heaven sees as the people see; Heaven hears as the people hear.'" It astonishes us to find Mencius uttering such a democratic sentiment, but it was much older in China than the days of Mencius. In a portion of the *Shu King,* or Classic of History, called "The Counsels of Kaoyao," the Minister of Justice, Kaoyao in 2250 B.C. is represented as saying: "Heaven sees and hears as the people see and hear." [14] In another section of the *Shu King,* "The Great Declaration," the founder of the Chou Dynasty also quoted it in justification of his act in leading the rebellion that overthrew the House of Shang. Thus we may say that as early as fifteen hundred years before Rome was founded the Chinese were uttering the equivalent of the Latin saying, *"Vox populi, vox dei."*

Yü is said to have increased the number of schools and to have established homes for the aged. By sumptuary legislation he limited the use of carriages. He took tithes from the produce of the fields. In his courtyard there was not only a drum, as was kept there by Shun, but there were four other instruments, upon sounding which the people might make known their desires. Upon the supports of these instruments he engraved these words: "Those who want instruction may beat the drum; those who seek justice may strike the bell; those who have public business, the cymbal; those who are in distress, the musical stone; and those who have other affairs, the tambourine." It is reported that he was kept so busy by the calls upon his time that he could not take a bath or comb

[11] Mencius, bk. v, pt. i, ch. vi.
[12] *Ibid.,* ch. v.
[13] The Great Declaration is a section of the *Shu King,* "Books of Chou," 1.
[14] *Shu King,* "Counsels of Kaoyao," 3.

his hair without two or three interruptions, and he never had a quiet meal.

It was during his reign, according to the record, that a man named Iti invented intoxicating liquor. Yü tasted it and thought it good, but he said, "This would ruin the state." So he forbade its manufacture and banished the inventor. It was the first prohibition law.

Hereditary Monarchy

Yü's son, Ch'i, was already eighty-three years of age when he ascended the throne. One noble refused to acknowledge him. Upon that noble, Ch'i made war. The first document in the *Shu King* that is contemporaneous with the events which it describes is the speech that Ch'i addressed to his army in that war. Among other things he said: "You who obey my orders shall be rewarded before the spirits of my ancestors, and you who disobey will be put to death before the altar of the guardian spirits of the land and I will put to death your children also." [15] This was in keeping with the spirit of the age everywhere in Asia. Vicarious punishment for certain crimes was common in China until the revision of the code in A.D. 1905. Yet Shun, two generations before Ch'i's accession, so we are assured, had endeavored to ameliorate the code and to abolish vicarious punishment.[16]

Although Yü may not be to blame for the succession of his son to power, the precedent became an unfortunate one. Ch'i was succeeded by his son and the throne became hereditary in that family. This was the founding of the Hsia Dynasty. The result was that which has been seen in all lands where hereditary monarchy has been established. Vigorous and capable fathers are often succeeded by weak and dissipated sons. Ch'i's son "did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord." The dynasty gradually became degenerate and was overthrown. A wise man has said, "Behold with how little wisdom the world is governed!" There are many illustrations of this truth, but none more convincing than the institution of hereditary monarchy. What could be more stupid than to

[15] *Shu King,* "Speech at Kan."
[16] *Shu King,* "Counsels of the Great Yü," 2.

believe that a man is fit to govern because he is the son of one who may have governed well?

After a period of 439 years, extending from the accession of Yü to the overthrow of Kuei, a descendant in the fourteenth generation, the House of Hsia gave way to that of Shang, the head of which was the most powerful lord in the kingdom.

The Shang Dynasty

The Shang Dynasty ruled China from 1766 to 1122 B.C. The *Shu King* contains eleven documents relating to this period, written by contemporaries. The Dynasty was established by T'ang, the lord of Shang, whose seat was in what is now the eastern part of modern Honan. The Shangs as we have seen, were more anciently located in the valley of the Wei River near the site of the present capital of Shensi, but for some reason had removed to the region where T'ang was living when the Hsia Dynasty was overthrown.

The last monarch of a fallen dynasty finds no mercy with the Chinese historian. The loss of a throne is to him the proof of a lack of virtue. The accepted principle of the Chinese philosophy of history is that Heaven blesses and prospers the good and visits calamity upon the wicked. The monarch lost his throne: therefore, the monarch must have been wicked. It only remains to search for all the evidences of vice and cruelty on the part of such a monarch and, by skillful coloring, to magnify these rumors and bury the unfortunate ruler beneath a page of vituperation.

Thus Kuei, the last monarch of the Hsia Dynasty, is represented as a monster of iniquity, and, after his death, was stigmatized as Chieh—*i.e.*, "The Cruel." Yet it is impossible to believe that any human being could have been so depraved and dissipated as Kuei is said to have been and still have retained the physical vigor and extraordinary strength which the historian tells us he possessed.

In contrast with this tyrant, T'ang is pictured as a model of humanity and generosity. His kindness extends even to animals. The people from all sides flock to his standard. He feels that he is called of Heaven to punish the wasteful and cruel tyrant. He was, no doubt, a man of wisdom and of

excellent character, and when such a man espouses the cause of revolution its chances of success are greatly increased. He won the affections of the people by his practical efforts to relieve their distress. Mencius tells us that when he sent relief to the people in the east, those in the west would say, "Why does he make us last?" So said the people on the north when he aided those in the south. These were not his own subjects, but those of neighboring states, whose rulers neglected them. Mencius by this example illustrated his dictum that to get the state you must get the people, for Mencius said, "The people are the foundation of the state." T'ang won the hearts of the people and the revolt was successful. Still at times he was troubled by the fear that his name would be handed down to posterity as that of a disloyal subject. His fears were quieted by his Ministers who assured him that he was acting under the mandate of Heaven. How otherwise could he have succeeded?

Water was the element chosen to represent his dynasty, and his capital was fixed at his old home in Po, in modern eastern Honan. Subsequently his successors moved it to the north of the Yellow River, where various cities at different times became the seat of government.

A Great Famine

The reign of T'ang lasted but twelve years, and during seven of those years the country was grievously afflicted by famine. It began with a drought in the second year of his reign. It was no doubt one of those droughts that have periodically afflicted the Yellow River Valley through all the centuries that have passed. Such a drought and famine decimated the population of that region in A.D. 1877 and 1878 and more recently in 1920 and 1921. In T'ang's day and many times since the afflicted people sold their children to save their lives. On the advice of a Minister of State, T'ang issued large numbers of copper coins to make money more plentiful with which to buy food. This is the first mention in Chinese history of the use of coins. In the seventh year of short crops and great distress it was noised abroad that a human victim was needed to avert the wrath of Heaven. T'ang, so we are told, decided to offer himself as that victim. He fasted, cut off

his hair and nails, was dressed in rushes like a sacrificial victim, and was taken in a cart drawn by white horses to a mulberry grove, where he confessed his sins and prayed for mercy upon the people. Before he had done praying, the historian says, the rain fell in torrents and the drought was ended.

A Wise Minister

The success of T'ang's revolt was undoubtedly due to the assistance given by his Prime Minister, Yi Ying, whose advice was taken on all occasions. This wise man survived his master and was chief counselor to T'ang's grandson, who succeeded the founder of the new dynasty. The old man reminded the youthful monarch that it was neglect of the welfare of the people that led to the downfall of the Hsia Dynasty, and that a similar disaster would overtake the house of Shang if the ruler neglected the duties of his high position. "The favor of God is not unchangeable," he said. "Do good, He sends down blessings a hundredfold; do evil and He visits with a hundredfold calamity." [17] On another occasion he told the king, "The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered; they accept only those of the sincere." [18] The name of this grandson was T'aichia. The syllable *chia* is represented by the first character in the Chinese cycle of ten. At that period the cycle was used to mark the days. There was then apparently a ten-day period. It is significant that each of the rulers of the House of Shang had in his name one of these cyclical characters. This may have been due to a custom of incorporating in the name the cyclical character of the birthday, much as in some European countries today a child takes as part of his name the name of the saint whose fête day in the calendar is that of the infant's birth.

Decadence and Downfall

The Shang Dynasty followed the usual path from glory to ignominy. In 1401 B.C. the ruler was P'ankeng. The country was not prosperous. P'ankeng removed the capital back to

[17] *Shu King,* "Instructions of Yi," 4.
[18] *Shu King,* "T'ai Chia," section iii, 1.

its original site at Po, the old home of T'ang, and changed the name of the dynasty to Yin, or "Flourishing." "What's in a name?"

Much, according to Chinese belief. Confucius on one occasion, when asked about reforms, said that the first thing to do was to change the names of things. But he had a specific case in mind. A usurper was ruling the state. Confucius meant merely that a usurper ought to be called a usurper, not a king. But later Chinese have sometimes taken his words too literally and in the period of reform in A.D. 1902-1910 there was a fever of change. Old institutions were given new names, as though that would change their character. Doubtless P'ankeng, like many more modern people, was superstitious and believed that there was luck in names. The dynasty continued, however, to decline. There were a good many wars with aborigines, sometimes in the south, but more often on the northwestern frontier. It was in the reign of Hsiaoi, in 1352 B.C., that we first hear of the Duke of Chou as located on that frontier. In the period 1191-1155 B.C. a great many incursions were made by the Jung tribes, but they were driven off by the Dukes of Chou. In reward they were granted various honors and were made Guardians of the Western Marches. In 1168 B.C. the Duke of Chou was named Ch'ang, subsequently known by his posthumous title of Wen Wang, or King Wen. He was the father of the founder of the Chou Dynasty. He had made the state of Chou in the northwest the most prosperous in the kingdom. He devoted himself to the welfare of his people, was famed for his gentleness, and became popular outside his own feudal territory. The last king of the Yin or Shang Dynasty ascended the throne in 1154 B.C. Posterity has heaped upon him all the maledictions deserved by a tyrant and a brutish criminal. We may well doubt the truth of all the charges made against him, but there is probably no reason to doubt that he was extravagant, vicious, and unfit to rule. There is also, as is customary, a woman to blame. Tanchi was a beautiful concubine who ruled the ruler. Her wastefulness knew no bounds. Her castle, built by the king, was three-quarters of a mile in circuit. It was said to have a tower six hundred feet high, and the walls of her chamber were decorated with jade and rose quartz. The king's tastes were not altogether bad. He was a patron of

the arts, particularly of music. He had a museum filled with rare curios. He was also a sportsman and fond of horses and dogs. Curiously, the charge of extravagance made against him was supported by the statement that he used ivory chopsticks. His uncle, who remonstrated with him, said, "Today he needs must have chopsticks of ivory; tomorrow he will want a cup of jade, and then he will be willing to eat nothing but delicacies, such as bear's paws and panther tripe." [19] The people murmured against his wastefulness and tyranny. Duke Ch'ang expressed himself rather strongly in condemnation of this misrule and was arrested and imprisoned. It was during this period of imprisonment that he gave himself to the study of Fuhsi's trigrams and developed from them the sixty-four hexagrams which are the subject of comment in the *Yi King* and which are still used in divination. He was finally released at the request of his people, who made rich presents to the king. But Ch'ang was too powerful to be offended with impunity. He had a powerful army that had grown accustomed to fighting in the numerous frontier wars. He did not himself revolt, but his son, Fa, who succeeded him, aided by eight western tribes, overturned the tottering throne of Shang and established a new dynasty, the Chou. The Chou tribe had come from the northwest by several stages to their seat near the modern Hsianfu. They had at various times been compelled to pay tribute to the Jung and other non-Chinese tribes that were constantly causing trouble on the frontier. The names of the eight tribes that assisted Chou in its conquest of Shang are said by Chinese commentators, not to be Chinese. Some scholars are disposed to think that the Chou, too, were non-Chinese. In any case it appears that a confederation was made of these warlike tribes with the well-armed forces of Chou, and the Shang Dynasty, unable to resist such a powerful combination, was overthrown.

A Formative Period

During the long stretch of time—more than twelve centuries—which passed between the accession of Yao and the founding of the Chou Dynasty the Chinese state gradually established

[19] See Wieger, *Textes Historiques,* vol. i, p. 85. These legends find their origin in the "Bamboo Records."

itself in the Yellow River Valley and extended its boundaries to the sea on the east and the Yangtze River on the south. But its influence was felt outside its boundaries. Many aboriginal tribes were absorbed; others removed to a distance. The Ti, probably Tartar tribes, were held in check on the north, and the raiding hordes, that were possibly related to the Scythians of Herodotus, were with some difficulty driven back on the northwest. The Miao were forced toward the south, where we still find them.

Civilization

The Chinese, at their first appearance in history, in so far as the records show, were already, in the twenty-fourth century B.C., far advanced beyond the stone age culture.[20] Even in the days of Shennung, in the twenty-eighth century B.C., if we accept the traditions of the Chinese, they were engaged in agriculture. We know that there was a Minister of Agriculture in the twenty-third century. If we can accept the testimony of the *Shu King,* they were in the same century acquainted with the principal metals—gold, silver, copper, mercury, and lead, and even with iron and steel.[21] Such an early use of iron would be very remarkable. The time would be 2200 B.C. The Greeks traced its origin in Crete to about 1500 B.C. We are sure of the use of iron during the reign of K'ungchia of the Hsia Dynasty, that is to say, before 1844 B.C. Another notice of iron is made in the *Shu King* under the date 1324 B.C., when weapons of steel, sharpened with whetstones, are mentioned in the documents of that period.[22] Is it possible that when the "Tribute of Yü" was edited either during the Shang Dynasty or at the commencement of the Chou, the mention of iron may have been interpolated in the earlier work? It does not seem likely, for iron is not assigned to the same region as in the account of the reign of K'ungchia. In the latter it was in a region now included in the province of Honan. In the "Tribute of Yü" it is listed for Liang Chou,

[20] Hirth, *Ancient History of China,* p. 236, suggests 2700-2000 B.C. as neolithic.

[21] *Shu King,* "Tribute of Yü," 9.

[22] *Shu King,* "Charge of Yueh," section i, 2. For the reference to the time of K'ungchia, see Wieger, *Textes Historiques,* vol. i, p. 59.

where, indeed, for many centuries it was worked, and, since this region was not included in the empire when the documents were edited, it is difficult to admit that the mention could have been an interpolation. The knowledge of its presence there must have been preserved in some old document that had been transmitted from that earlier age when Liang Chou was a part of the empire.

Horses are mentioned in a work that dates from the twenty-second century B.C. Other domestic animals were oxen, sheep, swine, and dogs. Dogs, indeed, were highly prized. The hen is mentioned in a book of the twelfth century B.C., but it is not certain that it was a domestic fowl. The domestic fowl, as we know, is a native of Asia and must have been domesticated at a very early date. In the mound at Anau, in central Asia, excavated by Pumpelly, there were found remains of several domestic animals, among them the horse, dog, sheep, camel, and boar. These remains antedate by more than a thousand years the period of which I am now speaking. It is quite possible, therefore, that the Chinese forefathers may have brought such animals with them from central Asia.

During the Hsia and Shang Dynasties the Chinese were engaged not only in agriculture and mining, but in important manufactures also: in weaving silk, linen, and haircloth; in dyeing in various colors—red, yellow, blue and black. For decorative purposes they used pearls, jade, and other precious stones, and the plumage of birds. They worked in ivory and wove basketry and matting. They used vessels of bronze and the armorer made bows, arrows, spears, battle-axes and shields. Of tools they had knives, hatchets, and ploughs.

They had a written language and made books of bamboo tablets, but they looked back to a time when they had used the *quipos*. Most remarkable was their knowledge of music. They had eight kinds of musical instruments, wind instruments, stringed instruments, drums, cymbals, bells, musical stones, and the rattle, all of which are still in use. Their system of music was pentatonic, and this is still the system used in the temple worship. The *Shu King* says: "Poetry is the expression of earnest thought and singing is the prolonged utterance of that expression; the notes accompany that utterance and they are harmonized themselves by the standard tubes. In this way the eight kinds of musical instruments are adjusted." This

means that pitch pipes were used to determine the notes. To make these pitch pipes and other musical instruments they must have had some considerable knowledge of mathematics. Dr. Hirth, referring to this, says: "A regular system must have been indispensable to the inventor of the Chinese musical notation, which, distasteful though it may seem to the European ear, is built up on mathematical principles claiming much deeper efforts of human thought than any of us would admit to be the case when listening to the strains of a Chinese band." [23]

For transportation they used carts drawn by horses. They did not learn to ride horseback until long after this period, when they seem to have obtained the saddle and stirrup from the Turkish or Tartar tribes. In battle they used chariots drawn by four horses hitched abreast, and carrying three men; the driver in the center, the bowman on the left, and the spearman on the right.

Government

The form of government was that of a feudal monarchy. The Chinese term for "feudal lords," literally translated, means "All the archers." Archery was regarded as a necessary accomplishment of a gentleman, and a test of character. A good shot was a straight man; a bad shot unreliable. The practice of archery was a part of a military education up to the beginning of the twentieth century of our era.

There were five grades of nobility, which corresponded to those of Europe—duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron.

Even as early as the reign of Shun there appears to have been a well-organized government. The monarch had a Premier and a Cabinet of six Ministers. The Premier was called the "Chief of the Four Mountains," referring to the four quarters of the kingdom. The six Ministries were those of Religion, Education, Agriculture, Works, Justice and Communication.[24] Besides these there were subordinate bureaus—those of Astronomy, Music, and Forestry. The ruler is called Ti in the *Shu King,* which is the modern term for "emperor,"

[23] *Op. cit.,* p. 23.

[24] According to the *Shu King,* it was the duty of the Minister of Communication to make known to the people the commands of the ruler and to report to the ruler the condition of the country. *Shu King,* pt. ii, bk. i, 5.

but its original meaning was "god." In the *Shu King* it is placed before the name and has an adjectival use. It should be translated "divine." It was probably a title conferred after death.

The ruler's robes of state were decorated with twelve emblems—the sun, moon, constellations, dragon, phœnix, and mountains upon the upper garment, and on the lower, the sacrificial cup, the aquatic plant, the flame, grain, and battle-ax, and *fu*. Each of these had an important significance. The sun, moon, and stars were borne upon the shoulders of the monarch as the vicegerent of God, for they represent the celestial powers. The dragon symbolized might and stood for the monarch, while the phœnix, or garuda, was emblematic of beauty and was appropriate to the wife of the ruler. The mountains represented the kingdom, anciently known as the "Four Mountains." The sacrificial cup recalled the priestly functions of the ruler. The aquatic plant symbolized literary elegance and perhaps referred to the monarch as head of the educational system. Grain was and is the chief food of the people, and the ruler, who ploughed the sacred field every spring, was the first of farmers. The flame represented fire, whose importance is everywhere recognized. The spirit of the furnace is one of the subordinate deities of the Confucian religion. The battle-ax, of course, marked the chief warrior, and the *fu,* an ornamental figure, possibly symbolized the beauty of the social order. These emblems continued to be worn by the emperors of China until the establishment of the Republic in A.D. 1912. Since then they have been combined in the seal of the government, indicating that the sovereignty has passed to the people. Under the empire the monarch granted to nobles of certain rank the right to wear some of these emblems, but the use of the first three—the sun, moon and constellations—was reserved for His Majesty.

Education

We are not justified in assuming that the schools, said to have been established, were largely attended, but they served to train men for the service of the state. An elementary knowledge of certain sciences was indispensable, but it was mixed with a good deal of pseudo science. They used a lunar-

solar calendar. They followed the phases of the moon, but they had discovered that neither twelve nor thirteen moons corresponded exactly with a solar year. Yao is made to say to his minister: "A round year consists of three hundred and sixty-six days." [25] They had thus approached very near to the truth. They had watched the progress of the sun through the constellations of the zodiac and they had learned also how to fix the solstices and equinoxes by the culmination at dusk of certain stars. Dr. Legge held that the passages referring to this practice could not have been interpolated, because the Chinese did not become acquainted with the precession of the equinoxes until twenty-five hundred years later, so that any attempt to calculate back to the period of Yao would have landed them in error. By the insertion of an intercalary month at irregular intervals they managed to keep the calendar fairly correct and thus enabled the farmer to depend upon it in his agricultural operations.

But the Bureau of Astronomy, which had charge of these calculations, was also a bureau of astrology. The officers were required not only to give notice of approaching eclipses of the sun and moon, but to prepare for the observance of certain rites to avert the calamities threatened, as they thought, by such phenomena. The stars, in their belief, had much to do with human affairs, and the destiny of dynasties was indicated in the heavens. Comets and meteors were especially regarded as signs for the instruction or warning of men.

> When beggars die, there are no comets seen;
> The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes.

So said Shakespeare. Such beliefs were common anciently in all lands. Even today in some Western countries people may be found who consider these unusual occurrences as signs and portents. The ancient ceremonies for the rescue of the sun and moon from the monsters that were seeking to devour them are still observed in some parts of China, and the peasant still prefers the old lunar calendar and the almanac that marks the lucky and unlucky days.

In making their astronomical observations and calculations they used a tube and a sphere, and it must be admitted that

[25] *Shu King,* "Canon of Yao," 2. One is tempted to regard this passage as an interpolation, but other evidences of astronomical knowledge tend to establish its authenticity.

they had a rather remarkable knowledge of astronomy for that early period. Their education seems to have been of a practical kind, and intended to fit each student for the work of the department to which he was assigned. Such students, of course, had, first of all, to learn to read and write the strange characters of the language. All received ethical instruction and all had to become acquainted with the ritual of court and temple in the fulfillment of which each had a part.

The Penal Code

They had a body of law and a code of punishments. The latter was very severe, as was true of most ancient codes. For serious crimes there were five recognized forms of punishment—branding on the forehead, cutting off the nose, cutting off the feet, castration, and death. It is noted in Shun's favor that he allowed banishment as a substitute for some of these severe penalties and whipping in lieu of others.

Religion

It is sometimes asserted that the ancient Chinese were monotheists. This is incorrect. They recognized a Supreme God, whom they called Shang Ti, "the Most High God," but he was like Zeus among the Greeks, a sovereign above all the spiritual powers, but not the only being that was worshiped. Even in the time of Shun, the twenty-third century B.C., they already had three rituals,[26] corresponding to the triad of beings worshiped. This triad was Heaven, Earth, and Man. The worship was addressed to God and the assisting spirits of Heaven, to Earth and the assisting spirits of this lower world, and to Man, represented for each man in his ancestors and for the state in the spirits of the great dead. Shun, we are told, sacrificed to God and to the "Six Honored Ones." These six were probably impersonations of natural forces that were regarded as ministers of the Supreme God. On the east side of the altar to Shang Ti at Peking up to A. D. 1912 there were offerings made on the middle terrace to the spirits of the sun, the North Star, the five planets, and the constellations of the Zodiac and on the west

[26] *Shu King,* "Canon of Shun," 5.

side of the same terrace similar offerings to the spirit of the moon, the master of the clouds and the spirits of the thunder, winds and rain. The "Six Honored Ones" in ancient times may have been among these. Special honor was paid, too, both in ancient and modern times, to the "Seven Directors," supposed to be the seven stars in the constellation of the Great Bear.

The worship of Earth occupied a subordinate place until about the beginning of the Chou Dynasty (1122 B.C.). From that time down to the present it has been regarded as the peer of Heaven. In its worship the spirits of the mountains, rivers, and seas apparently had a place, as in recent times. These were the beings worshiped in the second ritual. For the third there were temples and altars for sacrifices to the spirits of ancestors and the heroes of the state.

Worship was accompanied in all three rituals by music, instrumental and vocal, and by a solemn dance—that is to say, by a posturing of the body and by the waving of plumes and battle-axes. Four of the ancient hymns are preserved in the *Book of Odes*. To learn the will of God they resorted to divination, sometimes by scorching the shell of the tortoise and sometimes by casting lots with the milfoil.

Ethical Teachings

The ethics of these ancient Chinese were of a high order. Here are a few quotations from the *Shu King*:

"Accordance with the right leads to good fortune, following the opposite brings ill fortune."

"Go not to excess in pleasure. Put away evil without hesitation."

"Study to have all your purposes in accord with reason."

"Do not forsake the right to win praise of men."

"The mind of man is restless, prone to err. Its affinity with right is small."

"He who says that others are not equal to himself comes to ruin."

"The great God has conferred upon the common people a moral sense, compliance with which will keep them in the right."

"The way of Heaven is to bless the good and make the bad miserable."

"Calamities sent by Heaven may be averted; from those brought upon a man by himself there is no escape."

"Officiousness in sacrifice is called irreverence, and multiplying ceremonies leads to disorder."

"It is not the knowing, but the doing that is difficult."

It is remarkable that between the twenty-fourth and the twelfth centuries before Christ the Chinese should have developed such a high degree of civilization and adopted such lofty ideals of character. But we should remember that for centuries before the supposed migration of their forefathers from central Asia there had existed in that region flourishing cities and a great civilization. If a common written language meant communication with those centers of culture, it could not but be that the Chinese were a highly civilized people when they entered the Yellow River Valley. Our own forefathers, when they came to America, had to lead a rude life, struggling with the wilderness, with wild beasts and with savage men, yet they were not uncivilized. They brought with them the culture of Europe—its religion, philosophy, political organization, and the sciences and arts in so far as these were known. It is quite conceivable that the Chinese may have in the same way imported into the valley of the Yellow River the civilization already existing in central Asia.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	B.C.		B.C.
Yao	2357-2258	Shun	2258-2206

Hsia Dynasty

Yü	2205-2198	Timang	2014-1997
Ch'i	2197-2189	Tihsieh	1996-1981
T'aik'ang	2188-2160	Tipuchiang	1980-1922
Chungk'ang	2159-2147	Tichiung	1921-1901
Tihsiang	2146-2119	Tichin	1900-1880
Hancho (Usurper)	2119-2079	Tik'ungchia	1879-1849
Shaok'ang (son of Tihsiang)	2079-2058	Tikao	1848-1838
Tich'u	2057-2041	Tifa	1837-1819
Tihuai	2040-2015	Kuei (also called Chieh)	1818-1766

SHANG DYNASTY

T'ang	1766-1754	Nankeng	1433-1409
T'aichia	1753-1721	Yangchia	1408-1402
Wuting	1720-1692	P'ankeng	1401-1374
T'aikeng	1691-1667	Hsiaohsin	1373-1353
Hsiaochia	1666-1650	Hsiaoi	1352-1325
Yungchi	1649-1638	Wuting	1324-1266
T'aimou	1637-1563	Tsukeng	1265-1259
Chungting	1562-1550	Tsuchia	1258-1226
Waijen	1549-1535	Linhsin	1225-1220
Hot'anchia	1534-1526	Kengting	1219-1199
Tsui	1525-1507	Wui	1198-1195
Tsuhsin	1506-1491	T'aiting	1194-1192
Wuchia	1490-1466	Tii	1191-1155
Tsuting	1465-1434	Chouhsin	1154-1122

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CHAPTER III

THE CLASSICAL AGE

The Chou Dynasty, 1122-256 B.C.

Chou has profited by the experience of two preceding dynasties. How courteous and elegant are all its ways! I am for the House of Chou.

—Confucius.

The palace an orgy of lust! The countryside a hunting preserve! Intoxicating drink! Lascivious music! Lofty roofs and carved walls! These have ever been the prelude to ruin.

—The Shu King.

FOR eight hundred and sixty-six years the House of Chou ruled China. It was the longest-lived dynasty in the whole history of the country. In some respects the period of its rule was the most important of all. It was the period in which Chinese institutions evolved certain distinguishing characteristics. It was the period during which the greatest Chinese philosophers lived and taught, a period whose influence is still discernible in the mental and moral attitude of the race.

Ch'ang, the Duke of Chou, whose protests against the misrule of the tyrant, Chouhsin, led to the overthrow of the Shang or Yin Dynasty, did not himself live to see the triumph of his cause. His work was continued by his son, Fa, whom we know by his posthumous title of Wu Wang, or the "Martial King." Mencius said of him: "With one burst of anger Wu gave peace to the kingdom." This was made possible by the general disaffection that existed. "When the best people grow angry, disorder must cease," says the Chinese poet. Under the leadership of King Wu the rebellious vassals attacked and defeated the royal forces near the site of the modern city of Weihuifu in the province of Honan. The fallen monarch fled to his capital, donned his royal robes with all the insignia of kingship and set fire to his palace. Then, mounting a high tower he leaped into the flames. He at least had the courage

to die. His mistress who was responsible for much of the misgovernment, was seized and put to death.

Origin of Korea

Among those who had reproved the last of the Shangs for his folly was his uncle, the Viscount Chi. He was imprisoned for his temerity. After the overthrow of the tyrant, the victorious King Wu opened the prison doors and offered the Viscount a post in the new government. This was declined. Chi felt that loyalty to his ancestors would not permit him to serve under another dynasty. He asked that he might be permitted instead to remove with a few followers to the east and establish a new state. The request was granted and, according to tradition, the new state was established on the peninsula of Korea. The Koreans are accustomed to trace the origin of their state to this ancient worthy. They regard themselves as related to the Chinese, and throughout much of their history, Korea, either in whole or in part, was considered as belonging to the Chinese Empire. During the modern period, until the war of 1894 between China and Japan, Korea sent tribute regularly to Peking.

The Clemency of King Wu

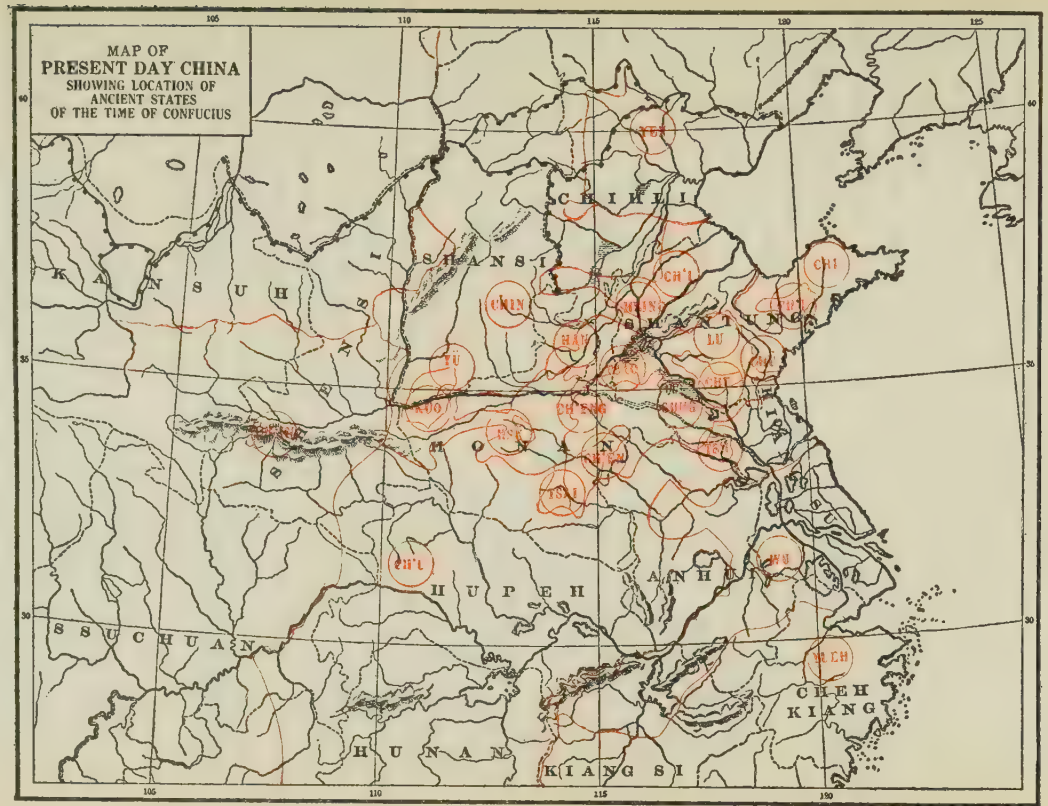
The son and heir of the last ruler of the Shang-Yin Dynasty was spared and an estate was given him for his support. This rather generous treatment of the heir of a fallen house has been a noteworthy trait of Chinese conquerors. The descendants of the Sung emperors, (A.D. 960-1279), still worship their imperial ancestors near the spot where the last ruler of that house perished. The representative of the Mongol Dynasty, a Duke, still preserves in Peking the memory of Kublai Khan and his descendants. The Marquis Chu, of the Ming Dynasty, also lives in Peking and makes the required offerings at the tombs of that dynasty north of the capital. Even the Republic, at its beginning, followed the age-old precedent and spared the life of the last Manchu monarch. The agreement of 1912 provided that he should retain his title, have a pension for his support and be given a palace for his residence. The agreement was kept until the so-called "Christian General," Feng,

seized Peking in 1924, when he deprived the Emperor of his title, reduced his pension and compelled him to give up his palace.

Territory and Government

The rule of the House of Chou at the beginning of the dynasty was confined almost entirely to the valleys of the Yellow and Huai Rivers; but, as the centuries passed, its nominal sway was extended until it embraced the greater part of what we are accustomed to call China Proper. We are told that the kingdom of Chou contained some eighteen hundred states. This is incredible, but, if we remember that these were city states, such as Athens and Sparta were of old, the statement will not seem so extravagant. The people lived in the towns, as they still do for the most part. Outside the town was a region devoted to cultivated fields. Surrounding these was an area used for pasture, and beyond the pasture lands were the woodlands or wilds.[1] Over each of these city states there was placed a feudal lord whose rank determined the extent of the territory allotted to him. Anciently the kingdom had been divided into nine provinces, the governors of which had been appointed by the throne. This arrangement enabled the monarch to check the ambitions of the feudal lords. There were nine tripods, upon each of which there was a map of one of these provinces. These nine tripods were regarded as emblems of the royal power. It was an unfortunate feature of the Chou constitution that the provincial governments were given up. At the beginning of the dynasty the feudal lords were nearly all related to the King, and this tie of blood and the sense of obligation to the founder of the dynasty were powerful incentives to loyalty. But as time went by these ties grew weaker. Relationship became distant. The feudal lords were less concerned to support the royal house. The larger states absorbed the territories of the smaller. New states were organized on the frontiers. The kingdom broke up into a number of mutually hostile states which ignored the King to whom they owed a nominal allegiance. But this sad condition of affairs did not appear until several centuries had passed. Under King Wu and his immediate successors the kingdom

[1] Mencius, Bk. i, pt. 1, ch. iv, 4.



FROM POTT'S "A SKETCH OF CHINESE HISTORY"
COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

flourished greatly. He established his capital in the home of his ancestors near the modern Hsianfu. He chose wood among the five elements as the emblem of the dynasty. Centuries afterward it was decided that fire was the element and the color red. The royal territory was known as the Middle Kingdom and was governed directly by the Court. The King was assisted by a Privy Council consisting of three Grand Dukes and three Deputy Grand Dukes, and there were six ministries, substantially the same as existed under the late Manchu Dynasty prior to A.D. 1902. The officers of the central government were assigned lands in the royal territory for their support, but these were not hereditary fiefs. They reverted to the throne when the office was vacated.

The five orders of nobility were retained as under the preceding dynasty. The nobles paid tribute in kind and were required to present themselves periodically at court. In their own territories they enjoyed almost complete independence. Each had his own little court with its fixed ceremonial in imitation of that of the King. There were sumptuary laws that prescribed in detail the dress and decorations of the noble, as well as the size and furnishings of his palace and his ancestral temple, together with the court etiquette and religious ritual. Any violation of these laws was regarded as a serious offence.

As a substitute for the abandoned provincial organization, two dukedoms were established, one in the east, the other in the west, each presided over by a Grand Duke, who exercised authority over the vassals in his region. The brother of the King, bearing the ancient title of Duke of Chou, held the eastern dukedom, living in the state of Lu, in which long afterward Confucius was born. The great duke and the greater sage lie buried in the same cemetery just outside the North Gate of Chüfu (Küfu) in Shantung.

Invention of the Compass

During the reign of Wu's successor, about 1115 B.C., some envoys from the distant land of Yüeh, the modern Annam, were presented with the "south-pointing needle," as the magnetic needle was called. This indicates an early acquaintance with the magnetic compass on the part of the Chinese. But they were not the first to use it at sea. The Arabs and Hindus,

who controlled the earliest sea-born commerce of China, very probably learned from the Chinese of the peculiar character of the "south-pointing needle" and were thus led to invent the mariner's compass.

The Stone Drums

Another incident in the early history of the Chou period is of some interest to archæologists. Some time between 827 and 782 B.C. King Hsüan made a hunting expedition, an account of which was inscribed on stone cylinders, which from their shape were called stone drums. These were discovered about A.D. 600 near the site of the ancient city of Loyang. In the year 1126 of our era they were removed to Peking where they may still be seen in the Temple to Confucius.

Decline of the Royal Power

The city of Loyang, just mentioned, in the year 769 B.C. became the capital. The removal of the seat of government from the Wei Valley to Loyang, near the site of the present Honanfu, was caused by the frequent raids of barbarous tribes on the northwestern frontier. In one of these raids the King had been killed. A new state was growing up on that frontier, called Ch'in, from which we get the name China. Its people were no doubt in part at least of barbarian origin, but it had adopted Chinese civilization. The ruler of this state became a vassal of the King of China and was appointed Guardian of the Western Marches to hold the raiding tribes in subjection. During the Shang Dynasty the Dukes of Chou had held this post and through their constant border warfare had developed such military strength as to enable them to overthrow the House of Shang. In time, as we shall see, the state of Ch'in was to serve the House of Chou in similar fashion. There were two other border states that by the constant struggle with barbarian neighbors became skilled in warfare. These were Chin[2] in the north and Ch'u in the southwest. Eventually these two states were to become rivals of Ch'in in the contest for the mastery of the kingdom.

[2] The Chinese written symbols for *Chin* and *Ch'in* are not at all similar. The initial Ch in Chin has the sound of J.

By the commencement of the seventh century B.C., the disintegrating influence of feudalism had become quite marked. The device of two regional chiefs, one in the east, the other in the west, to hold the King's vassals in check had failed of its purpose. It merely served to create a rivalry among other vassals to reach a position of supremacy over their fellow feudatories. In 684 B.C. the Marquis of Ch'i, a state on the eastern coast, schemed to make himself such a leader. The Marquis was a lineal descendant of the kings of the Hsia Dynasty. He appointed Kuan I-wu to be his Premier. The latter saw that in order to make Ch'i the dominant state it would first of all be necessary to increase its wealth. He proposed the establishment of two state monopolies—one for the manufacture of salt, the other for the manufacture of iron. He reasoned that every man, woman and child had to have salt, and that every woman had to have a needle and most men had to use some implement of iron. By monopolizing the manufacture of salt and iron, therefore, he believed he could secure a large revenue for the Marquis. He was right. Ch'i became the most wealthy and the most powerful of the states. This was the origin of that salt gabelle which is still one of the principal sources of China's revenue.

Ch'i's Leadership

The Marquis of Ch'i recognized the King as the nominal head of the nation and particularly as its high priest, who alone was qualified to offer the sacrifices to the supreme God, but the real power was in possession of Ch'i. In 680 B.C. he invited a number of his neighbors to a conference. Four only sent representatives. These were induced to sign a treaty, which later was imposed upon others. Certain states that declined were punished. Thus the kingdom was overawed, and by 667 B.C. the King himself was compelled to recognize Ch'i's leadership and give approval to its measures. The treaty that was signed contained six articles. Of these, three deserve mention. The signatories agreed not to put a noble to death without first consulting the King. They agreed moreover not to change the water courses nor to obstruct the transport of grain, that is to say, by tariff restrictions. Lastly

they entered into a solemn covenant to maintain peace one with another.

Ch'i's Successors

Kuan I-wu, the shrewd minister, died in 644 B.C., and his master followed him two years later. This ended Ch'i's leadership, and a struggle began between three of the other states for possession of the hegemony. These were Sung, whose rulers were descendants of the Shang kings, Ch'u, a state semi-barbarian in its origin, located in the southwest, and Chin on the northern frontier. The last-mentioned secured the prize, and held it for more than one hundred years. Sung's power was negligible, but throughout the whole period of Chin's ascendancy Ch'u was a thorn in the flesh, and the rising state of Ch'in was also a growing menace. In 594 B.C. when Ch'u invaded one of the central states, the Marquis of Chin would have attacked his rival, but his own minister dissuaded him, saying: "Long as your whip may be, it can't reach the horse's belly. Heaven is giving the power to Ch'u; we can't fight against God. Honor and disgrace are in the mind. The rivers and lakes have to receive much filth. The thickets on the mountains conceal poisonous creatures. The finest gems have flaws. Even princes of states at times must eat dirt. You had better wait." But it was a duty of the leading state to protect those that were weak and small, and this attitude of indifference on Chin's part created a great deal of disaffection. "Waiting for help from Chin," men said, "is like waiting for the Yellow River to become clear. How old you'll be!" Chin was no longer fit to lead. Its rulers had become unwarlike and effeminate. The decline of a great family in three generations was illustrated by a proverb: "His father split fire wood: his son can't even carry a lily." In 562 B.C., however, the Marquis of Chin did for a moment muster courage to fight. Accompanied by the forces of ten other states, he attacked a city that was tributary to Ch'u. Our only interest in the fight is in the fact that the father of Confucius, who was a military officer, distinguished himself in the attack. The people of the city, apparently with the hope of entrapping a part of the besiegers, opened one of the gates. The troops commanded by Confucius' father rushed in, when

the warder in the tower over the gate dropped the portcullis. The invaders would have been captured had not the father of Confucius caught the falling portcullis. He was noted for his great strength and held the heavy gate above his head while his men escaped.

A League to Preserve Peace

One of the most interesting events of the Chou period was the formation of a league of the states to prevent war. In the year 545 B.C., when Confucius was still a small child six years of age, a minister of the state of Sung, named Hsiang Hsü impressed with the thought of the cruelty and foolishness of war, as so many are in our own day, decided to attempt to make an end of it. He was well acquainted with the leading ministers in several states and presented his scheme to them. He began with Chin, the nominal leader, whose Prime Minister said: "War is a scourge of the people. It consumes our wealth and it brings utter ruin to the small states. We must consent to any scheme that aims at its abolition, even though many may say that it cannot be done." He pointed out, too, that, if Chin declined to enter the proposed league, Ch'u would agree to the plan and capture the hearts of the people. Chin agreed to the proposal, therefore, and was followed by Ch'u. The ministers of Ch'i at first opposed the plan, but one of their wise men reminded the obstructionists that refusal would create disaffection among their own people. So Ch'i agreed and was followed by the state of Ch'in. Delegates from fourteen states met at the capital of Sung and signed the covenant. Two months, however, were consumed in the negotiations, for the powerful states were all mutually jealous and wasted much time maneuvering for precedence. The weakness of the covenant was that it gave these great states a privileged position and relieved them of certain obligations put upon the weaker states. The covenant was renewed five years later, but soon lost its force and utterly failed of its announced purpose to put an end to war.

Hsiang Hsü, the author of the scheme, was very proud of his work and was rewarded with the gift of sixty cities by the ruler of Sung. The statesman, elated by his success, exhibited

to a friend the patent that had been conferred upon him. The friend, however, reproached Hsiang Hsü, saying: "It is only by their armies that Chin and Ch'u can keep the small states in order. . . . Who can do away with instruments of war? It is by them that the lawless are kept under control. Your scheme is a delusion. No offence could be greater than to lead the states astray with such nonsense. You ought to be glad that you have escaped punishment: why should you be rewarded." With this he tore the patent to pieces. Hsiang Hsü was fain to admit that he was in the wrong and declined the reward.

Renewal of Strife

War soon broke out again between various states. Ch'u gradually obtained possession of all the territory south of the Yangtze. Its great rival in the north, the state of Chin, was torn asunder by internal strife. In 376 B.C. three of its nobles divided the territory among themselves. Throughout the kingdom generally, however, the reverse process took place. The smaller states were absorbed by the larger. The Chou King still held his court at Loyang and governed the Middle Kingdom surrounding it, but he was treated with scant respect. All the states, in the fourth century B.C., were calling themselves kingdoms and their rulers, kings. Confucius in his day had lamented the disorders of his time and had condemned the disloyalty of the feudal lords who had assumed the powers and privileges that belonged to the House of Chou. He looked backward and harped on the virtues of the past. He would fain have restored the glory that was Chou. He died disappointed in 479 B.C.[3] A little more than one hundred years later, in 371 B.C., another great teacher arose, Mencius, who, although regarding himself as a disciple of Confucius, held an entirely different attitude toward the struggle that was going on. He looked forward, not backward. He saw the impossibility of restoring the power and prestige of the decadent House of Chou. He hoped for a new dynasty. His sympathies were with the common people. "The people are the foundation of the state," he said. "The national altars

[3] Confucius was born in 551 B.C.

are second in importance, the monarch is the least important of all." He boldly reproved the rulers of his day for their oppression, their indifference to the welfare of the people, and their extravagance and dissipation. He believed that the ruler who would make the welfare of his subjects his chief concern could easily take possession of the whole country. "The hearts of the people," he said, "will turn to him who does not love to kill." But he died in 288 B.C. without seeing the fruition of his hopes, and the reunion of the states was not accomplished in the manner that he had expected. Deliverance came from an unexpected quarter.

Ch'in's Ambition

Two of the states that struggled for power in the fourth century B.C. surpassed the others in strength. These were Ch'u in the southwest and Ch'in in the northwest, both semi-barbarian in their origin and regarded somewhat contemptuously by the conservative and more purely Chinese states.

Ch'in had taken but little part in the civil strife that had filled two centuries. It held a position that was naturally very strong. Its territory was protected by a barrier of mountains on the south and southeast, and had a natural moat in the Yellow River on the east and north. Its population, a mixture of Chinese and non-Chinese tribes of the northwest, was for that reason less bigoted, more tolerant and more adaptable. In the fourth century B.C., its ruler compelled the puppet King at Loyang rather unwillingly to recognize Ch'in's predominance and acknowledge its claim to the leadership or Presidency of the states. The more typically Chinese states were amazed by the audacity of the upstart and for a moment forgot their mutual animosity in order to combine against Ch'in. The rulers of Ch'in, however, were no longer barbarian. They had taken into their service some of the wisest statesmen in China. Many important reforms had been introduced, which tended to improve the welfare of the people. In 333 B.C. a six-power alliance against Ch'in was formed among the older states. Yet the very next year when Ch'in crossed the Yellow River and invaded one of the states into which Chin had been divided, its five allies were unable to

save it because they had fallen to quarreling among themselves. A minister of Chao, the state attacked, had warned his Prince of the folly of dissension by a parable that has since repeatedly done duty in China. "This morning," he said, "I saw an oyster open its shell to the sun. A kingfisher pounced upon it. The oyster snapped its shell shut upon the beak of the kingfisher. The kingfisher said, 'If you don't let go today or tomorrow, there'll be a dead oyster here.' The oyster replied, 'If I don't let go today or tomorrow there'll be a dead kingfisher here.' Just then a fisherman came along and bagged them both. I very much fear that Ch'in is our fisherman." He was right, Chao was annexed by Ch'in.

The chief rival of Ch'in was Ch'u with its vast empire south of the Yangtze. By intrigue, by alliances and by trial of battle Ch'u sought to check the victorious progress of Ch'in, but in vain. King Huai of Ch'u was invited in 299 B.C. to a conference on the frontier. He went in spite of the advice of his chief minister, was kidnapped and imprisoned. He died in confinement, and the minister who advised against his going was so chagrined by his loss of influence that he drowned himself in Tungting Lake. This minister, Ch'ü Yüan, has become to Chinese and Japanese the model of faithfulness, and the anniversary of his drowning, the fifth day of the fifth moon, old calendar, has become one of the principal festivals of the year. It is celebrated by boat racing in remembrance of the efforts made to recover the body of the drowned man, and by eating balls of glutinous rice, such as composed the offerings made to his spirit. In the year 314 B.C. Nan, the last king of the Chou Dynasty, ascended the throne. Overawed first by one and then by another of the contending kinglets, buffeted now on this side and now on that, the unhappy scion of the ancient House of Chou at last, in 256 B.C., summoned six of the states that were nominally his feudatories to join in punishing the ambitious King of Ch'in. This only made matters worse for him, for the King of Ch'in did not wait to be attacked, but moved first, invaded the royal territory, compelled King Nan to acknowledge his wrongdoing and carried off the nine tripods that were the emblems of sovereignty. Shortly thereafter King Nan died, and thus ended the most celebrated of all dynasties of China.

Conditions of the People

Theoretically under the Chou Dynasty the law took note of every individual, prescribing for him his occupation and controlling all his movements. Even the matter of marriage was not left to his volition. Every man before thirty years of age and every maiden before twenty was required to be married. Paternalism was carried to a ridiculous extreme. The common people were grouped in nine classes according to their occupations. These classes were (1) farmers, (2) gardeners, (3) woodmen, (4) herdsmen, (5) artisans, (6) merchants, (7) women weavers of silk and linen, (8) servants and (9) unskilled laborers.[4] Each group was in charge of a superintendent who prescribed the kind and quantity of work to be done. The state sought in this way to maintain complete control of industry. How far these regulations were carried out in practice we do not know, but there can be no doubt about the entire want of freedom for the ordinary man. He was scarcely more than a domestic animal, a serf whose whole life of hard toil was spent in serving his masters. It is claimed by some of the gilds of China that they had their origin during the period of the Chou Dynasty. This is impossible of proof; but the organization of the workers of the same craft in any one locality under a common director may have led such craftmen to combine for mutual protection. Chinese gilds today, with a very few exceptions, are still local only, and their control of their members is unquestioned.

The Tithing

One very popular institution that undoubtedly had its origin during the reign of the House of Chou, is the tithing. Strictly speaking, it was not a tithing at that period, but a quinary, that is to say, an organization of households in groups of five. The group of five was the unit. Five of these groups made a *lü,* four *lü* a hundred. Five hundreds were called a *t'ang* and five *t'ang,* a *chou.* Five *chou,* that is to say, 12,500 families, made a *hsiang* or village. Each group had a headman who represented it in the next larger grouping as well as in

[4] *Chou Li,* vol. iv.

any necessary consultation with the higher authorities.[5] This device, no doubt, was originally intended to strengthen the hold of the government upon the individual. No man could leave his group without a permit, and every group was responsible for the conduct of any one of its members. Theoretically it made the taking of a census a matter of easy and rapid accomplishment. The provision of labor for public undertakings or the raising of an army for military service was an equally simple task. The order from the government had merely to be transmitted to the headmen who could at once report the number of males and females in their respective groups or produce the required number of workmen or soldiers. Theory, however, is one thing and practice another. Human nature remaining practically unchanged through all the centuries, one is able to deduce from present-day incidents that the organization of the masses was much more likely to promote popular interests than those of oppressive rulers. After a time the unit of the organization became ten households instead of five. The late Manchu Dynasty retained the institution. Ten tithings made a hundred and ten hundreds were placed under the chief of a thousand.[6] These tithings and hundreds still function much as they did in early Britain, but it must not be supposed that the grouping is accurate or the organization universal. The tithings aid the provincial and national authorities in preserving order and in collecting revenue, but they are also, like the gilds, defenders of popular rights. The headmen of the tithings are the village elders, who from antiquity have represented their neighbors in protests against the oppression and injustice of mandarindom and in resistance to the imposition of any but the customary taxes. Through these headmen the villages and city wards have been able to maintain a good degree of local self-government, provide funds for the repair of village walls and streets, for lighting and for police and the upkeep of village temple and theatre. The elders, moreover, still provide schools for children, arrange for markets and fairs and serve as justices in the settlement of village quarrels. The census-taker supplies each householder with a blank form to be posted at his door, and the headman is supposed to see that the correct number

[5] *Chou Li,* vol. iii.
[6] *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien: Shih Li,* ch. clvii.

of male and female inmates of the household is entered on the form. The card is posted at the doorway so that all the neighbors can read it and thus be able to make complaint if the return is incorrect. Yet it is well-known that the neighbors will protect one another in any deception that is practiced, rather than be tale-bearers in the interest of the officials. The number of able-bodied young men in a household was often concealed lest one or more should be summoned to labor on some distant public work for little or no remuneration or perhaps called to bear arms in some war in which the villagers felt no interest. In their own day, when Manchu males all received pensions, the list of such pensioners in a household was not infrequently padded by inclusion of the names of the dead and the unborn. We can be quite sure that the disposition of the people to protect one another in deceiving the officials was not confined to recent times. Popular rights were probably not so effectively asserted during the Chou period as in later times; but the aspiration for freedom was there and found an eloquent advocate in Mencius.

Taxation

The principal reliance of the state for revenue in ancient times appears to have been the land. The land belonged to the state. He who used it paid a tax in the form of ground rent. Theoretically the ground was allotted to cultivators in small tracts, limited to fifty *mou* under the Hsia Dynasty, seventy under the Shang, and one hundred *mou* under the Chou Dynasty.[7] These tracts were arranged in squares of three tracts on a side, *i.e.,* nine equal tracts in one square. The system was called that of the *ching* or "well" because the interior division lines of such a block of squares formed the character for well. 井 This is the character, *chin,* meaning "well" and used to indicate the method of dividing the land into nine squares. According to this plan the eight farmers on the exterior boundary were required to join together in the cultivation of the interior square whose produce was paid to the state as rent for the whole. This would seem to be a tax of one-ninth of the produce, but it was reckoned as one-tenth or a tithe, perhaps because part of the land was oc-

[7] Mencius, Bk. iii, pt. I, ch. iii, 19. A *mou* today is about one-sixth of an acre.

cupied by buildings. At any rate, although the land may have been so divided in some places, in reality during the later centuries of the period the tax was one-tenth of the produce, paid either in kind or in some equivalent recognized as a medium of exchange. The ground rent of shops in town was paid usually in rolls of cloth. The word, *pu,* "cloth" still carries among its meanings that of "money." Other sources of revenue were duties on imports and exports and taxes on sales in the markets. The monopolies of salt and iron manufacture in the state of Ch'i have already been mentioned as providing a large return to the government. The tariffs at the state boundaries were of course an obstacle to trade and in times of famine were a menace to human life by hindering the transport of grain and by increasing its price. By the treaty entered into in 680 B.C., already mentioned, a number of states agreed to except grain from the levy. During the latter part of the Chou period the corrupt rulers resorted to many devices to increase their revenues. In the fifth century B.C. the Marquis of Ch'i was taking two-thirds of the produce of the land in taxation. In addition to this heavy burden, the people in time of war had to carry others more onerous. Every *tien, i.e.,* every group of 512 families, was required to furnish for the army, one war chariot, four war horses, twelve oxen, three mailed soldiers and seventy-two foot soldiers.[8]

Interstate Relations

At the beginning of the dynasty, as we have seen, the vassals were all bound by a personal tie to the head of the state. There was and could be but one sovereign. A well-known saying was: "In the sky there is but one sun, and on earth there can be but one sovereign." The King claimed universal dominion. The vassals, on the other hand, were charged with the government of certain pieces of territory. Their authority was limited by the boundaries of their states. When, therefore, they became independent, their sovereignty differed in kind from that of the King of the Chou Dynasty. The sovereignty of these former vassals was territorial rather than personal. Thus a new political conception appeared.

[8] A *tien* was sixty-four *ching,* or squares of land, as already explained.

The several states of the Chou Kingdom differed in size and strength, yet they stood upon a plane of equality in so far as their political status was concerned. Of this equality they were very jealous. When Chin, although recognized as head of the states, attempted in 522 B.C. to intervene in a quarrel in Ch'eng over the succession to the marquisate, Ch'eng stood firmly upon its rights and would permit no dictation from without in a matter of domestic concern. The Premier said: "If the succession is to be determined by Chin, then Ch'eng ceases to be a state and becomes merely a district of Chin."

From the break-up of the Chou kingdom, then, we may date the origin in China of the theory of sovereignty as territorial. A similar evolution of political theory occurred in Europe after the downfall of the Roman Empire and from similar causes, *i.e.,* the rise to independence of vassal princes whose authority had always been limited by territorial boundaries. Today, in our Western World, the two conceptions of sovereignty continue to exist side by side. We claim as citizens of the United States all children born within our territory, thus insisting upon territorial sovereignty. Yet we also claim as American citizens children born abroad of American parents, a claim founded upon the older theory of sovereignty as personal. We find cases of dual nationality frequently occurring, causing a conflict of jurisdiction. In China's first treaty with a Western power, that with Russia in 1689, the two states each recognized the territorial sovereignty of the other, yet also claimed a limited jurisdiction over its nationals in the territory of the other. Chinese offenders in Russia were sent to China for punishment there according to Chinese law. Similarly, Russians who committed offenses in China were to be arrested by the Chinese and taken to the Russian boundary for punishment by the Russian authorities. Although each respected the territorial jurisdiction of the other, it was unwilling to permit its subjects to be punished by alien authorities or in accordance with alien law. In the eighteenth century, however, China refused to make any concession to European powers respecting the punishment of offenses committed in China. It was not until defeated in war that she consented to the establishment by foreign powers of extraterritorial jurisdiction over their citizens and subjects within her territories.

Asylum for Political Exiles

The grant of asylum to political exiles was another result of the decline of the royal power and the assertion of independence by the states. Many instances might be given. In 562 B.C. an insurrection occurred in Ch'eng. It failed to overthrow the government. One leader fled to Chin and four others to Sung. All were given protection, notwithstanding Chin's claim to the Presidency, which presumably would have justified that state in intervening to suppress rebellion.[9] In the following year, however, Chin and Sung did take action to place restriction on this habit of granting asylum to exiles by assembling representatives of eleven of the states who entered into a treaty, pledging their governments not to give protection to traitors and not to harbor criminals.[10] Men do not always agree, however, in their definition of treason, and the practice of giving asylum to political fugitives continued to be observed here and there down to the close of the Chou Dynasty.

Extradition

As for criminals, demands for their extradition had commonly been honored even before the treaty of 561 B.C. arranged for that procedure. Thus, as early as 681 B.C., the Marquis of Sung had been killed in a quarrel. The murderers fled, one to Ch'en and the other to Wei. Sung demanded their surrender and both were arrested and handed over to the officers of Sung, by whom they were put to death.[11]

Making War

Mencius says that in the *Ch'un Ch'iu,* a chronicle of the period which we are reviewing, "there is no instance given of a righteous war." [12] A righteous war, in his estimation, was one made by order of the King to punish a rebellious vassal

[9] *Ch'un Ch'iu,* Bk. ix, Year x, Tso on 8.
[10] *Ibid.,* Bk. ix, Year xi, Tso on 5.
[11] *Ibid.,* Bk. iii, Year xii, Tso on 4.
[12] Mencius, Bk. vii, pt. ii, 2:1.

and maintain the royal authority. The whole period was one of almost continuous war, but the horrors of combat were considerably mitigated by a degree of courtesy in the bearing of the belligerents toward one another. It was an age of chivalry like that which cast a glamour over mediæval Europe. "Not to await the appointed time, but attack when your enemy is in a dangerous position, is not brave," [13] said a general commanding the forces of Chin, when that state was at war with Ch'in in 614 B.C. In 596 B.C. Chin's army was routed by that of Ch'u. A chariot in flight was stalled in a rut. The pursuer refused to attack his enemy in that position and called out to him: "Take your flag staff and place it across the rut." The fleeing charioteer did so. The wheel rose out of the hole and the foeman escaped. As he did so, he called back to his pursuer: "We are not so accustomed to retreat as you are." [14]

There was very much of a Homeric character in the fighting that took place, and there was plenty of opportunity for the display of personal prowess. In 551 B.C. there was instituted an Order of Bravery, membership in which was much coveted.[15] But the courtesy of the Chinese knight, like that of the chivalry of mediæval Europe, was reserved for men of his own class. There was no real kindness shown to the common soldier. Prisoners taken were sometimes exchanged, but this usually happened only to men of quality. The common soldier, taken, was more often enslaved. Sometimes, to prevent the escape of such slaves, their feet were amputated. Crippled slaves were often employed as gate-keepers. One such prisoner from the state of Yüeh, captured by the army of Wu, was gate-keeper to the Viscount of Wu. Subsequently he was caretaker on a boat belonging to the Viscount and when the latter had occasion to visit the boat one day, the prisoner killed him with a knife.[16] It was not an unnatural revenge to take upon the man who had embittered his life.

An incident reported of a battle between Han and a neighbor state reminds us of one told in a similar style of the fighting of Joshua in Canaan. As the sun was setting and the battle was not won, the leader of the enemy held up his spear

[13] *Ch'un Ch'iu*, Bk. vi, Year xii, 7.
[14] *Ibid.*, Bk. vii, Year xii, 3.
[15] *Ibid.*, Bk. ix, Year xii, 8.
[16] *Ibid.*, Bk. ix, Year xxix, 4.

and shook it at the sun, which at once returned on its course three degrees, so it is said, thus prolonging the day.[17]

Women and the Marriage Relation

Hallam tells us that the gallantry of the Middle Ages was accompanied by a great deal of immorality among the knights and ladies of that period. The same was true of men and women of rank in the latter part of the Chou period. We have no right, however, to judge a whole people by the failings of a few. The very fact that the want of virtue in a lady of rank excited such severe comment as we find in the *Ch'un Ch'iu* indicates that the standards of conduct set were quite as high as one could desire. It was the dowagers, as a rule, among women of rank, that were more often found transgressing the conventions. With their husbands dead and their sons in power, their daughters-in-law were occupying the places once held by themselves. These dowagers, living in idleness and luxury, found in the dissipation of the court opportunity and inclination to flirt with the men of a younger generation. In 659 B.C. the dowager Marchioness of Lu had an intrigue with a high officer of the state, which became such a scandal that her brother, the Marquis of Ch'i, summoned her to return to his capital where she was put to death.[18] Generally, however, these sinners of rank were able to escape punishment. A Chinese proverb, quoted in an account of the frailty of one of these great ladies, says: "Where there is great beauty, there is great wickedness." [19]

The literature of the period shows us that women enjoyed much greater liberty than in later centuries. Prince Yin of Chin, an exile in Wei in 485 B.C., took his daughter with him when he went hunting.[20] In theory, it is true, young women were expected to remain indoors, but the rule was often ignored. Chinese commentators are greatly disturbed by the record in the *Ch'un Ch'iu* of a meeting in 645 B.C. between the youngest daughter of the Marquis of Lu and Viscount of Tseng, on which occasion she invited the young man to

[17] Giles, *History of Chinese Literature,* p. 74.
[18] *Ch'un Ch'iu,* Bk. v, Year i, 5.
[19] *Ibid.,* Bk. x, Year xxviii, 3 and 4.
[20] *Ibid.,* Bk. xii, Year xi, 7.

call upon her father, *i.e.*, at her home.[21] To a modern occidental nothing could be more natural and proper, but the Chinese are scandalized by it. The Chinese *Book of Odes* contains many pretty love ballads. The commentators are shocked to find love ballads in a collection which they believe was made by Confucius himself. They try to make us believe that such pieces are to be read as allegories. The lovelorn maiden or the deserted wife merely represents the minister of state devoted to his prince and sighing because the prince will not take the advice offered. The absent lover or faithless husband is the ruler whose favor has been lost. These commentators remind us of certain others who interpret the quatrains of Omar Khayyam as intended to teach religious truth, and others nearer home who see in the Song of Solomon, not a beautiful love poem, but a mystical tract relating to Christ and his Church. The theory as regards the Chinese *Book of Odes* is too absurd to need refutation. Confucius is to be praised for the very human interest shown in preserving these ancient ballads that throw so much light on the social condition of early China. They reveal to us the great measure of freedom enjoyed by the girls and women of that time. The pictures sketched for us in these folk songs are, as a rule, quite innocent and charm us by their naturalness. True, there were lapses from virtue then as now; but when conventions were forgotten and a child was born out of wedlock, the Chinese world was more just than ours, for it was the rule then, as in recent times in China, that the father of the child had to marry the mother, if he were unmarried, and, if he were a married man, that he had to make her his concubine. Thus mother and child were given protection and a legal status.

Marriage in China, then as now, was commonly arranged by the parents of the young people, with the aid of a marriage broker. But sometimes a young man or a young woman was found who would not accept the choice of the parents. In the year 500 B.C. Pi Wu-ts'un's father arranged a marriage for the youth with an eligible young lady. The young man refused. He was just leaving with the army of Ch'i for the war with Chin. He said to his father: "If I come back alive

[21] *Ibid.*, Bk. v, Year xiv, 2.

from this expedition, I mean to marry either Miss Kao or Miss Kuo." Unfortunately for him, he was killed in battle,[22] and probably neither Miss Kao nor Miss Kuo ever learned that his affections were divided.

Between betrothal and marriage there were many ancient customs to be observed. The groom elect presented his father-in-law with a wild goose, the symbol of marital fidelity. The proposal of marriage was received by the young lady's father in his ancestral temple that the spirits might bear witness to the contract. The solemnization of the marriage was accomplished by the worship of Heaven and Earth and the groom's ancestors. In such a holy presence the parties pledged their troth each to the other and sealed their vows by drinking fermented liquor from the two halves of one melon.

The rule, even in ancient China, was that a man should have but one wife, but he could add as many concubines as he chose. It was the wife, however, who was mistress of the whole establishment. She alone could take part with the husband in the worship in the ancestral temple.

When the ruler of a vassal state was to be married, he intrusted the arrangements to the head of a neighboring state, usually a relative with the same surname as himself. The two most binding steps in the procedure were the marriage contract and the gifts of silk and gems with which the prospective groom sealed the contract. When all arrangements were completed, the princess who was to be married was escorted to the frontier of her native state by a minister of the government who represented her father or brother *i.e.*, the ruler. At the border of the groom's state she was met by her future husband or, in later times, by a high minister of his government, and conducted to her palace. If it was the King who was to be married, the bride-elect was escorted by all the ministers of her native state and received by one of the Grand Dukes of the royal government.

When a bride of noble rank arrived at her future home, she was introduced to her husband's relatives in the ancestral temple, where these guests presented their wedding gifts of silk and other articles. After three months she attended a

[22] *Ibid.*, Bk. xi, Year ix, 6.

solemn service with her husband in the ancestral temple, and thereafter no divorce could be had save for the most serious reasons.

Each such bride of noble rank took with her, as concubines for her husband, a younger sister and a cousin. In addition to these, two other states, participating in the ceremonies, presented the young husband with three concubines each. Thus he started his home with a harem of nine women. Very naturally in such establishments there was a great deal of jealousy and much intrigue. Eunuchs, too, then as in later times, were a source of much trouble. The children of concubines in most things were on a footing of perfect equality with the children of the wife. But the rule was that the eldest son of the wife should be the heir. This rule was often violated where a concubine won more favor than the wife. In such a home discord was common. Rebellion, strife and bloodshed were not infrequent results.

The wife, once installed in her home, became interested in affairs of state. Some women exerted great influence over their husbands. Some were very clever in statecraft. Such was Nan Tzu, of the state of Wei. She was the profligate wife of the ruler visited by Confucius. The sight of the prophet of righteousness following in the train of this notorious woman aroused the levity of the crowd, which laughed, as it said, "to see virtue following in the train of vice." Confucius was blamed by some of his followers for calling upon her at her invitation. He felt the reproof and swore with rather unnecessary warmth that the call was an entirely innocent one.[23]

Women of official rank were usually loyal to the state of their adoption, but at times there were those who avenged real or fancied wrongs by betraying the interests of the state to the enemy. A widow in the little state of Chü, whose husband had been killed by the ruler of that territory, waited long for revenge. She wove a rope long enough to reach from the top of the city wall to the ground. When the city was besieged in 522 B.C. she fastened one end of the rope above and dropped the other over the wall. The enemy's troops, as-

[23] *Ch'un Ch'iu,* Ting xiv, 4; and *Analects,* Bk. vi, *Yung Yeh:* xxvi.
[24] *Ch'un Ch'iu,* Ch'ao xix, 4.

cended by its aid.[24] The city was captured and its ruler fled. One may quote appropriately the first two lines of a Chinese poem of the same age:

A wise man builds a city wall;
A woman lays it low.

Loyalty

But these stories, told in the commentary of Tso Ch'iu-ming on the *Ch'un Ch'iu,* of immoral ladies of rank and disloyal women of the common people are more than counterbalanced by other tales that might be told of wives devoted to the interests of their husbands or sacrificing themselves for the welfare of the state. Loyalty, indeed was one of the virtues to which the age attached particular importance. Self sacrifice in the service of one's state, even though it might seem vain; unswerving allegiance to one's ruler, even though he might appear to be of slight worth; faithfulness to one's plighted word, though one had sworn to his own hurt; a rigid and literal fulfillment of one's duty, even though it wronged the strongest affections; fidelity to a friend even unto death—these were all embraced in the Chinese conception of loyalty and are among the noblest traits of character displayed in the period with which we are concerned.

The Lady Ying of Ch'in was married to the Prince of Chin, a hostage in her father's state. He planned to escape and begged her to go with him. She wanted to be loyal to her husband, but she could not be disloyal to her father. She refused to go, but she would not betray his plans. He escaped. Later it was her own father who put him on the throne of Chin and restored his wife to him.[25]

Feng Ch'ou-fu of Ch'i in the chariot with the Marquis of that state was fleeing after Ch'i's serious defeat by Chin and her allies in 588 B.C. When he saw that they were about to be captured, he persuaded the Marquis to exchange places with him, and when their captors came up, he ordered the Marquis, as though he were a servant, to go to a spring and bring him a drink. Feng continued to impersonate the Marquis until the latter had made good his escape. When the enemy discov-

[25] *Ibid.,* Hsi xxii, 2.

FROM A SCULPTURE OF THE SECOND CENTURY OF OUR ERA, IN SHANTUNG. LOWER PANEL REPRESENTS FUHSI AND NUKUA, TWO LEGENDARY RULERS, FUHSI HOLDING SQUARE AND NUKUA THE COMPASSES. THEY HAVE DRAGON BODIES, PRESUMABLY INDICATING THAT THEY WERE DEMIGODS

MEETING OF CONFUCIUS, READER'S LEFT, AND LAO TZU, RIGHT, FROM A SCULPTURE OF THE SECOND CENTURY OF OUR ERA

ered what had been done, Feng was condemned to death, but later was pardoned because of his courage and loyalty.[26]

A remarkable instance of the triumph of loyalty over affection is that of Shih Tse of Wei who put his own son to death in 718 B.C. for his part in the assassination of the ruler of that state.[27]

Fidelity to one's trust was well illustrated by certain historiographers of Ch'i. Ts'ui Chu was the head of one of the most powerful families in that state. His wife had an intrigue with the Marquis, which caused Ts'ui to kill him. The historiographer entered in the state chronicle the record: "Ts'ui Chu murdered his ruler, Kuang." The entry did not please Ts'ui, who killed the historiographer. A brother of the historiographer took his place and made the same entry. He, too, was killed. A second brother did the same, and suffered the same fate. A third then made the entry and it was allowed to stand. A historiographer from another part of the state made his appearance to take the place of the third brother, if he had been killed.[28]

Art and Luxury

The luxury with which the rich were surrounded contrasted painfully with the misery of the poor. The homes of the latter were mere hovels of beaten earth with doors of wicker work[29] and the roofs of thatch or of some ruder covering—such buildings as one may still see in the valley of the Yellow River, shelters from the storm, but devoid of all that we call comfort. The palaces of the nobility and of wealthy merchants were built of brick with roofs of tile, and often very richly decorated. The characteristic architecture of the Chinese was already developed. The home consisted of groups of buildings arranged around a number of courts. The most important buildings were the palaces and ancestral temples of the nobility. Sumptuary laws prescribed in detail the size and decoration of these buildings. The principal halls were placed in a series, one behind another, separated by the intervening courts. The royal palace had five of these

[26] *Ibid.*, Ch'eng ii, 3.
[27] *Ibid.*, Yin iv, 6.
[28] *Ibid.*, Hsiang xxv, 2.
[29] *Ibid.*, Hsiang x, 11.

great halls. The courts were sometimes provided with corridors extending around the four sides, thus furnishing a covered way by which to pass from one hall to another. The buildings were usually of one story, but the homes of the wealthy often had towers that rose one or two stories above the main buildings. From these towers one had a view of his neighbors' gardens and an outlook over the city. The private apartments were farthest removed from the street entrance and communicated with secluded gardens, if they could be afforded. In these, one would find attractive pavilions, picturesque rockeries, shrubs and flowers, and not infrequently basins of goldfish or larger ponds. The rulers generally had larger parks with lakes and game preserves. That of the Marquis of Ch'i contained forty square *li,* that is to say, about ten square miles.

Painting and Wood Carving

The Chinese have always been fond of brilliant colors. Painting was an art highly esteemed. The commentator on the *Ch'un Ch'iu,* who himself lived in the fifth or sixth century B.C., condemns one of the Marquises of Lu for painting the pillars of his ancestral temple red instead of black as the law required. In some of the homes the partitions were richly carved, probably in the same fashion as may be seen in some of the Peking palaces today, where the partitions of fine wood form beautiful paneling in the lower portions and an open work in the upper parts whose delicacy is more clearly revealed against a background of colored silk. The great halls were frequently not ceiled, but the beams and rafters of the building were sometimes polished, sometimes carved or decorated in colors, as is the case in such buildings today. Such decoration was also a violation of the sumptuary regulations, for it was permitted to the King alone to have polished rafters in his halls.

Furniture

The floors were of tile and were covered with mats, of which three sorts are mentioned in the classics. The coarsest sort was made of rushes. A better kind was woven of grass and edged with colored silk. The finest was made of bamboo splints and edged with black and white silk. Much of the

furniture was covered with lacquer, in the use of which the Chinese still excel. Neither chairs nor tables were in use in the early part of the Chou period. The chair was introduced later, borrowed from Turkish tribes. People sat on the matting, much as the Japanese do today, and the food was placed on trays beside them. But squatting on the floor is not a comfortable position, especially for the old, whose joints are stiff. For them a support was provided, a sort of stool upon which they could lean. These supports were sometimes decorated with gems, as the *Shu King* tells us. Sometimes they were inlaid with mother-of-pearl, as is the case with much of the Cantonese furniture today. Screens of embroidered silk are mentioned, and couches upon which one could recline. The beds were curtained and sometimes the pillows were made of horn. Hard pillows made of bamboo or of porcelain may be seen today. They are supports for the neck rather than the head. The houses were not well warmed in the winter, but we read of braziers of charcoal being used for this purpose. Food was served in dishes made of bamboo, of wood, of earthenware and of bronze. Cups of jade and of rhinoceros horn were much prized by the wealthy. Ivory chop sticks were to be seen and spoons of thornwood are mentioned. For the kitchen there were vessels of pottery and iron.

There are bronze vessels claiming to date from the Chou period that are still to be seen and drawings of many are preserved for us in the *Hsi Ch'ing Ku Chien.* In the decoration of these and of other ancient articles one of the most common themes was the thunder spiral, so-called because it was the written symbol of a thunderbolt. This developed into a square form which is still in use. The *T'ao T'ieh,* or Face of the Glutton, also peers at us from many of these designs. This is the face of a wicked minister of the time of Yao (2357 B.C.) according to tradition. He was said to be not only a glutton in eating, but rapacious in his extortions.

Costume

Except for the cap, the dress of an ancient Chinese did not differ greatly from that of the late Manchu Dynasty. There was a long gown over which a coat somewhat shorter was worn. The gown buttoned over on the right side just as it

does today. Silk and linen were the materials generally used. In the winter the poor people wore quilted garments. The rich dressed in furs. The skins of the fox, the bear, the badger and the seal were used. Deer skin was made into caps and coats. Sheep skin and lamb skin were also used for coat lining. Gaiters were often made of leather. One form of official cap resembled the modern university mortar board with pendants suspended from two sides. A poem of the seventh century B.C. praises the beauty of the Marchioness of Wei, saying that she had no need to wear false hair since her black tresses hung about her head in cloudlike masses. This would imply that some ladies did resort to false hair. The robe of this Marchioness was described as decorated with pheasants. Jade ornaments were in her ears and an ivory comb in her hair. Elsewhere we read frequently of the use of gold ornaments and of precious stones. A dandy of the seventh century B.C. is mentioned as exciting the anger of his father because he wore a cap of kingfisher feathers.

Food

Cooking was already a fine art. The peasants kept swine and poultry, and for grain had millet in the north and rice in the south. There were fruits and vegetables also in considerable variety. On the large estates sheep and cattle were raised. Confucius for a time had charge of the flocks and herds of the Marquis of Lu. The nobility with jaded appetites sought stimulus in rare and strange articles of diet. A banquet was not complete without the "five flavors," that is to say, the sweet and sour, the salty and spicy and the bitter. Turtle soup, bears' paws, tripe, and sweet-flag pickles were among the items of the menu. Intoxicating drinks were used to excess. These appear to have been of fermented liquors, but some think that distillation was practiced even then. This is unlikely. Drunkenness was too common and severely condemned by the moralists of the period.

Amusements

To pass the time indoors, the idle rich resorted to chess. Archery and lute-playing were indispensable accomplishments

of a gentleman. At the archery tournaments the contestants took their places, adjusted the arrows, drew the bows and let fly the arrows all at the sound of certain musical notes. The loser paid the forfeit by drinking a cup of liquor. Throwing arrows into a jar was a common game. Fencing, too, was practiced. Cock-fighting was a popular sport and the cocks were equipped with metal spurs. Horsemanship was also an accomplishment of which a gentleman was proud. In the earlier centuries this was limited to the art of charioteering, but in later centuries horseback riding was included. The most exciting pastime was hunting. Horses and dogs were well trained. The manes and tails of the horses were dyed red. The game most commonly found included pheasants and hares, but the wild boar, the deer and sometimes the tiger were also taken.

Literature and Philosophy

The real glory of the Chou Dynasty was in its great teachers. The kings of the period are unknown or forgotten save in the Far East, but the names of Confucius and Mencius are known and revered throughout the world. Scarcely less noteworthy are those of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu. The sayings of Confucius preserved by his disciples have been the greatest moral force in the Eastern World, and made him the "uncrowned king of China." According to tradition, he made the first collection of the fragmentary records of the early ages, and arranged them in chronological order to form a partial history of those times. To him, too, is ascribed the collection of the three hundred and five poems that form the "Book of Odes." An original work by the sage is the "Classic of Filial Piety." Another ancient work which we owe to the Chou Dynasty is the *Yi Ching,* a treatise on the hexagrams, ascribed to the father of the founder of the dynasty while confined in prison by the last king of the Shang-Yin Dynasty. There are just sixty-four permutations possible in the combinations of six whole and six broken lines. The work is used in divination, and supplies an accepted but empirical rule for interpreting any lot obtained by drawing one from sixty-four rods, which are inscribed each with one hexagram. A historical work of value produced during this period is the *ch'un*

ch'iu or "Annals of the State of Lu," charged to Confucius, but probably nothing more than a copy of the official history. It gives a barren list of events during several centuries. The commentary of Tso Ch'iu-ming, however, is worth reading. His racy anecdotes give us a very lively picture of the times. The *Li Ki,* or "Record of Rites" in its original form, no doubt belongs to the Chou period, and is of great interest in that, like our Book of Leviticus, it provides ceremonial regulations that cover all the relations of life. The *Works of Mencius* are of an ethico-political character. His democratic sentiments have been mentioned already. Of equal interest are his controversies with other philosophers. One of these, Hsü Hsing, was a sort of ancient Bolshevist who taught that kings ought to get out and do manual labor. Another was Yang Chu, a Chinese Epicurean. Mencius was opposed, too, to Mo Ti who taught the duty of universal love. Hsün Tzu was another philosopher of the period with whom Mencius contended. Opposing Mencius' teaching, that man was created good, Hsün Tzu affirmed that man on the contrary was evil at birth and was made good by education and experience.

Three works of the Confucian School belonging to this period have not yet been mentioned: the "Analects of Confucius," collected by some of his disciples; the "Great Learning," in which Tseng Tzu has preserved some of the teachings of his master relating to the right education of the individual as the essential condition of social order, and the "Doctrine of the Mean," in which the grandson of Confucius repeats the exhortations of the Sage to temperate living.

Li Erh, or Lao Tzu, as most of us know him, was an older contemporary of Confucius. He was born about 604 B.C. and was the reputed author of a remarkable little treatise called the *Tao Te King.* Its teaching approaches philosophical anarchism. The less people are governed the better, according to Lao Tzu. The more laws we have, the more crime. He hated war and despised the greed for wealth. His ethical teachings were of a lofty character. "I am good to the good," he said. "I am good also to the bad. With the faithful I keep faith. I keep faith with the unfaithful also." The Taoists claim Lao Tzu as the founder of their religion, but Lao Tzu made no claim to such an accomplishment. He was not a religious teacher. His greatest disciple was Chuang Tzu, who

lived in the fourth century B.C. He was a consistent idealist who has been likened to Heraclitus. His style is the admiration even of those who reject his philosophy. His sarcasm is biting, his use of paradox most stimulating, and his logic is forceful and illustrated by brilliant and graceful imagery.

Other works of the period that deserve mention are the *Chou Li,* the official description of the organization of the Chou Dynasty together with its ceremonial regulations, and the *I Li,* a work similar to the *Li Ki* already described, but much older, and probably one that preserves the ritual of the Shang-Yin Dynasty.

KINGS OF THE CHOU DYNASTY

	B.C.
Wu	1122-1116
Ch'eng	1115-1079
K'ang	1078-1053
Chao	1052-1002
Mu	1001- 947
Kung	946- 935
Yi	934- 910
Hsiao	909- 895
Yi	894- 879
Li	878- 842
The Kung Ho Interregnum	841- 828
Hsuan	827- 782
Yu	781- 771
P'ing	770- 720
Huan	719- 697
Chuang	696- 682
Hsi	681- 677
Hui	676- 652
Hsiang	651- 619
Ch'ing	618- 613
K'uang	612- 607
Ting	606- 586
Chien	585- 572
Ling	571- 545
Ching	544- 520
Ching	519- 476
Yüan	475- 469
Chenting	468- 441
K'ao	440- 426
Weilieh	425- 402

An	401-376
Lieh	375-369
Hsien	368-321
Shenching	320-315
Nan	314-256

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CHAPTER IV

PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

Ch'in Dynasty.....256-207 B.C.
Early Han Dynasty.....206 B.C.-A.D. 9
Hsin Dynasty.....A.D. 9-23
Later Han Dynasty.....A.D. 25-221

He who remembers the past is master of the future.
—SSU-MA T'AN.

The conqueror is enriched by the loot of captured cities and rewarded with titles of nobility; to his followers bitterness and suffering are left.
—HISTORY OF THE EARLY HAN.

THE last king of the Chou Dynasty was overthrown in 256 B.C., but the House of Ch'in did not at once obtain possession of the whole kingdom. For thirty-five years thereafter the seven principal states of China struggled together for the supremacy. One circumstance that materially aided the triumph of Ch'in was its experience in warfare due to its conflict for generations with the barbarians on the northwest frontier. That experience had taught them the advantage of ability to move rapidly from place to place, and had thus led to the adoption of light armor. The troops of their rivals on the contrary were burdened with heavy armor and in addition had to carry three days' rations. From the barbarians Ch'in had learned the use of cavalry which now began to replace the chariots.

CH'IN'S SUCCESS

The King of Ch'in, after his defeat of the Chou monarch in 256 B.C., disclosed his ambition the following year by carrying off the tripods, the emblems of the royal power, and, in 253 B.C., by offering the sacrifice to God which could be made by the supreme ruler only. In 246 B.C. the throne of Ch'in was occupied by a boy thirteen years of age. He was served

by able ministers and in time obtained complete mastery of the country. He is known to history as the great tyrant, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. Because of his persecution of the Confucian scholars, his memory has been blackened by Chinese writers who relate a story that reflects upon his birth. He was born in the state of Chao, located on the east side of the Yellow River in what is today northern Shansi. His father, before his selection as heir to the throne, was an exile in Chao, held there as a hostage. A merchant who admired the royal hostage presented him with a beautiful concubine who became the mother of the future conqueror. But the gossips of Chao said that the real father of the concubine's son was the merchant. The circulation of this scandalous tale is given as one of the reasons for the invasion of Chao by the army of Ch'in in 230 B.C. which called forth the parable of the oyster and kingfisher. The inhabitants of the capital of Chao were cruelly massacred in large numbers and the state was annexed to Ch'in.

Other Annexations

Just east of Chao lay the state of Yen, nearly identical with the modern province of Chihli in which Peking is located. The conquest of Chao threatened the safety of Yen, whose Prince Royal had been ill-treated by the King of Ch'in. The offended prince sought revenge and hired one of those wandering knights, whose swords were at the disposal of any ruler who cared to employ them, to assassinate the King of Ch'in. There was a political exile in Yen upon whose head a price had been set by the King of Ch'in, and whose relatives had been put to death for failure to produce the offender. The assassin wrought upon the emotions of this exile and persuaded him to commit suicide so that his head could be carried back to Ch'in and thus give an opportunity to approach the King who would in this manner be thrown off his guard. The plot very nearly succeeded, but the King caught the gleam of steel in the sleeve of the assassin, who was taken and put to death. Yen was punished by the loss of its independence and its annexation to Ch'in. A much more important conquest was that of the great state of Ch'u with its enormous territory. It submitted to the conqueror in 223 B.C. The state of Ch'i, once

all-powerful, fell without a struggle, conquered not by steel but by silver paid to the ministers of its youthful ruler. By the year 221 B.C. all the kingdoms were in subjection, and China was once more ruled by a single monarch.

A New Title

The King of Ch'in, master of the world, in so far as it was known to the ancient Chinese, was filled with pride and sought for himself a new title. He recalled that the legendary rulers of olden times were known as *Ti,* that is to say "gods." Still more ancient were those mythical monarchs, called *Huang,* or "autocrats." The conqueror, therefore, declared himself to be *Huang Ti,* or "Autocratic Divinity." And to emphasize his distinction above all rulers who preceded him, he added the word *Shih,* or "first." He was to be "The First Autocratic Divinity" or, if we invert the order of the words, "The First Divine Autocrat." His successor was to be "The Second Generation Divine Autocrat" and thus onward indefinitely; but, thanks to human frailty, the succession in the House of Ch'in never passed beyond the second generation. However, the term, *Huang Ti,* which today we translate "Emperor," became thenceforth the title of the ruler of China.

The Ch'in Empire

The emblem of the Chou Dynasty having been fire and that dynasty having been destroyed by the Ch'in, it was evident that the emblem of the Ch'in was water. The color corresponding to water is black. Ch'in banners, therefore, were black. Water and black are associated with the north and the numerical equivalent is six. Six, then, was the cipher of Ch'in and its royal chariot was drawn by six horses. After the conquest of the states of Chou, the Emperor sent his armies over the southern boundary and annexed the region of Southern Yüeh on the border of Tongking which he colonized with peasants from other parts of the empire.

There is scarcely anything that more clearly reveals the status of the common man in the ancient world than the practice among all nations of moving vast populations from one region to another without ever consulting their desires in re-

gard to the matter. We have not wholly outgrown the custom, as some recent treaties witness; but generally today, when a territory changes nationality, the people are permitted to decide for themselves whether to accept the new rulers or remove to lands controlled by the state to which they owe allegiance.

War with the Huns

Raids by barbarous tribes on the northwest frontier continued to menace the peace of the country as in all ages preceding. During this period and for centuries to follow, these tribes were known as the Hu or the Hsiung-nu, and have been identified with the ancestors of the Huns that in mediæval times gave so much trouble to Europe. Ch'in Shih Huang Ti made war upon them and annexed much of their territory, but this was never securely held, for border warfare continued for a long period.

Famine and Irrigation

Despite the aggressive attitude of Ch'in toward the other states, its brief rule was marked by many works of a beneficent character. These are usually placed to the credit of the tyrant, Shih Huang Ti, but in reality much of the credit should be given to his ministers. In the first year of Shih Huang Ti's reign, when he was still but a lad of thirteen, China was afflicted by one of her periodical famines. The ministers of Ch'in at once rose to the occasion. They did not content themselves with mere palliative measures; they introduced a system of irrigation in the valley of the Wei, by which 4,000,000 *mou* of land, that is, nearly 700,000 acres, were reclaimed and put under cultivation. By employing irrigation they were able to gather as much as 42 bushels of grain an acre from these lands. In this Ch'in's wisdom contrasted strongly with the inefficiency of the governments of other states.

The Great Wall

This reign is usually given credit for the building of the Great Wall which extends from the eastern edge of Turkestan

to the sea, a distance of fifteen hundred miles or more, climbing up and down the steep mountain sides in a wonderful fashion. It is a wall about twenty-five feet in height in most places and about fifteen feet in thickness, with watchtowers rising above the level of the wall at regular intervals. It is built partly of stone and partly of brick, but in some places is scarcely more than a rampart of earth, much worn by the action of the elements. It was not all built at one time, however, nor by one ruler. It stretches along the northern boundary of four provinces, which in the third century B.C. were included within the three states, Ch'in, Chao and Yen. Each of these states had to defend itself against the raids of barbarous tribes coming from what is modern Mongolia. The first attempt at the erection of a barrier seems to have been made about the year 244 B.C. by the King of Chao in what is today northern Shansi. The example of Chao was followed by Ch'in to check the incursions of the Hu, or Huns; and subsequently Yen extended the structure across what we know as northern Chihli, down to the sea at Shanhaikuan. It was built by forced labor, but generally that of men condemned for crime. These unfortunates had their heads shaven and wore iron collars about their necks.

Other Public Works

After the conquest of the other states had been effected by Ch'in, Shih Huang Ti sought to consolidate his empire and improve transportation by building a system of roads to connect the capital with distant parts of the country. He built a new capital in the valley of the Wei a little east of the modern city of Hsianfu. He would feel safer there than at Loyang, for the new capital was within the boundaries of his ancestral state. The city was adorned with many temples and palaces, and a bridge was constructed over the river to connect with a suburban palace south of the Wei.

Political Reforms

Of greater interest to us than the building of roads and palaces are the reforms that he tried to introduce. Most important of these was the abolition of feudalism. He re-

warded those who had assisted him in the conquest of the empire, giving them titles and grants of land, but he stoutly refused to make them vassal lords. He held that feudalism was the chief source of the weakness of the Chou Dynasty. He therefore divided the empire into thirty-six provinces, increased to forty after the conquest of Southern Yüeh, and placed these provinces under governors appointed by the crown. The administration was by this device strongly centralized. This important change was copied by later dynasties.

Destruction of the Classics

The change, however, was one that failed to win the approval of the Confucian scholars. The Chinese scholar has ever been most conservative. What Confucius approved must have been right. He approved the methods of Wen and Wu. Wu established a feudal monarchy. The institutions of the Chou Dynasty were too sacred to be modified. It followed therefore that these scholars opposed all changes. They obstructed all reforms. Their appeal was always to the Confucian writings. The Premier proposed that these writings should be destroyed. The Emperor therefore commanded all that had copies of the *Shu King* or "Canon of History," the "Book of Odes," and the histories of the several feudal states to bring them to the local authorities to be burned. The glorious history of the state of Ch'in was excepted, as were also all works that dealt with divination, medicine, agriculture and horticulture. According to the edict, all who discussed the teachings of the *Shu King* or of the "Book of Odes" and all who quoted the authority of the ancient writings to oppose the reforms that were being introduced were to be put to death with their relatives. Officials who winked at any violation of the decree were to be considered as implicated in the crime. Thirty days were allowed for compliance with the edict. After that period all persons found in possession of the condemned books were to be punished by sentence to a period of hard labor.

When we consider how much evil the conservatism of Confucianism is responsible for in China, we cannot be altogether wanting in sympathy with the Emperor's desire to be rid of this obstruction to reform. But the cruelty with which the

edict was executed and the loss which history and literature have suffered in consequence of the decree cannot but be condemned. Four hundred and sixty scholars are said to have been put to death for refusal to obey the imperial command. The eldest son of the Emperor remonstrated with his father and was exiled to the northwest frontier where General Meng T'ien was fighting with the Huns.

The Emperor issued an edict in 216 B.C designed to give the peasants the land which they cultivated, but it does not seem to have been carried out. Such a great reform would have converted the serfs into free men. He attempted also to introduce uniform weights and measures to do away with the confusion resulting from the retention of the varying standards of the old feudal states. But old custom is all-powerful in China and this reform is one that has yet to be accomplished.

Superstition

With all his wisdom, the Emperor was a prey to gross superstition. As early as the fourth century B.C. there were certain charlatans in Yen and Ch'i who told of fairy islands lying in the ocean: P'englai, Fangchang, and Yingchou, where old age and death were unknown. In Shih Huang Ti's day, a professor of the occult won the confidence of the monarch and enriched himself by playing upon the ruler's credulity. He told the Emperor that these islands would be found lying in the Eastern Sea, seventy thousand *li*[1] from China. He did not know that in the latitude of Shih Huang Ti's capital, seventy thousand *li* eastward would bring one back home from the west. The Emperor believed the tales told him and in 219 B.C. paid a visit to the coast. From there he sent a fleet of vessels to find the Isles of the Immortals. The commander returned, saying that he had met one of the immortals who asked him whither he was bound. He had replied that he sought the Isles of the Immortals, that he might obtain the "Elixir of Immortality." The immortal, it is said, replied that the gifts his vessels carried were too cheap. "You may see the Fountain of Youth, but you may not taste its waters." "What gifts do you desire?" asked Hsü. "Young men and

[1] A *li* is about one-third of a mile.

maidens and craftsmen of all sorts," was the reply. The Emperor, therefore, ordered Hsü to go again and sent with him three thousand young men and women. They sailed away, but never returned. Some think that they colonized Japan.

We shall find this fable of the "Isles of the Blessed" and the "Fountain of Youth" persisting among the Chinese for many centuries, and later making its way to the Western World to inspire the voyage of Ponce de Leon and other explorers, who sought in vain in Florida and on the banks of the Mississippi the cure for old age and the charm against death.

Suspicion and Fear

The great Emperor loved to go out through the streets of his capital at night in disguise. He went, not so much to right any wrong that was being committed, as to learn what men thought of him. He was accompanied by four soldiers only. He probably did not hear many favorable comments upon his character. Despite his great power, he knew that he was not loved. In time he became the victim of terror. Upon the advice of a minister he changed his place of rest every night, not letting any one know where he intended to sleep. His many palaces were all fully furnished, supplied at all times with servants, concubines, and food, so that no matter when the sovereign might appear, all would be ready for him. He forbade any one to mention the fact that he was in any given place. Any person who violated this order was immediately put to death.

He allowed no one to speak of death in his presence, so great was his fear of dying. Yet one of the greatest works of his reign was the building for himself of a wonderful tomb. Seven hundred thousand men, condemned to hard labor, are said to have been employed in its construction at Mount Li, a short distance south of the river Wei, and not far from the capital. The tomb is still intact and has been visited recently by three French explorers.[2] The Chinese have not

[2] *Journal of the China Branch, R. A. S.*, vol. xlviii, 1917, p. 145. Victor Segalen describes the tomb as "the most monumental of all those which exist in China." "One hundred and fifty feet high." "Each of the sides more

KUAN YU, HERO OF THE PERIOD OF THE THREE KINGDOMS, A.D. 219, LATER THE GOD OF WAR, FROM SCULPTURE OF 1704

as yet allowed the tombs of their ancient monarchs to be opened nor their treasures carried off by archæologists. But we have no reason to doubt that in the main the description of the tomb given by historians is correct. We are told that the earth was excavated down to the water springs, that then a floor of bronze was put in and that on this was a representation in miniature of the empire of China. Channels filled with mercury marked the courses of the Yangtze, the Yellow River and other streams. The ceiling of the vault was decorated with a map of the constellations. Lamps provided with a supply of oil that would last for a long period of years gave light, and this subterranean palace was filled with costly treasures. The entrance was guarded by automatic weapons arranged to destroy any one who might trespass. So, in many lands, mighty monarchs have sought by the building of great and costly mausoleums to escape oblivion.

The Conqueror is Conquered

Ch'in Shih Huang Ti appears to have been a restless person. He loved to travel about. Twice, at least, he visited the Eastern Sea. Its waters seemed to fascinate him. Somewhere in its bosom, as he believed, lay the island home of the immortals. He would reach it in spite of all hindrances and quaff the waters of the "Fountain of Youth." He would be conqueror, not only of earth, but of death.

In 210 B.C. he cast lots and, the reply being favorable, he started on another tour of the empire. He was accompanied by his Chief Minister, his Chief Eunuch, and his youngest son, Huhai, the spoiled darling of the court. He went south to the Yangtze, sailed down that mighty river to the sea, and then went northward as far as Shantung. There his magicians told him that the Elixir of Immortality in P'englai could be obtained, but that a great sea dragon prevented approach. He dreamed that he battled with a spirit of the sea, having human form. The interpreter of dreams told him that a great fish prevented the coming of the good spirits of the

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than a thousand feet long." The form is "well designed, with three successive undulations, . . . as three hills massed on top of one another." It is said to have been violated during the period of anarchy preceding the establishment of the Han Dynasty, second century, B.C.

sea, but that, if he would fast and pray, perhaps the evil spirit would be driven away and then communication could be had with the good spirits. The Emperor thereupon ordered preparation to be made for an attack upon the evil dragon. A few days later he saw a great fish in the sea, shot and killed it. Then he turned his face westward once more and, when near the mouth of the Yellow River, he was taken ill. He continued his journey, however, until near the site of modern Shuntefu. There he realized that the end was at hand. He had met a mightier conqueror than himself and he surrendered. He drew up a decree appointing his eldest son to be his successor, and directed that this be sent to him together with an order directing him to repair to the capital; for this son, Fusu, was still an exile upon the northwestern frontier in the camp of General Meng T'ien. But neither the letter nor the decree reached their destination. The chief Eunuch saw that, if Fusu should succeed to the throne, his power would be at an end. On the other hand, Huhai, the younger son, was in his charge and, being constantly humored, was well disposed to him. He suggested to Huhai that they should forge an order appointing the younger son as successor and commanding the elder son and General Meng T'ien to commit suicide. The Prime Minister also joined in the conspiracy. The order was sent. Fusu at once committed suicide. General Meng T'ien doubted the genuineness of the decree, but he was arrested, and, in order to escape execution, he killed himself. Shih Huang Ti was buried in the sepulcher that he had built for himself. While the workmen who were familiar with the structure were arranging the sarcophagus and the furniture of the tomb, the great door, by order of Huhai, was dropped into place and these men, who might have been tempted later to rob the place of its treasures, were buried alive with their master.

Shih Huang Ti was but fifty years of age when he died. He had been ruler of all China less than a dozen years, yet he left an indelible impress upon the nation. In addition to the reforms already mentioned, other changes were wrought. The ancient script of the language was modified. The invention of the brush pencil and the use of ink, both ascribed to General Meng T'ien, are also to be credited to this period.

The Downfall of Ch'in

The reign of Huhai that began with such treachery and cruelty was not destined long to endure. The Chief Eunuch and the Prime Minister were jealous of each other. The Chief Eunuch, constantly with his master, became the real ruler of the empire. Princes of the blood, and high officers of state who could not conceal their dislike of the Eunuch, were put to death. The government became oppressive. There were uprisings in protest. The Premier and other ministers remonstrated with the ruler and urged that the exactions be lightened. In response the once all-powerful and unscrupulous Prime Minister was condemned to death. Betrayed by his partner in crime and abandoned by the ruler whom he had placed upon the throne, he was brutally tortured, mutilated and sawn asunder. His head was exposed and his family was exterminated.

Among the numerous rebellions was one headed by a young army officer who proclaimed himself King of Ch'u. Another leader made himself King of Chao. In a brief time a number of the old states had been revived. The real situation was concealed from the young Emperor. In 207 B.C. the Chief Eunuch saw that to save himself he must abandon the monarch. To test the officers of the Imperial Guard and learn whether they would stand with him or with the ruler, he presented a deer to the ruler, saying, "I present a horse to Your Majesty." The Emperor smiled and said: "You mean a deer." Chao appealed to the officers standing near. Some were silent; a few said: "It is a deer." The most said: "It is a horse." Chao knew then that the Guard was with him. He raised a rebellion and murdered the Emperor. Then he proclaimed the son of Fusu, named Tzu Ying, as King of Ch'in, but not Emperor of China. This perhaps was intended to placate the various leaders who were seeking to reëstablish the states that had been overthrown but a few years before. Tzu Ying did not at once respond to the move of the Eunuch but waited for the latter to call upon him. When he did so, the newly chosen King avenged his father and his uncle by slaying their murderer. Tzu Ying was King of Ch'in but forty-six days, after which he surrendered to the army of one, Liu Pang, coming from Ch'u. His was the first of the rebellious forces

outside of Ch'in to reach the capital. Liu Pang showed his wisdom by sparing the city and the King, and by the measures which he took to pacify the people. He rescinded the cruel laws of Ch'in and proclaimed a very simple code: (1) He who kills shall die. (2) He who wounds shall be wounded in the same fashion. (3) He who steals shall forfeit according to the value stolen. The people were pleased, it is said, and brought oxen and sheep and liquors for the troops, which Liu declined, saying his supplies were sufficient and that he did not desire to oppress the people. It was such humanity as this, so it is alleged, that gave Liu popular support. Five years later he became the founder of the Han Dynasty.

The Rise of the Han

Liu Pang, the founder of the Han Dynasty, was born near Hsüchoufu in northern Kiangsu. As is true of all great men of China, he was reported (after he became Emperor) to have been miraculously conceived. His early life, too, was attended by many portents, if one could believe the popular traditions. In fact, he was an uneducated man, the constable of a district covering ten villages in which he was to maintain order. During the reign of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti and that of his successor, persons found guilty of small offences were condemned to hard labor on public works. It was the constable's duty to escort the prisoners from their villages to the scene of their labor. On one such occasion, several of his prisoners escaped. Liu Pang knew that he himself would be held responsible if the fact became known. He therefore persuaded several to join him in a rebellion. The remainder he released. In the fastnesses of the mountains he found a secure refuge as so many bandits do today. There he gradually gathered quite a force, and when he learned of the rising in Ch'u, he joined it. Not long afterward the leader of the rising was assassinated and a scion of the old royal house of Ch'u, found serving as a shepherd, was proclaimed King of Ch'u. It was under his orders that Liu marched upon the capital in 206 B.C. and received the surrender of Tzu Ying, the King of Ch'in. But Liu was not able to retain the captured city. He had rivals with whom he had to contend. One of these killed the King of Ch'u, leaving Liu Pang entirely

independent. It was not until 202 B.C. that the new dynasty was really established. It was called Han after the region of the Han River in which Liu Pang had been stationed for four years. He established his capital at Changan not far from that of Shih Huang Ti. His palace was built in 200 B.C. but the city wall, one of the most imposing in all China, was not completed until 190 B.C. after the Emperor's death. It was built by the forced labor of 145,000 men and women, and has a circuit of twenty-two miles. Such walls were needed as a protection against the raids of the nomads of the northwest. War with them broke out in 200 B.C. and the Emperor narrowly escaped capture.

The Cult of Confucius

In 195 B.C. the Emperor paid a visit to his old home. He did not forget his humble origin and found delight in entertaining his old friends and neighbors. While in that vicinity he paid a visit to the tomb of Confucius and offered a sacrifice to the spirit of the Sage. This was the beginning of the national cult of the worship of Confucius. Prior to this visit the worship had been confined to the native state of the great teacher.

A Woman Takes the Helm

Shortly after his return from this journey, the Emperor died and was succeeded by his second son, the only son of the Empress. He had preferred the son of a concubine but had not proclaimed him, having been dissuaded by his ministers. The Empress was very jealous of the concubine and had her and her son put to death. The son of the Empress was known as Hui Ti. He left the government in the hands of his mother and died of dissipation early in life, leaving no heir. The Empress, having tasted the sweets of power, was unwilling to resign her scepter and ruled for some years in the names of infant puppets whom she proclaimed one after another as children of her son. Chinese historians have never recognized these puppets as legitimate heirs of the throne. They consider the whole period as the reign of Empress Lü, the first of the three women rulers of China, and the only one whose reign

is given the woman's name. She attempted to place her family on the throne, but after her death the succession returned to the House of Liu.

Expansion of the Empire

The most interesting and important reign of the Han Dynasty, without doubt, was that of Wu Ti or "the Martial Emperor." He ascended the throne in 140 B.C. and ruled for fifty-four years. He was fortunate in the great generals, statesmen and men of letters who adorned his court. The title "Martial Emperor" was won not by his own exploits but by those of his military officers. From 138 to 101 B.C., war was almost continuous. The kingdom of Yüeh in the south had become independent; he reconquered it and added other territories in that region, including the island of Hainan, part of Tongking, the region known today as Yunnan and a part of what is now the province of Szechuen. The northern part of Korea was also annexed, but most of the fighting was in the northwest. The Hsiung-nu or Huns were driven back and an extensive region including Turkestan was taken into the empire. By the year 104 B.C., the sway of China had been extended to the borders of Parthia.

Of more importance than these military operations were the peaceful missions of Chang Ch'ien who negotiated treaties with thirty-six small states in central Asia and brought back valuable information concerning those distant regions. He is credited with the introduction of the grape into China and with the discovery of the source of the Yellow River.[3]

[3] Popular belief had regarded the river as but the continuation on earth of "the Heavenly River," as the Milky Way was called. A folk tale, recounting the exploit of Chang Ch'ien, tells how one day, travelling up the Yellow River, he reached a place where a herdboy was seen leading an ox to water while on the opposite bank a maiden was working at her loom. Chang asked the young woman the name of the place. For reply she handed him her shuttle and said: "When you return to the capital, show this to Chün P'ing." Chün P'ing was an astrologer. When he saw the shuttle, he said, "This is the shuttle of the Spinning Girl," and asked how Chang had obtained it. He told the date of his visit. The astrologer looked up his records and found that on that very night he had seen a strange star come between those two stars known as the Herdboy and the Spinning Girl, one on either side of the Milky Way. The strange star was Chang Ch'ien. The Milky Way, therefore must have been the river upon which he was sailing, that is, a continuation of the Yellow River. A popular festival celebrated on the seventh of the Seventh Moon, has its origin in this tale of the Herdboy and Spinning Girl, who are

The conquests of Alexander the Great had brought Grecian influence into central Asia as early as 325 B.C. Buddhism probably found entrance there about 250 B.C. These expeditions of Chang Ch'ien, therefore, introduced foreign influences which gradually affected the development of the arts in China and encouraged philosophical speculation.

Superstition and Romance

Legend has been very busy with the name of Han Wu Ti, or the martial Emperor of the Han Dynasty. Like Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, he became the dupe of fakirs who led him astray with the will-o'-the-wisp of an Elixir of Immortality. Stories of the magical powers of these adepts in the black art, mingled with the true accounts of the explorations and discoveries in the far west, led to the invention of a tale of communication between the Hsi Wang Mu (literally "the Western Royal Mother") and Wu Ti. Now the words, *Hsi Wang Mu,* originally were but the transliteration of the name of some western monarch; but *Hsi* means "west" and since the symbols chosen for the sounds of "wangmu" were the characters meaning "royal" and "mother," the account grew into a romantic tale of the Western Royal Mother or "Fairy Queen" and the Emperor. The Fairy Queen was said to have heard of the fame of the great monarch and to have come from the far west to make him a visit. The Emperor is reported to have become enamored of the visitor and to have kept up correspondence with her in after years by means of the love birds, those blue birds of which Chinese folk-lore tells, that fly only in pairs. These messengers carried the notes back and forth between the two royal lovers. The tale became a popular one with Chinese artists. Paintings were made showing the wonderful procession of the Fairy Queen and her attendants coming to see the Emperor, and the blue and white porcelain still bears among its decorative themes the blue birds that are the messengers of love.

Alchemy

Wu Ti began his reign as an enthusiastic patron of Confucianism. It is to him and the brilliant literary men gathered

kept apart except upon that night when the magpies with their wings make a bridge upon which the Spinning Girl is enabled to cross to visit her husband.

at his court that we owe the recovery of many of the ancient works condemned by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti to destruction. But the Emperor's mother preferred the Taoists, and in time the Emperor also fell under their influence. Taoism was no longer the lofty philosophy of Lao Tzu or Chuang Tzu. It had degenerated into a pseudo science. There were some earnest students who really sought truth, but there appear to have been many more charlatans, who took advantage of the credulity of the age to win riches and honors for themselves. Some of the earnest students fastened upon a few passages in the writings of Lao Tzu and Chuang Tzu, which were misunderstood, as prescribing a spiritual and physical regimen that would prolong life. Less scrupulous men claimed to have discovered a recipe for immortality. There were others who were more interested in material wealth than in prolongation of life. From the idealism of Chuang Tzu, who taught the identity of the contraries and the Tao as the One,—the unity underlying all diversity,—they appeared to deduce a doctrine of a primal matter from which all substances proceed. At any rate, whether we can thus explain the origin of alchemy or not, it is certain that many of the Taoists of Wu Ti's time were engaged in experiments that sought to transmute base metals into gold.

In view of recent theories as to the constitution of matter and the possibility of deriving one element from another, perhaps these early attempts of the Taoists were not so foolish as they seem to be to us. We must remember, too, that alchemy was the beginning of chemistry, just as astrology was the origin of the science of astronomy. It is thus of considerable interest to learn that alchemy began in China in the third century B.C. and not six hundred years later among the Alexandrian Greeks, as some would have us believe.[4]

Prince Liu An, grandson of the founder of the Han Dynasty, was noted for his experiments in alchemy.

One of the most noted of the charlatans who imposed upon Wu Ti was Li Shaochün, who managed to have an audience of the Emperor and acquired a remarkable influence over him. This man pretended to be of vast age. By trickery he was able to deceive many into the belief that he had occult wisdom. He said among other things: "I know how to harden snow and

[4] *Vide Encyclopedia Britannica,* Eleventh Edition, article on Alchemy.

change it into white silver. I know how cinnabar transforms its nature and passes into yellow gold." [5] To the credulous Emperor he said: "Sacrifice to the Furnace [which the alchemists did] and you can control matter. When you have learned to control matter, the cinnabar can be changed to gold. When you have obtained the gold, make of it vessels for eating and drinking and you will prolong life. When you have prolonged your life, you can visit the immortals on P'englai, and when you have seen them, perform the ceremonies of *feng* and *shan* and you will never die." [6] The transmutation of metals and the preparation of an elixir to prolong life were both objects of the alchemists' search, and mercury was the base of both experiments. The experiments were accompanied by religious ceremonies. Wu Ti endeavored to learn what ceremonies were intended by *feng* and *shan*. The scholars could not enlighten him. He invented ceremonies. He sent men in search of P'englai, the island home of the immortals, and he busied himself trying to convert cinnabar into gold. His credulity led to a great tragedy. His eldest son and heir, Chiu, had a feud with one of the ministers of state, who, to avenge himself, accused the son of using magic to destroy his father so that he might obtain the throne. The Emperor believed the charges because certain images were found in the son's palace which, it was said, were employed in the incantations against his imperial father. The unfortunate Prince Imperial and all his family including his son and grandson were condemned to death. In the closing years of his life Wu Ti realized too late that he had been duped and said: "All that they have told me is false." But he did not even then abandon his cruelty. He appointed as his heir a son, seven years of age; but fearing that the mother, a concubine, might imitate the Empress Lü, he had her put to death.

From Prison to Throne

Chiu's grandson was but an infant when taken with his mother to prison and condemned to death. The jailer took pity on the baby and reared him as his own child. When the boy had grown to manhood, he married the jailer's daughter.

[5] Mayers' *Readers' Manual,* No. 365.
[6] *Shih Chi,* xii: 2 a.

In the meantime the heir of Wu Ti was brought up by a regent, but died at twenty years of age without issue. The jailer then disclosed the history of his adopted son, who was recognized as the legitimate heir to the vacant throne. In 75 B.C. he became Emperor under the title Hsüan Ti. He made his plebeian wife Empress, and, after such a romantic experience, he proved to be a good ruler. Having lived as a common man among common people, he was enabled to understand the needs of his subjects and sympathize with them.

In 32 B.C. a later Emperor was a worthless character, known to history chiefly for introducing into his harem a notorious prostitute, Chao Fei Yen, *i.e.,* Chao, "the Flying Swallow." The sobriquet was bestowed because of her graceful dancing. The monarch even deposed the Empress and gave Fei Yen her place, much to the disgust of his advisers and his subjects.

Wang Mang's Treason

It was during his reign that Wang Mang, a cousin of the Emperor, first came into notice. He was a page in the palace, but in the year 8 B.C. when he was but thirty-eight years of age, he was made Grand Marshal. The reigning Emperor died without issue in 7 B.C. and was succeeded by a nephew whose wife belonged to the Fu family. Upon her entrance into the palace the Wangs had to move and the relatives of the "Flying Swallow" had to find a nest elsewhere. In 1 B.C. the throne was again vacant and the aged dowager Empress Wang had herself carried to the palace where she promptly took possession of the imperial seals. She sent for Wang Mang, restored him to the post of Grand Marshal, drove out the widows of the last two Emperors and placed on the throne a child of nine years with the title, P'ing Ti, or "Emperor of Peace." To prevent interference with the government by the child's mother, she was exiled and forbidden to return to the capital. The reign of this "Prince of Peace" began with the first year of the Christian Era. In the fourth year, the boy Emperor of thirteen was married to Wang Mang's daughter of eleven. In the fifth year of his reign the young ruler learned of the exile of his mother and vowed vengeance upon Wang Mang. Wang heard of it, and in the Twelfth Moon of that year

when he was participating in the worship of God at the winter solstice, he placed poison in the cup of wine that was presented to the Emperor, who immediately succumbed. A baby of two years was made Prince Imperial and the young widow of twelve years became Empress Dowager. Little by little Wang Mang usurped the imperial power and in A.D. 9 he threw off all pretence and declared himself Emperor of a new dynasty, called the Hsin.

Wang Mang's Reforms

Wang Mang's treachery to the Han Dynasty has made his name a synonym of treason, and his memory has been blackened by Chinese historians. Had he not failed in his endeavors, he would, perhaps, have received different treatment; for failure in China is a crime. He who has failed must have lacked the support of Heaven, else he would not have failed. Such is Chinese reasoning. But Wang Mang was a remarkable character. While he swayed the scepter he lived temperately, even abstemiously. High-sounding titles were invented for himself, but these were to prepare the people for his assumption of the imperial title. He did not seem to be avaricious. He avoided all dissipation and he gave himself strictly to the duties of government, particularly the reform of the laws and the administration. Yet, as we have seen, he was guilty of base treachery and cruel murder. His character was a bundle of contradictions. He had lofty ideals, yet could be guilty of the most cowardly crimes. He was a scholar of great learning and a keen man of affairs. He was a statesman of wonderful political sagacity and great originality, yet he was also a superstitious and egotistic fanatic. Like some other fanatics, he claimed to be divinely directed. For this reason he could justify to himself even the commission of murder. It seemed to him to further the divine plan.

Among the reforms which he attempted was the creation of a new and uniform currency. He abolished slavery and private property in land. "Henceforth," he said, "the land shall belong to the state; the slave shall belong to himself." He fixed salaries for all officials, high and low,[7] introduced also an

[7] *History of Early Han,* xcix, pt. 2, fol. 4, a and b; and 6, b. *Vide* also Wieger, *op. cit.,* pp. 721-723.

income tax and provided state loans in aid of agriculture. He tried to control the prices of farm produce, to protect the peasant and the consumer against the sharp practices of the middleman. Four times a year maximum and minimum prices were fixed for all staple articles, in three grades: prime, medium and inferior. Public storehouses were built. When prices fell below the fixed minimum, the government bought at the minimum and stored the goods purchased. This continued until the market price rose above the minimum. When prices rose above the maximum, the government opened its storehouses and sold at the maximum until prices became normal.[8] But Wang Mang, with all his sagacity, seems not to have realized that a government that is not founded upon the consent of the governed can maintain itself only by force. He did not have the hearts of the people and he had not taken pains to secure the support of the army. The new coinage may have been better than the old, but, circulating along with the old, the old drove it out of the market. The attack upon private property in land, the abolition of slavery, the attempt to control prices and the irritation caused by the new taxes, united the landlords, the slaveholders and all the merchants against Wang Mang. All vested interests found in him a common enemy. Add to these forces the opposition of all loyal adherents of the Han Dynasty and all those who had been removed from office or otherwise ill-treated by Wang, and it will be seen that, without a strong army devoted to himself, his case was hopeless. The rescinding of some of the new laws did postpone the end for a time, but for a brief time only. In A.D. 23 his forces were defeated and he himself was taken, beheaded, and his body torn to pieces by the populace. The Han Dynasty was restored; but since the capital had been partially destroyed, the new Emperor removed the seat of government to the city of Loyang, which had during many centuries been the capital of the Chou Dynasty. The restored dynasty, therefore, is known as the Eastern Han. Sometimes it is called the Later Han. Kuang Wu Ti, who reëstablished the dynasty, was a man of fine character. He was a successful soldier, but he did not love war. The good government continued under his successor, Ming Ti; but the Later Han,

[8] *History of Early Han,* xcix, pt. 2, fol. 4, a and b; and 6, b. *Vide* also Wieger, *op. cit.,* pp. 721-723.

like all other Chinese dynasties, was cursed by eunuchs who have ever been given to corruption and intrigue.

After the death of Ming Ti in A.D. 76, all the rulers of the Later Han came to the throne as children. This left the administration in the hands of their mothers who were all inexperienced women and guided by ambitious and unscrupulous eunuchs. Jealousy, strife and murder in the palace were accompanied by misgovernment and rebellion in the provinces. The Yellow Turbans, a secret society given to superstition and magic, much like the Boxers of 1900, fomented revolution in A.D. 184. The army suppressed it, but, flushed with this victory, turned upon the corrupt eunuchs in the palace and murdered most of them. The commanding general, Tung Cho, however, was as unscrupulous as the eunuchs. He murdered the Emperor, put an imbecile on the throne as his puppet, and began a struggle with rivals for power that overturned the Later Han in A.D. 220 and rent the empire.

The Constitution of the Han Dynasty

At the founding of the dynasty in 202 B.C., Liu Pang divided his empire among his eight sons, his two brothers and certain other leaders who had assisted in the conquest. There were also one hundred and forty-three of his officers who were given titles with grants of land. Thus there was danger that one of the most important reforms introduced by Ch'in Shih Huang Ti might be lost through the reintroduction of feudalism. Liu Pang was not unmindful of the danger, but he had to adjust his policy to circumstances beyond his control. He lessened the danger by a system of provincial administration similar to that of Ch'in, under the direct control of the Throne. Various rebellions that occurred among the vassal kings gave opportunity for their removal, but it was not until the time of Wu Ti, in 127 B.C., that the danger was entirely removed. A wise minister of that famous monarch recommended that the vassals be permitted, as though it were the grant of a favor, to divide their lands among their sons and not required to bequeath them as theretofore to their eldest sons. This quickly led to the multiplication of titles, but also to the division of estates with a consequent loss of power by the vassals.

Introduction of Buddhism

One of the most interesting events of the four centuries covered by this chapter was the introduction of a foreign religion. Buddhism came into Turkestan perhaps as early as 250 B.C. The Chinese, in their frequent wars in that region, as well as through their commercial relations, must have become somewhat acquainted with it long before the Christian Era. But it was not until the reign of Ming Ti that it received official recognition and was openly propagated. There seems to be nothing improbable in the account given by Chinese historians of a dream of Ming Ti in A.D. 61, in which he saw a golden image of a man coming into his palace. Such an image may have been included in the loot brought after the various campaigns in central Asia, and may have been placed among the curios of the palace. It appears that the brother of Ming Ti had become acquainted with Buddhism. He urged the Emperor to send a mission to India to inquire about this religion, to which he thought the dream related. The mission was sent, and it returned in A.D. 65 or 68 with an idol and some Buddhist books. The new faith spread very slowly, however, for the celibacy required of its teachers was opposed by one of the plainest tenets of Confucianism. Buddhist missionaries came and went for six hundred years before the religion became well established in China. Today it is the most popular religion there.

Foreign Trade

The earliest foreign commerce of the Chinese was carried on with the states of central Asia. The wars of the Han Dynasty had made the Chinese well acquainted with that region. Caravans carried Chinese silks, furs, and iron[9] to

[9] Some have doubted the statement that iron was transported from China to Rome. Schoff of the Philadelphia Commercial Museum was inclined to believe that the iron which the Romans called sericum came from India. But his objection, that the cost of carrying such a heavy article as iron the long distance across Asia would make the price prohibitive, is not well founded. It was the very fine iron used for cutting instruments that would be desired, and packages of these small blades would probably be carried with less trouble than more bulky stuffs. Schoff assumed that the iron came from the region in which Kuan Tzu had established his monopoly, but that would be unnecessary. Iron was worked from early times on the northwestern frontier. *Vide* also Laufer, *Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, pp. 229, 230.

the borders of Parthia, where they exchanged their wares for jewels, medicines, glass and woolen goods. The Parthians controlled the roads westward to Rome and profited at the expense of Romans and Chinese. In A.D. 161 this trade was interrupted by the Parthian war of Marcus Aurelius. Roman merchants thereupon sought a sea route to China. They coasted along the shores of India and the Malay Peninsula and, pushing up either the Salween or the Mekong, entered China and made their way to its capital. But they did not arrive until A.D. 166, when the war was over and overland trade resumed, so that no sea trade was established at that time.

Literature

It was in the year 213 B.C. that Ch'in Shih Huang Ti issued his decree ordering the burning of the Confucian classics. He died in 210 B.C., so that the edict was enforced for a brief time only, although it was not formally rescinded until 191 B.C. Moreover, the copies belonging to the high officials at the Court were expressly excepted from the destruction decreed. There probably would have been but little difficulty in recovering the entire text of the books, had it not been for the destruction of the capital and its palaces in the war that overthrew the Ch'in Dynasty.

The Han Dynasty did much for the recovery and preservation of the ancient literature. During the reign of Wu Ti copies of the *Shu King,* the *Ch'un Ch'iu,* the "Classic of Filial Piety" and the "Analects of Confucius" were found hidden in a wall of the old home of Confucius. This discovery led to a revival of classical studies. The text of much of the Confucian scriptures was recovered and a critical examination made of their contents.

The invention of paper by the Chinese in the first century of the Christian Era encouraged literary production. Ssu-ma Ch'ien, the Chinese "Father of History," was a contemporary of Wu Ti. Ssu-ma Tan, the father of the great historian, had begun a history of China, but had died, leaving it unfinished. His son took up the work. He called it the *Shih Chi,* that is, "The Historical Record." It contains a history of China from the earliest times of which anything is known down to Ssu-ma

Ch'ien's own day, about 100 B.C.[10] Ssu-ma Ch'ien was remarkably free from superstition and very careful to weigh the evidence for any important statement. His work has been the model upon which all the official histories are written. It contains annals of the central government, biographies of great men, notices of foreign states with which there were any relations, and special chapters upon religion, music, astronomical occurrences and other natural phenomena, as well as changes in legislation and modifications of the calendar. He deserves great praise, too, for his brave defense of his friend, Li Ling, who, after defeat in battle, had surrendered to the Hsiung-nu rather than commit suicide. For this defence Ssu-ma Ch'ien was punished by a cruel mutilation.

Another member of the Ssu-ma family was Ssu-ma Hsiang-ju, who died in 117 B.C. He was celebrated for his verses, and also for the romance associated with his name. He was a skillful musician and by his lute won the heart of a beautiful widow, whose father frowned upon the match. The lovers eloped and, since the poet had no fortune, they opened a wine shop, where the bride served as barmaid. Her father, however, could not stand that; he relented and brought them home. The poet afterward rose to high position in the service of Wu Ti. Mei Sheng, who lived in the second century B.C., was also a distinguished poet. He did much to introduce the five-syllable line in poetry, a meter that became very popular and superseded the earlier versification.

To this period we owe, too, the work of Pan Ku, who wrote the history of the Early Han Dynasty. He was put to death for complicity in a palace intrigue, and his work was finished by his sister, the Lady Ts'ao, who was the author of other works also, both in poetry and prose.

Philosophy

Attention has been called already to the degeneracy of Taoism during this period.

By the second century of our era Taoism ceased to be a philosophy and became transformed into a religion. The growing popularity of Buddhism probably had much to do

[10] A great part of the work has been translated into French by Edouard Chavannes.

with this change. The grossest superstitions of the Chinese were gathered into one system. Temples were built and filled with images. Lao Tzu would have been disgusted could he have seen himself converted into a god, and he would have scorned the company in which he was placed. Magic, charms against witchcraft, alleged communication with the dead, belief in demon possession and the practice of exorcism were among the distinguishing features of this religion. Chang Liang, a minister of the first emperor of the Han Dynasty, was reputed to have spent his later years in a search for the Elixir of Immortality. His descendant in the eighth generation, Chang Tao-ling, who died in A.D. 34, was in A.D. 166 declared to have been the first pope of the organization. The Taoist papacy has remained in his family ever since that time.

All this superstition, both Buddhist and Taoist, aroused the ire of the philosopher, Wang Ch'ung, of the first century of our era. He derided the credulity of the age. He even criticized Confucius and Mencius. He boldly denied the immortality of the soul, which he regarded as merely a phenomenon that disappeared with life,[11] just as the flame disappears when the fuel is consumed.

The Arts

The manufacture of pottery is one of the arts for which the Chinese have been long noted. The potter's wheel is mentioned in the literature of the Chou period. Many specimens of the pottery of the Han Dynasty are to be seen in the museums and in private collections. The invention during this period of a new symbol for the ware, a symbol now used for porcelain, has led some to think that porcelain was introduced under the Han Dynasty. A Japanese writer has suggested that the experiments of the alchemists during the Han Dynasty may have led accidentally to the production of true porcelain. Bushell has expressed the opinion [12] that the importation of glass vessels from Syria at that time may have led to experiments for the production of glass that resulted in the manufacture of porcelain. Attempts at glass-making, how-

[11] An interesting article on Wang Ch'ung and Plato was published by Dr. A. Forke in the *Journal of the China Branch, R. A. S.*, vol. xxxi, No. 1, New Series, 1896-97.

[12] S. W. Bushell, *Chinese Art*, vol. ii, p. 16.

ever, were unsuccessful before the fifth century of our era. Among the specimens of pottery of the Han Dynasty now to be seen no porcelain is to be found. Much of that on exhibition is funerary pottery, imitations of household furniture and farming implements and of buildings in miniature. These specimens give us much information about the daily life of the people, but they are not likely to be the best specimens of the pottery of the period. The better kinds include vases, jars and censers. The decoration of some of these vessels is similar to that found on the bronze articles of the Chou period: hunting scenes, tigers, dogs, birds and other animals, as well as plant forms. Laufer finds the lion indicated in these decorations truer to nature than the conventional lion brought in by Buddhism. His opinion is that the lion is Mycenæan, and that China during this period owed much to the influence of Siberian or Scythian art.[13] One theme introduced at this time is certainly indigenous,—that of the three hills, found on the covers of censers, representing the three islands of the immortals. Much of the pottery of the period is glazed. "The prevailing tint," says Laufer, "is a bright green monochrome." Other colors mentioned are red, brown, black, yellow, white and bluish gray. Sculpture had quite a development during the Han period. Chavannes ascribes it to the influence of Buddhism.[14] The best known examples of carvings on stone of this time are the bas-reliefs found in Shantung and described by Chavannes in his *La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine*. Better examples have been described by Victor Segalen in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.[15] This art in China attained its highest development under later dynasties.

An Era of Change

It will have been noted that the period covered in this chapter, extending from 256 B.C. to 220 of the Christian Era, was one marked by many changes: social, religious, political and industrial. There were important changes in political organization. Legal codes were repeatedly modified. New methods of administration were adopted. Civil service examinations

[13] *Vide* B. Laufer, *Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, 1909.
[14] *La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine*, Introduction.
[15] Vol. xlviii, 1917.

were established. There were several remarkable experiments in legislation. There were new philosophical conceptions, new religious doctrines and new methods of expression in literature and art. Many improvements in education and social welfare were attempted. There was more frequent intercourse than ever before with foreign countries. The conquest of Turkestan and the intimate relations established with central Asia greatly increased China's knowledge of other peoples and other customs. This led to the introduction of foreign influences that were felt chiefly in religion and in art, but also to a lesser degree in social life. I have called this period "The Period of Reconstruction." With the disappearance of the Chou Dynasty and its feudal institutions, the ground was cleared for a more modern structure of society. The minds of the people were open to new ideas. It was, therefore, a period of change and progress. Much time was to pass, however, before the full effect of these changes would be realized. The old was still powerful. Conservatism was strongly intrenched. The struggle between old and new was destined to continue for generations.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

Ch'in Dynasty

	B.C.
King Chaohsiang	255-250
" Hsiaowen	250
" Chuanghsiang	249-246
Prince Cheng as King	246-221
as Shih Huang Ti	221-209
Erh Shih Huang Ti	209

Early Han Dynasty

Emperor Kao Ti	206-194
" Hui Ti	194-187
Empress Lü	187-179
Emperor Wen Ti	179-156
" Ching Ti	156-140
" Wu Ti	140- 86
" Chao Ti	86- 73
" Hsüan Ti	73- 48
" Yüan Ti	48- 32
" Ch'eng Ti	32- 6

"	Ai Ti	6- 1
		A.D.
"	P'ing Ti	1- 6
Prince Imperial, Jutzu Ying		6- 9

HSIN DYNASTY

		A.D.
Usurper Wang Mang		9- 23
Interim, Prince Huaiyang		23- 25

LATER HAN DYNASTY

		A.D.
Emperor Kuang Wu Ti		25- 58
"	Ming Ti	58- 76
"	Chang Ti	76- 89
"	Ho Ti	89-106
"	Shang Ti	106-107
"	An Ti	107-126
"	Shun Ti	126-145
"	Ch'ung Ti	145-146
"	Chih Ti	146-147
"	Huan Ti	147-168
"	Ling Ti	168-189
"	Shao Ti	189
"	Hsien Ti	189-220

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Shih Chi,
T'ung Chien Kang Mu.

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CHAPTER V

A PERIOD OF TRAVAIL

THE THREE KINGDOMS

Wei in the North.....A.D. 220-265
Minor Han in the West.. 221-263
Wu in the South..... 222-280

THE CHIN DYNASTY

North 265
South 280-313

THE CHINESE SOUTH		THE BARBARIAN NORTH	
Eastern Chin .....A.D.	317-419	Han .....A.D.	308-319
		Yen	336-370
		Chao	316-328
		Later Chao.....	329-351
Sung	420-477	Ch'in	351-394
Ch'i	479-499	Northern Wei	386-535
Liang	499-557	Northern Ch'i	550-581
Ch'en	557-589	Northern Chou	557-589

REUNION

Sui Dynasty.....A.D. 589-618

Wheresoever the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together.
—JESUS.

There are those who say, I am skillful in strategy, I am skillful in war. Great is their sin.
—MENCIUS.

Nor kind nor coinage buys
Aught above its rate.
Fear, Craft and Avarice
Cannot rear a state.
—EMERSON.

THE struggle at the close of the Later Han Dynasty, mentioned in the last chapter, continued for more than four hundred years. It was a period of travail preceding the birth of an era of great glory. These four centuries for the most part were a time of strife and confusion. China seemed to be in process of disintegration. Numerous petty leaders

struggled one with another for control of parts of the great empire. There were divisions north and south and divisions east and west. There were wars of Chinese with Chinese, of Chinese with Tartars, with Turks and with Tibetans, and of these races with one another. Many kingdoms were established. Many dynasties rose and fell, and there were long lists of kings and emperors. The details of the history of this period for the most part are of little interest to us, but there are some events of such importance that they must be mentioned. Few of the names of warriors, kings or emperors deserve to be remembered, but those few we must know, and with them other names of artists and teachers. There are pages in the history of the period that are stained by treachery and cruelty, but there are others bright with deeds of heroism, chivalry and self-sacrifice. By the mingling of races, creeds and tongues a new nation was being formed. By the struggle of battle and by the endurance of penury and pain the soul of the people was made courageous and strong. The examples of daring and devotion have been preserved in song and story and become an inspiration for all time.

The Three Kingdoms

The first sixty years of the period cover the entire history of the Three Kingdoms. Brief as it was, the struggle of these three states has furnished a series of events among the most exciting in the entire life of the nation, if we may judge by the place accorded it in the literature of the Chinese. It is the theme of the most popular novel, and still supplies the theater with its best known plays and the artist with subjects for his brush. In many a tea house throughout the land the story-teller engaged to entertain the guests will hold his hearers spellbound as he recites these more than twice-told tales.

The rebellion of the Yellow Turbans broke out in the year 184 of our era. They were deluded victims of Taoist monks who claimed to possess magical powers. Whatever the original intention of the leaders may have been, in the end the movement became revolutionary. The extravagance and oppression of the government aroused the hostility of all classes. Famine, earthquake and pestilence gave further inducement to reckless conduct. But the poorly equipped insur-

gents were no match for the imperial troops. The rising was soon suppressed. This done, the commander of the army sought to remove the cause of misgovernment by ridding the Court of the meddlesome eunuchs. In this he was opposed by his sister, the Empress Mother. The eunuchs murdered the commander and were themselves in large numbers massacred by the soldiery. Tung Cho, the second in command of the troops, removed the child Emperor and substituted another child of the imperial lineage whose mother was related to himself. He looted the palaces, destroyed the city of Loyang, whose site it was difficult to defend, and removed the capital back to Changan in the Wei River Valley. His ambition to rule the country in the name of the child Emperor aroused the jealousy of other military commanders who seized various parts of the empire. Tung Cho was killed by a lieutenant, and Ts'ao Ts'ao, who had secured possession of the boy ruler, obtained control of the north where he established the state of Wei. Sun Chien set up a government south of the Yangtze where his son subsequently established the kingdom of Wu. Liu Pei, a scion of the House of Han, obtained control of the far west. He claimed to be fighting in defense of the imperial family.

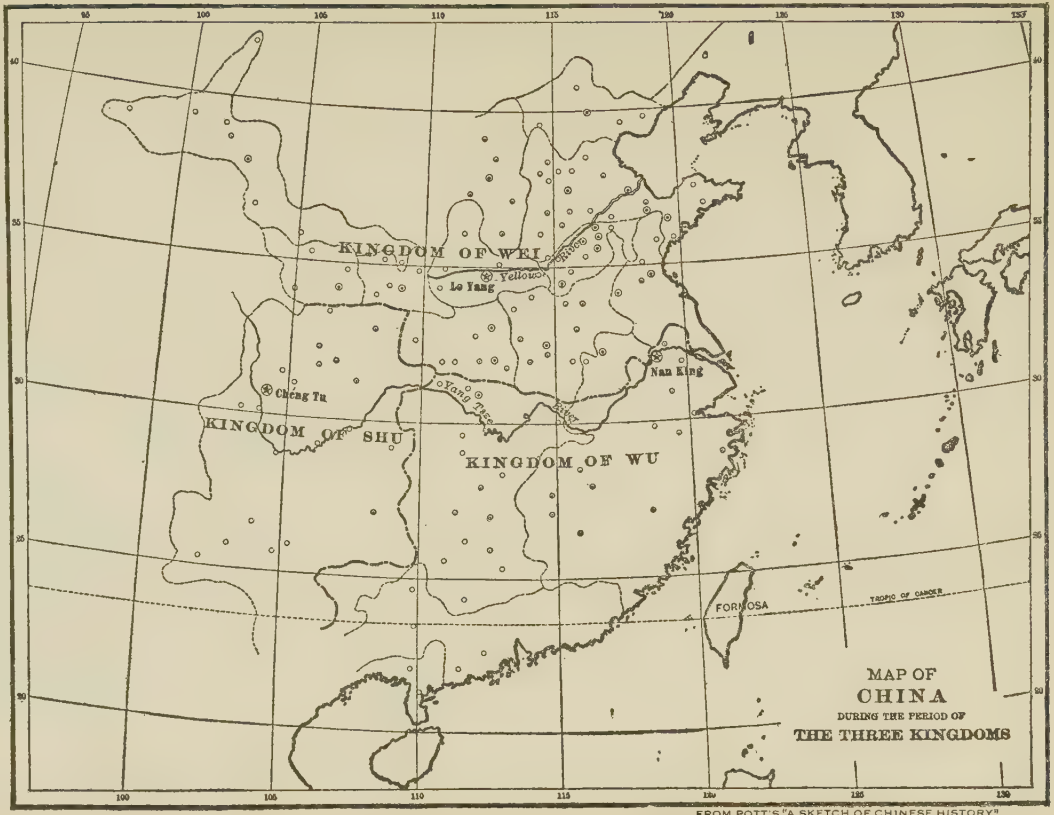
The Kingdom of Wei

Ts'ao Ts'ao was a celebrated military commander. He was especially noted for the rapidity of his movements, and his name passed into a proverb still in use, "Mention Ts'ao Ts'ao and Ts'ao Ts'ao is at hand." He married his daughter to the young Emperor. At first he called himself Duke of Wei; later he became King of Wei. But he continued to recognize his son-in-law as his imperial master. The Emperor, however, was but a puppet. When Ts'ao Ts'ao was dead, his son who succeeded him as King of Wei, was less scrupulous than his father. He boldly pushed his brother-in-law off the throne and proclaimed himself as Emperor. This was in A.D. 220.

The Minor Han

The assumption of the imperial title by the son of Ts'ao Ts'ao gave Liu Pei a good excuse for advancing his own claims

to the throne. In 221 he proclaimed himself Emperor. His dynasty is known as the Minor Han, and his capital was at Chengtu in Szechuen, as it is called today. The fighting between Liu Pei and Ts'ao Ts'ao had begun as early as 194. During the sixteen years that followed, Liu met with many reverses. On one occasion he was taken by surprise and narrowly escaped capture. The attack was so sudden that he was separated from his wife and child who were in the camp. A subordinate, Chao Yün, thereupon caught up the infant and, placing him in his tunic, cut his way through the enemy's lines and thus saved the future heir of the dynasty. Following this defeat, Liu Pei strengthened his position by marrying the sister of Sun Ch'üan who had succeeded his father and brother in control of the state of Wu. Still better support was given Liu Pei by two friends, whose names are always associated with his own, Kuan Yü and Chang Fei. The three friends had been companions in arms in the war with the Yellow Turbans and subsequently in the army of Ts'ao Ts'ao. They had entered into a covenant of friendship in the peach orchard of Chang Fei. Such covenants have been known in China from ancient times. The oath is regarded as very sacred, and is sealed by pricking a finger of each party and letting a drop of blood fall into a cup of wine, of which all then take a sip. This makes them blood brothers and binds them to mutual defence even, if need be, at the sacrifice of life. The "Oath in the Peach Orchard" is known to all China. Allusions to it in literature are common, and the theme has frequently appealed to the artist. Of the three friends Kuan Yü was the most successful general, but in 219 he was slain in battle with Sun Ch'üan, the brother-in-law and supposed ally of Liu Pei. The latter had defeated Ts'ao Ts'ao, who in revenge threatened the state of Wu. To save himself, Sun Ch'üan forsook his brother-in-law and formed an alliance with Ts'ao Ts'ao. In accordance with the terms of the alliance, Sun Ch'üan made a surprise attack upon Kuan Yü, who was killed in the struggle. When Liu Pei had proclaimed himself Emperor he felt it to be his first duty to keep the oath of friendship and avenge the death of Kuan Yü. Against the advice of the Chief Minister, Liu Pei and Chang Fei undertook the toilsome march over the mountains to attack Wu. The troops of Chang Fei mutinied and killed him. Liu Pei was defeated and died on



FROM POTT'S "A SKETCH OF CHINESE HISTORY"
COURTESY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL, PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

the retreat. Kuan Yü, however, is looked upon by the Chinese as the typical martial hero. He was deified in 1594 as the God of War. A temple in his honor will be found in every large city in China. He was worshiped by the Manchus as the patron deity of their dynasty.

More important, however, than Kuan Yü in the establishment of the Minor Han was the statesman, Chu Ko-liang. He was living as a hermit in 207 when invited by Liu Pei to join him in defence of the Han Dynasty. He accepted the invitation and proved to be a shrewd adviser and a skillful strategist. Liu Pei when about to die committed his son to Chu Ko-liang and exhorted the son and heir to follow the old minister's counsel. Chu was faithful to the trust. He had opposed the ill-fated expedition against the state of Wu, and after the death of the Emperor he urged the son to make peace with his uncle, which he did. The youthful monarch, however, was not worthy of his father. His viciousness and folly scarcely justified the risk taken by Chao Yün in saving his life as an infant. But as long as Chu Ko-liang lived, the throne was safe, notwithstanding the unending war with the state of Wei. Chu's chivalry was displayed in his treatment of a chieftain of one of the tribes on the border of Burmah, who sought to invade the empire. Three times the chief had been captured by Chu, and each time he had been set free. This generous treatment at last won the good will of the tribe and brought peace to that region.

Both the Minor Han Dynasty and the House of Ts'ao Ts'ao were fortunate in the character of their military leaders. Chu Ko-liang found a foeman worthy in every respect of his skill in Ssu-ma I, the generalissimo of Wei. Chu shone in the attack. Ssu-ma I preferred Fabian tactics, for he knew that Chu Ko-liang had to fight far from his base in order to attack Wei, and he sought to wear out the enemy by avoiding a decisive engagement. On one occasion Ssu-ma yielded to the importunities of his men and gave battle. He was defeated. In 234 Chu Ko-liang attacked again, but Ssu-ma fell back and returned to his dilatory tactics. Chu taunted him with cowardice and sent him a woman's headdress as better suited to him than a military cap. Ssu-ma's troops begged to be allowed to wipe out the disgrace, but their commander refused. In the end Chu Ko-liang was compelled to retreat to his base. He

died upon the march. He is regarded as one of the great national heroes. Many legends have gathered about his name. One of the stories told in illustration of his courage relates that, being surprised one day in a small town with a guard of but few men, he had the gates thrown open and seated himself in one of the gate towers where the approaching enemy could see him. There he took up his lute and played as if unconscious of the nearness of his foe. The vanguard of the hostile force caught sight of him and halted. They suspected an ambush and fell back. This gave Chu time to rescue his troops and they escaped.

The glory of the Minor Han soon faded after the death of Chu Ko-liang. Its capital was taken by the army of Wei in 263 and its territories incorporated in that state.

The State of Wu

The great Yangtze River bounded the state of Wu on the north and proved to be a strong defence. Generally speaking, Wu and the Minor Han were in alliance, but even when the alliance was broken, as already related, Wu found a strong defence against the invaders from the west in the enormous mountain barrier whose principal pass is that of the dangerous gorges of the Yangtze. Sun Chien established his capital at Wuchang, just opposite the mouth of the Han River. He was succeeded by his eldest son in 191 and he by his brother, Sun Ch'üan, in 200. The last-mentioned moved the capital to Nanking. At first he was content with the title of Duke of Wu, but later changed it to King, and in 229 boldly assumed that of Emperor.

Several attempts were made by the army of Wei to invade the state of Wu, but they all failed. The most serious was that of 208. A huge flotilla was assembled for the transport of troops across the great river. A general of Wu resorted to a ruse to save his army which was vastly outnumbered by the enemy. A subordinate was instructed to send a messenger secretly to the commander of the Wei forces, offering to surrender and saying that on a certain night he would descend the river in a fleet of boats laden with arms for the northern army. The boats came as promised, but when near their destination they burst into flames and set fire to the northern

flotilla which was entirely destroyed. In the confusion that followed the troops of Wu made an attack and scattered the army of Wei in a terrible rout. More fortunate than its neighbors, the state of Wu remained free from the alarms of war during a great part of the period of the Three Kingdoms and enjoyed considerable prosperity. But in 264 its northern neighbor, being in full possession of the territories of the Minor Han, passed under the power of a new dynasty. Ssu-ma Yen, a descendant of the great Ssu-ma I, was generalissimo and virtual ruler of the empire of Wei. It was easy for him to make himself also the nominal ruler. He dethroned the degenerate descendant of Ts'ao Ts'ao and proclaimed himself Emperor and his dynasty the Chin.[1] In the year 280 a weakling on the throne of Wu surrendered his empire to the new dynasty, and for a brief time China was once more united under one government.

A House Divided

The union did not last long. Civil strife invited an invasion by Tartar hordes. In 312 and again in 316 a Chinese emperor was carried away captive by these barbarians. A distant collateral relative of the House of Ssu-ma I set up a new Chinese dynasty at Chienk'ang, or modern Nanking. This dynasty is known as the Eastern Chin. The south thus remained Chinese, but a variety of barbarian chieftains for nearly three centuries struggled one with another for control of the northern half of China. For fifty years the Hsiung-nu, or Huns, those ancient enemies of China, held sway there. On the northeastern frontier another Tartar people rose to prominence, a Tungusic tribe, related to the ancestors of the modern Manchus. For a time they were tributary to the empire of Wei. They accepted Chinese civilization and about 300 they chose an Emperor or Grand Khan. Many of the Chinese people in the northern part of the country fled to this barbarian ruler for protection. In 336 this state extended its boundaries into China Proper, and called itself the Kingdom of Yen. In 370 it yielded place to a Tibetan dynasty. But the most important of all these Tartar governments was that of the House of

[1] Not to be confounded with Ch'in Dynasty.

Toba which established itself in the northern part of what is modern Shansi and in 386 set up the dynasty of Northern Wei, one of the most celebrated in Chinese history. This dynasty gradually acquired control of all China north of the Yangtze and flourished for one hundred and fifty years under a number of able monarchs. In 535 it became divided into an Eastern Wei and a Western Wei.

The Turks

Mention must be made also of another people, the first notice of whom in Chinese history is under the date 545. This is the Turkish nation, a tribe of the Hsiung-nu living on the northwestern frontier, near a hill that from its likeness to a helmet was called Dürkö, the origin, according to Parker, of our word "Turk."[2] In 546 the chieftain of this tribe asked in marriage a princess of the Joujang. The ruler of the latter tribe spurned the request, claiming that the Turks were his slaves. The Turks avenged the insult by destroying the Joujang. In 551 the Turkish suitor married a princess of the Western Wei. His successors greatly extended the Turkish dominions until they reached Siberia on the north and included a vast stretch of territory, from the Caspian Sea on the West to the Sungari River on the east. In their original seat they were workers in iron and other metals.

Reunion

In 557 the Western Wei yielded place to a short-lived dynasty, the Northern Chou, which twenty years later came into possession of the whole of the northern part of the empire. The principal minister of the government in 581 was Yang Chien, a Chinese, although serving a barbarian monarch. He was the father of the Empress and an able statesman. Wearied by the incapacity of the government and the folly of the court, he seized the throne and established a Chinese dynasty known as the Sui. He immediately declared war upon the southern empire and in 589 annexed its territories.

[2] E. H. Parker, *A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, Bk. iv, p. 178. Shanghai, 1895.

Barbarians East and West

The incident just mentioned is evidence of the intermingling of Chinese with the barbarian invaders from the north. The amalgamation of races in north China during this period had far-reaching effects. The Tartar invasion of China has been likened to the descent in Europe of the Goths and Vandals upon the Roman Empire. In both cases a highly civilized but decadent empire was overrun by barbarous tribes coming from the north. Did the two movements, perhaps, have a common cause? They were very nearly synchronous, but the eastern was a little the earlier. The Chinese capital was taken in 312, Rome passed into the possession of the barbarians just one hundred years later. Both in Europe and Asia these invasions destroyed much that was of value and inflicted upon the people great suffering, yet in both regions in the end they probably accomplished more good than harm. Upon the ruins of the old civilization there was builded a better order than that which had perished. In China it seemed as though a new people had been created in this alembic of races. Coincident with this racial struggle there entered, too, another factor, which had much to do with the transformation that took place. This was the introduction of foreign influences coming from the West. Before dealing with this subject we must review briefly the development of events in the southern part of the empire, which was ruled from the city that today we call Nanking.

Southern Dynasties

The Eastern Chin Dynasty ruled southern China for one hundred and two years. Many efforts were made by its monarchs to recover control of the north, but, although successful in numerous engagements, they were never able to retain control of the territory conquered. In 419 the dynasty was overturned by the commander of the army, Liu Yü, who set up the Liu Sung Dynasty. He was a man who had had a remarkable career. Picked up as a waif in infancy, he was reared by tender-hearted strangers. In manhood he enlisted in the army where by his courage and skill he rose from the ranks to the supreme command and eventually to the throne. But his

dynasty did not last long. It was upset by the commander of the Imperial Guard in 477 who established a new dynasty that in turn was overthrown in 499 by a relative of the imperial family. This man, Hsiao Yen, was the most celebrated of all the monarchs that ruled in Nanking during this period. He called his dynasty the Liang. As he was a warrior, he is generally known as the Liang Wu Ti, or "Martial Emperor of the Liang." He ruled for fifty years and died at the age of eighty-six. He began his reign as a Confucianist, built a temple to Confucius and established schools for the study of the Confucian classics. In 517, however, he became an ardent Buddhist. He was such a devoted vegetarian that he issued a decree forbidding the weaving of figures of animals or of men in the silks that were being manufactured, lest one in cutting the silk might acquire a careless attitude toward the destruction of life. Several times during his reign he abandoned the throne and entered a Buddhist monastery, but was each time recalled to power by the political situation. It was during his reign that the celebrated Boddhidharma came from India to China. The Patriarch did not remain long at Nanking, however, but preferred the northern kingdom. A popular legend represents him as crossing the Yangtze on a reed, a favorite subject of Chinese artists.

The Liang Wu Ti was buried outside the walls of Nanking. His grave, guarded by winged lions, is still to be seen about five miles north of the T'aip'ing Gate.

The Sui Dynasty

The Liang Dynasty did not long survive its founder. It was overturned by the army in 557. The succeeding dynasty, the Ch'en, lasted but a dozen years when it yielded to the founder of the Sui, whose forces, sweeping down from the north, captured Nanking in 589 and brought the whole country under his sway. Yang Chien had risen to power through the marriage of his daughter to the Emperor of the Northern Chou. He was ennobled with the title of Duke of Sui. His daughter had him made Premier. After the death of his son-in-law, a mad monarch, he made himself Emperor and called his dynasty the Sui. He was an illiterate man, but one with great force of character and possessed of sound common sense. He

had the penal code revised and the penalties considerably lightened. The music of the state worship was improved by the introduction of a new scale. He undertook a number of important public works. The capital was reëstablished at Changan in the valley of the Wei. That river was obstructed by rapids and sand bars. He had a canal constructed parallel to the river, one hundred miles (English) in length. He extended the Great Wall seven hundred *li* (233 miles) westward from the northern bend of the Yellow River. He also revived in part the ancient organization of the people, grouping the families in hundreds, each hundred having a headman. In his later years he became a Buddhist and closed all the public schools, which were Confucianist.

Pestilence

The year 589, in which the Sui Dynasty was set up, was made memorable by the outbreak of plague. Great numbers of people perished. Men became panic-stricken and fled from their afflicted relatives, leaving them to die unattended. One man immortalized himself by his conduct at this time. This was Hsin Kung-i, the Governor of Min Chou. With cool courage he remained at his post. He gathered as many of the sick as he could into his yamen, which he converted into a hospital. He supplied food and medicines and attended the unhappy creatures himself. Many lives were thus saved, and when he restored the convalescent to their homes, he exhorted them not to fear contagion. He was a firm believer in predestination. He quoted to them from the Confucian scriptures, "Death and life are foreordained."

Although the Sui Dynasty began with so much promise, it had but a short life. Yang Chien was succeeded by his second son, Yang Ti, who proved to be selfish, luxury-loving and tyrannical. Conscription for war created much discontent, especially because the wars were for conquest of distant regions. Cambodia was invaded in 605 and its capital looted. Korea was attacked in 611 because that dependency had ceased to pay tribute. Twice the Chinese armies invaded that peninsula, only to be beaten and driven out. But the third attempt was successful and Korea returned to its former condition of vassalage.

Yang Ti lost the empire in 618 and, since he was the last of his house, the Chinese historians account for the downfall of the Sui by tales of his great wickedness. In this case some of the reports are well-founded, but perhaps we should discount others because of the tendency to blacken the characters of all rulers who lose the mandate of Heaven. At any rate he deserves credit for some very worthy enterprises. He removed the capital to the ancient site at Loyang, where he laid out a vast park with an artificial lake and artificial islands. He connected the Yellow River by canal with the Huai, and improved the old canal that joined the Huai to the Yangtze. Thus, by use of these waterways and the canal constructed by his father, he was able to travel by boat all the way from Changan to the Yangtze. But beneficent as these works were, they only increased the hatred of the people for their ruler, because these vast enterprises were accomplished by forced labor. There were other acts of his reign whose praiseworthy character cannot be questioned. He assembled a hundred scholars to produce an encyclopedia. It contained seventeen hundred chapters and dealt with such subjects as agriculture, geography, literature, medicine, divination, dogs, falconry, and games. In Ch'angan there was a large library of more than three hundred thousand books. From these he selected duplicates to the number of thirty-seven thousand for a library at Loyang. It was during his reign that the first commercial mission was sent abroad. It visited Siam in 607 and upon its return, three years later, it was received with great honor.

The downfall of the short-lived Sui Dynasty marks a turning point in Chinese history, the end of a long period of disorder, to be followed, as we shall see, by one of remarkable enlightenment and prosperity.

Foreign Intercourse

The condition of China during this period of strife and division was not one to encourage foreign trade. Nevertheless, China's commerce with the West continued and developed, although very slowly. In A.D. 226 a second commercial mission from Rome arrived by sea. It came by the way of Indo-China and made its way northward as far as the state of Wu. Owing to the hostilities between the three kingdoms,

BODDHI DHARMA CROSSING THE YANGTZE ON A REED

it proceeded no further. Sun Ch'üan, King of Wu, sent an officer back with the mission to encourage the development of commerce, but he died on the journey.[3] Sea-borne trade increased, however, for we find that by A.D. 300 there was a considerable colony of Arabs and Indians at Canton, which took the place of Cattigara as the port of entry. Canton, as we shall see, continued for centuries to enjoy a monopoly of this trade, and the Arabs for twelve hundred years controlled the shipping over the Indian Ocean.

While the south of China profited by this commerce, the north continued to exchange its commodities for those of the West by the overland route. After the Turks had established their empire, one of their Khans for a time in the sixth century controlled the roads to Constantinople and enriched himself at the expense of the trade. This drove the jealous Persians and the Greeks into an alliance against the Turks. One interesting result of the struggle was the capture by Persia of a number of Turks who were found to have the cross tattooed upon their bodies. Thinking that they must be Christians, the Persian monarch sent them to the Greek Emperor, Maurice, who made inquiry of them. They denied that they were Christians and explained the mark of the cross by saying that their mothers had had it placed upon them for their protection in a time of epidemic. It would seem from this that their mothers must have been Christians. This would indicate that Christianity had spread thus far toward the East by the sixth century of the Christian Era.[4]

Growth of Buddhism

The introduction of Buddhism during the Later Han period, already mentioned, led to some intercourse between China and India. Indian missionaries continued to come to China. Among them in A.D. 310 came the celebrated Buddojanga, who was credited with the performance of many miracles. Other Hindu celebrities were engaged in translating Buddhist scriptures into Chinese.

In A.D. 399 a Chinese monk, Fa Hsien, set out on the long overland journey to India to visit the holy land of his faith.

[3] F. Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 172-178.
[4] *Vide* Wieger, *Textes Historiques*, vol. ii, p. 1406.

He met with many thrilling adventures of which he has told us in the account that he left of his experience.[5] He returned by sea in A.D. 414 and narrowly escaped shipwreck. A violent typhoon swept the junk far out of its course. The superstitious sailors looked upon the monk as a sort of Jonah and would have put him ashore on an island, but a devout merchant, also a passenger, interceded for him. After many days they landed in Kiaochow Bay in Shantung, instead of Canton, for which port they had sailed. Fa Hsien made his way to Nanking and gave himself to the translation of Buddhist sacred books.

It was perhaps in the fourth century that Amidhism was introduced. This is a form of Buddhism which seems to have been influenced by Christian teaching. Boddhidharma, already meantioned, who arrived at Nanking in 527, belonged to the Ch'an sect of Buddhists, in Japan called the Zen sect. Its followers despised literature and gave themselves to meditation. In 518 the Empress Lu of the Northern Wei sent an embassy to Gandhara which returned some two years later with one hundred and seventy works of the Mahayana School. She was a very devout lady and had a convent of Buddhist nuns attached to her palace. She built many temples and pagodas and encouraged the sculpture of numerous images of Buddhist saints.

Art and Architecture

The development of Buddhism in China had, indeed, great influence upon its art and architecture. The Buddhist stupa enshrined the ashes of saints; and pagodas, modified to harmonize with Chinese architecture, covered alleged relics of the Buddha and served to control the spiritual influences that determined local prosperity. The first pagoda in China, it is said, was erected about A.D. 250. With the temple came the Buddhist images. The Buddhists apparently made no image of their master until after the invasion of Alexander the Great had introduced Grecian artists to India. One of them, it is said, chose the Apollo as the model of an image to Buddha, but was required to give the idol long ear lobes and place the

[5] This work has been translated into English by Dr. Legge.

urna in its forehead to make it correspond with traditional accounts of the Buddha's appearance. It ought also to have had a shaven pate to represent properly one who led the life of a Buddhist monk, but the artist balked at that demand, and so the image of Buddha has the curly locks of Apollo. These images of Sakyamuni were multiplied by the thousands under the Northern Wei Dynasty and were scarcely less numerous in the south. Later came images of the Amidha Buddha in the upright posture. One image forty-three feet high, made in A.D. 467, may possibly have been of this saint. Other saints were also represented; among them, the eighteen lohan, apostles of Buddhism, and Kuanyin, the Goddess of Mercy.

The finest examples of Chinese sculpture belong to this period,—those images of heroic size carved in the solid rock in the caves at Yün Kang in northern Shansi and in other caves at Lung Men. Chavannes has described them in a recent work.[6] European vandals have destroyed many of them, cutting off arms and heads to sell to western museums.

Buddhist monks did much for Chinese art. They usually chose the most picturesque spots in the mountains for their monasteries, and surrounded them with groves and gardens, made attractive with rockeries and with winding brooks crossed by artistic bridges. Some of these monks were themselves artists of note. The monasteries were sometimes adorned with mural paintings,—scenes from the life of the Buddha, or some other religious subject. Some of the paintings of this period are still visible in certain caves in north China. Most noted are those found in the caves at Tun Huang, in Kansu, described by Pelliot.[7] These are not all Buddhistic in character. The oldest painting on silk now in existence also belongs to this period but is entirely free from foreign influence. It is the "Admonitions" by Ku K'ai-chih of the fourth century of our era, and is now in the British Museum. It illustrates a literary production of the third century. Ku K'ai-chih lived at Nanking, and Buddhist influence had not yet penetrated that part of the empire to the same extent as the northern kingdom. In the fifth century the following six canons of painting were promulgated by Hsieh Ho:

[6] *Mission Archeologique dans la Chine Septentrionale.*
[7] Paul Pelliott, *Les Grottes de Touen-Houang,* Paris, 1914.

(1) The picture should show life and movement. (2) The structure of the object represented should be studied. (3) One must be true to nature. (4) He must be faithful in coloring, (5) artistic in composition, and (6) conform to tradition.

Literature

The translation of Hindu scriptures made it necessary to adopt some common system of representing foreign words. This led to the invention of a list of Chinese characters for use as initials and finals, by combination of which one could approximate the pronunciation of the foreign term. Analysis of the tones of Chinese began about this time also. The study of Buddhist works stimulated philosophical discussion. The poetry of the period, however, is of more interest. True poetry springs from the heart. The bitter experiences of men and women in a land torn by civil strife are reflected in the verse of the time. Some tell of the sorrow of separation; others in stirring lines picture the wickedness of war,—war, in which "wolves and tigers work their own sweet will";[8] war that covers the plains with the bleaching bones of the dead. The great Ts'ao, himself, had a son, Ts'ao Ch'ih, who was one of the most distinguished poets of his time. Seven well-known poets of the third century formed a literary club, known as the Seven Sages of Bamboo Grove. Among the names of those who ought to be remembered are Fu Mi and T'ao Ch'ien. The latter was given an official post but refused to receive an officer of higher rank than himself with the self-abasement required, and therefore resigned, saying that he "could not crook the hinges of his back for five pecks of rice a day."[9] Salaries at that time, it would seem, were estimated in rice. History was not neglected during the period. It was in A.D. 279 that the "Bamboo Records" were discovered. This gave an impetus to historical studies. Among other works, the *History of the Later Han* was written at this time. Of productions in the nature of fiction, there was "The Peach Blossom Fountain" of T'ao Ch'ien, an allegory that indirectly condemns the misgovernment of the times, since

[8] *Wang Ts'an,* translation of H. A. Giles.
[9] Giles, *History of Chinese Literature,* p. 128.

its "Happy Valley" was a picture of a bygone age of contentment and peace.

Industries

Mention has been made of the fact that the Turks in their original seat were workers in iron. The region was that of Eastern Turkestan. It was, no doubt, from this locality that the Roman trade derived its iron. Dr. Hirth has called attention to a passage in the *Wei Shu* which indicates that the people of that district worked copper and lead as well as iron. More important still was his discovery from a work of the fourth century that they smelted the iron with mineral coal obtained in the same region. Laufer mentions a vessel of metal from the district of Kuche (Turkestan) which bore the date corresponding to A.D. 191. Hirth's studies inclined him to the belief that the name "Kuche" is itself a transliteration in Chinese characters of a Turkish word, meaning "smithy." [10]

The manufacture of pottery continued and some new kinds were invented. Besides the *faïence* known under the Han Dynasty, we read of a celadon made at Loyang during the time of the Three Kingdoms. Later under the Eastern Chin there was a ware called "Blue Porcelain" manufactured at Wenchow in Chekiang.[11] Silk continued to form the most important item of the trade with the West. That trade led to the development of an industry unknown in China before this period, that is, the making of glass. Many varieties of colored glass were being imported from Syria, whose inhabitants appear to have been expert in the manufacture of imitation gems. These jewels of glass were highly prized in China. The secret of their production having been discovered, the manufacture of glass began in the northern empire about A.D. 440. Certain traders from Indo-Scythia taught the art to the Chinese who found the required materials near Tatung Fu in Shansi. It was probably about the same time that the manufacture was introduced into the southern empire; but of that there is less reliable evidence.[12]

[10] Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, pp. 229, 230.
[11] Bushell, *Chinese Art*, vol. ii, p. 16.
[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 60.

Political and Social Reforms

A time of war is not a good time for political experiments. It is not to be expected that much political or social progress could have been made during these four centuries in which China was rent asunder. But there were some attempts at political organization and social reform that deserve attention.

As we have seen, the empire was broken up into a multitude of fragments. Dynastic changes were frequent. The type of government that prevailed in all these various kingdoms was that of a military despotism. The attempt of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti to destroy feudalism seemed to have been forgotten. The founder of the Chin Dynasty divided his territory among his relatives, who served him as feudatories. The Tibetan, who ruled a portion of the empire during a part of this period, also attached military service to the possession of territories. This was apparently the case in other states as well. The far-reaching reforms undertaken by Wang Mang were buried in oblivion. The people were pawns moved about at the will of an absolute monarch.

When the Northern Wei empire was established, its ruler sought to organize the administration on the model of former Chinese governments. He divided the administration among four, rather than six, departments. These four were those of Legislation, Rites, Music and the Calendar. When Liu Yü of the southern empire captured Ch'angan in 436, he found among the treasures in the palace a celestial globe. This indicated that importance was attached to the observation of the movements of the heavenly bodies.

The first Emperor of the Northern Wei Dynasty endeavored to adjust the religion of his fathers to that of the Chinese. In 398 he built altars in the suburbs, as required by Confucian tradition, for the worship of Heaven and Earth, and erected a temple for the worship of his ancestors. His forefathers had practiced religious rites in caves. These ceremonies were continued, and after the official adoption of Buddhism, the caves were consecrated to that faith.

The southern government adhered in the main to the forms of ancient China, but north and south were greatly affected by Taoist superstition and by Buddhist teaching. At times,

however, there were bitter protests against these innovations, and several edicts were issued both in the north and in the south against them. Two of the principal objections urged against Buddhism were that celibacy was required of its clergy and that they were withdrawn from secular life. In 438 the Emperor of the Northern Wei, who needed soldiers, ordered all monks under fifty years of age to return to their homes. Three years earlier in the southern empire a decree forbade the making of bronze idols or the building of temples and monasteries unless first approved by the government. In 473, at a time of reaction from Buddhism, the Emperor of the Northern Wei ennobled the lineal descendant of Confucius of the twenty-eighth generation.

Drunkenness was one of the principal vices of the Tartars. An interesting experiment in 458 was the attempt of the Emperor in the northern empire to cure this vice by forbidding the manufacture, sale or use of fermented liquors. The attempt was not successful and the edict was repealed in 465.

The Use of Chairs

An innovation of real importance was the introduction of the chair. Prior to this period the Chinese sat on mats, as many Asiatics still do. The use of chairs was borrowed from the Turks.[13] It was a great improvement to get up off the floor. Today all Chinese sit on chairs and are distinguished by this practice from some of their neighbors.

Tea Drinking

The tea plant is indigenous in China. Nobody knows who was the first to make a decoction of its leaves. Probably it was done for medicinal purposes, but this is mere surmise. The first notice of tea drinking as a social custom is found in the latter part of the third century of our era.[14] All the world has followed the Chinese in this custom.

[13] Laufer, *Chinese Pottery of the Han Dynasty*, p. 235.

[14] Li Ung Bing, *op. cit.*, p. 106. A quaint description of the Chinese custom of tea drinking is given by an Arab traveler of the ninth century:

"The Emperor also reserves to himself the revenues which arise from the salt mines, and from a certain herb which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities are sold in all the cities, to the amount of great sums,

Census Returns

That the warlike age of which we have been speaking was one of great misery for the common people can be gathered from the fact that during its continuance the population of the country greatly diminished. The official returns show that the total population in 280, at the close of the period of the Three Kingdoms, was sixty per cent less than in 156.

Racial Differences

Brief mention has been made of the effect of Tartar invasions upon the character of the people of north China. This effect, as we shall see, was intensified by later conquests. It is made evident today in the striking differences in physical and mental characteristics as well as in language and political ideals of the northern and southern Chinese. Tzu-ssu, a grandson of Confucius, once wrote as follows:

> To teach with gentleness and tolerance and not to avenge a wrong:—that is the strength of the South, and the gentleman practices it. To take up arms and die without regret:—that is the strength of the North and the violent employ it.

Thus he seems to have recognized the effect of climate upon character. As the centuries pass, we shall have occasion to notice still further how the infusion of barbarian blood from the north has affected the character of the Chinese subjected to it.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

Three Kingdoms

WESTERN HAN		WEI	
			A.D.
Liu Pei, or by Temple Name, Chao Lieh Ti		Ts'ao P'ei or Wen Ti	220-226
A.D.	221-223	Ming Ti	227-239
Liu Ch'an or Hou Chu	223-263	Fei Ti	240-254
		Shao Ti	254-259
		Yüan Ti	260-264

They call it *sah,* and it is a shrub more bushy than the pomegranate tree, and of a more taking smell, but it has a kind of bitterness with it. Their way is to boil water which they pour upon this leaf, and this drink cures all sorts of diseases."

WU

	A.D.
Sun Ch'üan or Ta Ti	222-251
Fei Ti	252-257
Ching Ti	258-263
Mo Ti	264-280

THE WESTERN CHIN (TSIN) DYNASTY

Wu Ti	265-289
Hui Ti	290-306
Huai Ti	307-312
Min Ti	313

THE EASTERN CHIN (TSIN) DYNASTY

Yüan Ti	317-322
Ming Ti	323-325
Ch'eng Ti	326-342
K'ang Ti	343-344
Mu Ti	362-365
Hai Hsi Kung	366-370
Chien Wen Ti	371-372
Hsiao Wu Ti	373-396
An Ti	397-418
Kung Ti	419

PERIOD OF DIVISION, SOUTHERN DYNASTIES

THE LIU SUNG DYNASTY

Wu Ti	420-422
Shao Ti	423
Ying-yang Wang	423
Wen Ti	424-453
Hsiao Wu Ti	454-464
Fei Ti	465
Ming Ti	465-472
Ts'ang Wu Wang	473
Chu Li	473-476
Shun Ti	477

THE CH'I DYNASTY

Kao Ti	479-482
Wu Ti	483-493
Yü-lin Wang	494
Hai-ling Wang	494
Ming Ti	494-498
Tung-hun Hou	499-500
Ho Ti	501

THE LIANG DYNASTY

Wu Ti	502-549
Chien Wen Ti	550
Yü-chang Wang	551
Yüan Ti	552-554
Cheng-yang Hou	555
Ching Ti	555-556

THE CH'EN DYNASTY

Wu Ti	557-559
Wen Ti	560-566
Lin-hai Wang	567-568
Hsuan Ti	569-582
Hou Chu	583-589

Period of Division, Northern Dynasties

THE NORTHERN WEI DYNASTY

Tao Wu Ti	386-408
Ming Yuan Ti	409-423
T'ai Wu Ti	424-451
Nan-an Wang	452
Wen-ch'eng Ti	452-465
Hsien Wen Ti	466-470
Hsiao Wen Ti	471-499
Hsuan Wu Ti	500-515
Hsiao Ming Ti	516-527
Lin-t'ao Wang	528
Hsiao Chuang Ti	528-529
Tung Hai Wang	530
Chieh Min Ti	531
An-ting Wang	531
Hsiao Wu Ti	532

The North Divided

WESTERN WEI DYNASTY

Wen Ti	535-551
Ti Ch'in	552-553
Kung Ti	554

NORTHERN CHOU DYNASTY

Hsiao Min Ti	557
Ming Ti	557-560
Wu Ti	561-577
Hsüan Ti	578-579
Ching Ti	580-589

EASTERN WEI DYNASTY

Hsiao Ching Ti	534-543

NORTHERN CH'I DYNASTY

Wen Hsüan Ti	550-559
Fei Ti	560
Hsiao Chao Ti	560
Wu Ch'eng Ti	561-564
Wen Kung	565-576
An-te Wang	576
Yu Chu	577-581

Reunion of Whole Country

SUI DYNASTY

Kao Tsu or Wen Ti	589-604
Yang Ti	605-616
Kung Ti Yu	617
Kung Ti T'ung	618

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CHAPTER VI

THE GOLDEN AGE

The T'ang Dynasty.....A.D. 618-907
Period of Five Dynasties: Later Liang..... 907-921
Later T'ang..... 923-934
Later Chin..... 936-944
Later Han..... 947-948
Later Chou..... 951-960

Think! In this battered caravanserai,
Whose portals are alternate night and day,
How sultan after sultan with his pomp
Abode his destined hour and went his way.
—OMAR KHAYYAM.

The thing that hath been is that which shall be.
—ECCLESIASTES.

THE downfall of the Sui Dynasty was due in part to the fondness of the Emperor, Yang Ti, for the strange and curious. He not only gathered rare objects from all parts of his empire, but he was interested in foreign peoples, in their customs and costumes. He became quite attached to a Turkish Khan whom he invited to visit him. The Khan came and was royally entertained. He learned much that was of advantage to him when later he decided to invade the empire. The Emperor was warned by his ministers of the danger that he was incurring, but he gave no heed.

Turkish Friendship

A prominent officer in the Chinese army was Li Yüan, Duke of T'ang, an upright and courageous man, whose mother was a Turkish woman. Enemies calumniated the Duke, charging him with disloyalty. Rumors were circulated to the effect that an old prophecy foretold the rise of a new emperor whose name was to be Li. When Yang Ti heard of it, he was disposed at first to put to death all the Lis in the empire;

but Li is one of the most common surnames among the Chinese, and that plan was abandoned. Then he sent for Li Yüan, determined to get him into his power and put him out of the way. The Duke, in obedience to the summons started for the capital, but on the way was warned by friends of the Emperor's intention. Other friends persuaded the Emperor of Li's fidelity, and orders were sent him to return to his post. Li Yüan had three sons, the second of whom, Li Shih-ming, was a man of strong character and keen foresight. He realized that the family was in the power of a suspicious and irresponsible tyrant, whose suspicions might at any moment be revived. He urged his father to act first, to take advantage of the prophecy and of the disaffection of the people and make an end of the Sui Dynasty. Li Yüan was most reluctant, but, after a night of anxious thought, he took his son's advice. Being himself half Turkish in blood, he was on friendly terms with the Khan who had visited the Emperor. He persuaded the Turk to join him in an attack upon the empire. They proclaimed that they were coming to free the people from the oppression of the tyrant. The capital was taken without much difficulty. A young child, a grandson of Yang Ti, was put upon the throne, and Li Yüan at first ruled in the name of this child. Yang Ti was at Nanking, but was soon taken and put to death. Subsequently the reigning grandson was put to death with a prayer upon his lips that in his next incarnation he might not be born in an imperial family. In A.D. 618 the Duke of T'ang thus brought the Sui Dynasty to an end and established the T'ang in its stead, a dynasty that was destined to hold the throne of China for nearly three hundred years in the most flourishing period of her history.

The Turkish Khan who had aided Li Yüan in his revolt was, nevertheless, too hospitable to refuse asylum to the Sui Empress when she fled to him for protection. He gave her a home in spite of Chinese protests and placed all Chinese in his dominions under her jurisdiction. Some time later when the Khan was dead, his brother and successor came to Ch'angan, the capital, to pay his respects to the new Emperor. Li Yüan, the T'ang Emperor, received him kindly, but some of his ministers urged that he be put to death. Li Shih-ming strenuously opposed such treachery and such a breach of hospitality, but he was overruled. The Emperor was persuaded to allow

the Khan's enemies to get at him while he was lying in a drunken stupor. He was murdered, and the deed stirred the Turks to avenge the crime. They raided the frontier and even reached the gates of the capital. It was Li Shih-ming who at last by his courage and tact won the consent of the Turks to a treaty of peace and friendship which was sealed by the sacrifice of a white horse on the bridge over the river Wei which separated the two armies. This achievement added to the laurels of Li Shih-ming. In A.D. 625, at twenty-four years of age, alert, intelligent, handsome and brave, he was greatly admired by the people. His two brothers grew jealous and plotted to put him to death. The attempt failed, and Li Shih-ming, aided by friends, waylaid and slew them. The father, Li Yüan, known to history as T'ang Kao Tsu, or "the Eminent Ancestor of the T'ang Dynasty," was broken-hearted over this tragedy. In A.D. 627 he abdicated in favor of his son, Li Shih-ming, who is better known by his temple name of T'ang T'ai Tsung, "Great Ancestor of the T'ang."

Freedom of Religion

The Taoists had been persecuted under the Sui Dynasty. When Li Yüan had established the T'ang Dynasty, the Taoists remembered that their great sage, Lao Tzu, was also surnamed Li, a name identical with that of the new imperial family. They circulated a report that Lao Tzu had appeared to one of their number on a mountain in Shantung and had said to him: "Go tell the Son of Heaven that I, Lao Tzu, am his ancestor." The Emperor was not averse to taking advantage of the report which seemed to give the new dynasty supernatural support. He directed that a Taoist temple should be erected on the spot where the vision was said to have occurred. Confucianism, however, remained the state religion and had the place of honor in the schools. Li Yüan and Li Shih-ming, nevertheless, were very broad-minded and tolerant.

Such tolerance becomes the more noteworthy when we recall that at this very time Christians of the West were bitterly persecuting one another because of slight differences in doctrine, and Mohammed, who died in 632, was forcing the Koran upon the peoples of western Asia at the point of the sword.

The first Christian missionaries to arrive in China were Nestorians from Persia. They reached the capital in A.D. 635. The head of the mission was Olopen. A stèle erected at Ch'angan in 781 sets forth the principal doctrines of the Church and preserves the edict of the Emperor, T'ai Tsung, which speaks favorably of the new religion and grants permission for its propagation. It states, moreover, that imperial orders were given for the building of a monastery for twenty-one monks in Ining Square at the capital.

The Arabs, who controlled the sea-borne commerce of China, were quick to bring Mohammedanism to Canton, where they built a mosque before the middle of the seventh century. But Mohammedans came by land as well as by sea, and found a welcome at Ch'angan. After their conquests in central Asia they could not long avoid contact with the Chinese. The history of the T'ang Dynasty mentions a number of embassies from Arabia. An envoy who came in 715 refused to kotow to the Emperor, saying that he worshiped God only. He was condemned to death by the officers of the Court, but the Emperor, Hsüan Tsung, who, like his ancestors, was a broad-minded man, promptly pardoned the offender. On the whole, Islam has grown in China by peaceful methods. The Mohammedans never attempted the conquest of China; but several destructive civil wars have been caused by rebellious factions in Mohammedan districts. Today the Moslems of China number probably fifteen or twenty millions.

When the conquering army of the Crescent subdued Persia, the monarch of that country, Yezdegard, in 638 fled to Merv, from which place he sent an envoy to China to beg the assistance of T'ai Tsung. His request for military assistance was not granted, but his son Firouz was given asylum at Ch'angan. Many other Persians fled to China for refuge. They were Zoroastrians as a rule. The Emperor permitted them to build a temple near the Imperial Treasury, which became known as the Temple of the Fire Worshipers. The Manichæans, too, among whom were many Ouigour Turks, were allowed to build temples in China. Buddhism had enjoyed protection there since the beginning of the Christian Era. Thus nearly all the great religions of the world were represented in China at the time of which we are speaking, and all enjoyed imperial protection.

Foreign Relations

The tolerant attitude of T'ai Tsung and his father toward foreign religions implies the existence of intercourse with other countries. Ch'angan, the capital, was in fact at this time one of the most cosmopolitan and enlightened cities in the world. Travelers, merchants, missionaries and ambassadors from all parts of Asia met in its caravanseries and jostled one another on its crowded streets. T'ai Tsung's conquest of the region around Koko Nor brought him into conflict with the King of Tibet; but by wise diplomacy the Chinese ruler was soon able to replace hostility with friendship. The Tibetan monarch asked for a Chinese Princess in marriage. The request was granted and the young woman won so much influence with her royal husband that she was able to persuade him to issue an edict against the face-painting of the Tibetan ladies.

In A.D. 630 Hsüan Chuang, a Buddhist monk, perhaps inspired by the example of Fa Hsien more than two centuries earlier, made a pilgrimage to India. He took the overland route, both going and returning. But it was forbidden to the Chinese to leave the country without permission, and when he came back in 645 he was summoned to Court to explain his conduct. This he did to the satisfaction of the monarch, who treated him with great courtesy and directed him to prepare an account of his experiences. In obedience he wrote the fascinating story of his travels in a work called the *Hsi Yu Chi*.[1] Hsüan Chuang brought with him from India twenty horse-loads of books and many images and relics. The large collection of books was placed in a pagoda especially built for that purpose at Ch'angan. The traveler spent the rest of his life in the adjoining monastery, translating many of the works into Chinese. In this task he was aided by Hindu pundits who had accompanied him on his return to China. The books were not all of a religious character; there were numerous mathematical and philosophical treatises. The pundits found employment by the Chinese government, too, in a revision of the calendar.

The King of Magadha in central India became interested

[1] It has been translated into English by the Rev. Samuel Beal in his work entitled *Buddhist Records of the Western World.*

SCULPTURED REPRODUCTION OF A PAINTING OF CONFUCIUS AND TEN DISCIPLES, BY WU TAO-TZU (GO DOSHI), EIGHTH CENTURY OF OUR ERA

in the reports of the growth of Buddhism in China and sent an embassy to T'ai Tsung as early as 641, that is, before the return of Hsüan Chuang. But after the report of that monk had awakened the interest of T'ai Tsung, he sent a return mission to India. The envoy found that China's friend was dead and that a usurper had seized the throne. He retraced his steps as far as Lhasa where he succeeded in raising an army of Tibetans and Nepaulese. With this he attacked the interloper and brought him a prisoner to Ch'angan.

During the reign of T'ai Tsung, embassies came also from Cambodia, Korea and Japan. The Japanese were known to Chinese history early in the Christian Era, but the first embassy appears to have been received in 631. The historian says that, in consideration of the long distance traveled, the Emperor overlooked the lack of tribute. Perhaps it was not an official embassy. Travelers, like those from Rome in A.D. 166, could easily represent themselves as sent by their government. The History of the T'ang Dynasty mentions a number of Japanese missions of the seventh and eighth centuries as bearing tribute. Such statements are to be received with caution, but some of these embassies probably were official. The mission of 784 brought a number of students for the Imperial College at Ch'angan. This institution had been founded by Li Yüan, the first Emperor of the dynasty, who was an ardent patron of education. It became a center for the diffusion of knowledge, not only throughout China, but in surrounding countries as well. Students gathered there from Tibet, Turfan, Korea and Japan. The attendance is reported to have reached the number of eight thousand.

Wars

The relationship between the imperial family and the Turkish tribes did not prevent war with them, but it did much to lessen trouble on the northwestern frontier. T'ai Tsung took advantage of intertribal strife in A.D. 627 to break up the strong organization of the Northern Turks. Thousands of prisoners were taken to Ch'angan and other thousands were settled in that quarter of the empire. Although his ministers objected to the course taken, the Emperor showed that he understood Turkish psychology. They became his friends

and supporters. Large numbers were taken into the Imperial Guard and even the defeated chieftain was given a nominal office. The tribes that had opposed the Khan of the Northern Turks were of course won by the assistance which the Emperor had given them. They offered him the title of Celestial Khan which he accepted.

Peace was broken again in 640, when the ruler of Turfan obstructed trade by interference with the communications between China and the West. When China remonstrated, the barbarian chieftain replied:

> The eagle has the air for his flying. The pheasant has the thicket in which to hide. The cat has the run of the house, and the rat has a refuge in his hole. May I not also have a place to live?

The speech cost him his territory, which was annexed by China. Four years later trouble in Karashar led to the annexation of that region.

The peninsula of Korea from ancient times was divided into three kingdoms. Trouble among them led to intervention by China in 645. A number of Korean cities were occupied by the Chinese army, but the difficulties attending transportation of supplies and the approach of winter compelled a retreat; and the completion of the task had to be left by T'ai Tsung to his successor, Kao Tsung.

An Enlightened Monarch

T'ai Tsung died in A.D. 649 and was gathered to his fathers, and his son Kao Tsung reigned in his stead. There was probably no other monarch in the seventh century of our era who could be said to equal T'ai Tsung in those qualities of character that make for successful administration of government. His broad tolerance in religious matters did not mean that he was entirely free from superstition, for there are few of us free from superstition even today. But his common sense saved him from much of the credulity of his age. When his ministers on one occasion wanted him to go to Mt. T'ai and make an offering there, he said to them: "You ministers think that these sacrifices will bring prosperity to the country. I cannot agree with you. If the empire is at peace and each household has enough for its needs, what calamity could be-

fall through neglect to make the sacrifices of *feng* and *shan?*" It was not that he was wanting in reverence, for on another occasion, when some one said that the Emperor feared nothing, he interrupted, saying: "Not so; I fear Heaven which scrutinizes all my actions. I fear the people who look up to me. I tremble lest I fail to comply with the will of Heaven and lest I should not fulfill the hopes of the people." In his edict of A.D. 638 in favor of Nestorian Christianity, he showed his breadth of mind in the statement, "Truth does not always wear the same name and holiness is not always confined to one organization." When the Prince Imperial was with him one day in a boat, the Emperor said to his son, "The water bears up the boat, but it can also overturn it. So with the people, they uphold the Prince, but they can also overthrow him."

From the Convent to the Throne

Now it happened that in A.D. 637, while T'ai Tsung was still alive and the splendor of his reign was filling the world with his fame, there was brought into his harem a little girl of fourteen years who was remarkable for her beauty. Her name was Wu-Tse-t'ien, and she was the daughter of a petty official. As his daughter rose in rank, however, the official was promoted and became President of a Board, then a Governor-General and eventually an Imperial Duke. But these honors did not come until long after the young girl's entrance into the harem. There prior to the death of T'ai Tsung she held but an inferior rank. After the death of T'ai Tsung, she retired to a Buddhist convent, had her head shaved, and took the vows of a Buddhist nun. One day Kao Tsung, shortly after his accession, visited the convent in company with the Empress. He recognized the woman, in spite of her nun's dress, as the beautiful girl who had been one of his father's concubines. He was plainly fascinated. His wife, the Empress, noticed it and conceived a scheme for bringing her into the palace to displace in her husband's affections a concubine of whom she was very jealous. A few days after the visit the Empress returned to the convent and persuaded the young nun, then about twenty-seven years of age, to let her hair grow and return to the palace. In

due time this was done. But the Empress had not reckoned on the result. The beautiful Lady Wu, the ex-nun, not only displaced the favorite concubine, but the Empress as well. In 655 this beautiful and brilliant Lady Wu became the mother of a daughter. The Empress paid her a visit and saw the little baby. Shortly afterward the Emperor entered, and when the mother lifted the coverlet to show him the child, she uncovered a dead child and screamed, saying: "She has killed my child." As a matter of fact, the mother had smothered the child herself, but put the crime on her mistress that she might get her out of the way. She succeeded; the Empress was degraded along with the former favorite and both were thrown into prison, where a little later the cruel beauty had them tortured and put to death. In spite of the opposition of his ministers, the monarch made the former concubine of his father the Empress. She soon proved to be a more powerful personality than her husband and became the real ruler of China.

In 660 the Emperor was taken ill, and the new Empress, the Lady Wu, acted for him and showed such wisdom and such decision that the ministers were glad to have her advice and assistance. From this time forward she gathered more and more power into her hands. She insisted upon participation in all the meetings of the Council; and when her husband took the title of Celestial Emperor, she assumed that of Celestial Empress. They were associated together in the government as "The Two Holy Ones." In 683 the Emperor suffered several attacks of a trouble probably caused by poison, and died at the end of the year, leaving the empire to his son, Chung Tsung, whose reign at this time, however, was very brief. Two months after his father's death he was removed by his mother, because he insisted upon being Emperor in fact. A younger brother Jui Tsung, was put in his place, but merely reigned; his mother ruled. She began at once to plan to displace the Li family with her own. The tablets of her ancestors were put in the Temple of Imperial Ancestors. She offered the sacrifices that were reserved to the imperial office. Then she changed the name of the dynasty from T'ang to Chou, and assumed the title of Emperor, making the Emperor, Jui Tsung, take her surname Wu, and degrading him to the position of Prince Imperial. Of course

all this angered the members of the imperial family, many of whom were put to death for real or fancied rebellion. The color of the flag was changed to red, and the altars and court ceremonies were modified to suit the taste of the female Emperor. Her rule lasted until 704 and, if we can put aside her crimes, we must admit that she showed great political sagacity. She gathered the wisest men into her ministry and was influenced by their counsels.

Conquest of Korea

While Kao Tsung was still alive, the old quarrel with Korea was taken up. Of the three kingdoms on the peninsula, Kaochüli or Kaoli was the northernmost and least civilized. It occupied not only a good part of the peninsula but also a large portion of southern Manchuria. The most highly civilized of the three was Hsinlo (Korean Sillo) which was almost continually at war with the Japanese just across the straits. Hsinlo gave its aid to China. The two northern states, Kaoli and Paichi, were in alliance. The central state, Paichi, was conquered in 660, and the northern, in 668. Three hundred thousand of the population are said to have been carried away and settled in the central provinces of China. The territories annexed were divided into five provinces and administered as an integral part of the empire. But this arrangement did not last long. Hsinlo seized the whole region in 677 and united the peninsula under one government.

Other Troubles

The weakness shown by Kao Tsung seems to have tempted the border tribes to rise in rebellion. Tibet in 670 defeated the imperial troops and took possession of a good part of Turkestan. In 679 Turfan was in revolt; in 680 and 681 there was war with the Turcomans. After the Empress Wu seized the throne, affairs were more satisfactory, but as she grew old she lost influence. In 696 the Cathayans on the northeast made an invasion of the empire. They were beginning to be a serious menace. We shall hear more of them in the future.

Morals and Religion

The assumption by the Lady Wu of the masculine title of Emperor seems to have led her to imitate her masculine predecessors in their moral laxity. She was a religious woman. Her crimes did not prevent her faith in the Buddha, though her destruction of human life was contrary to the teachings of Buddhism. She chose for her lover a Buddhist monk, Huai-i, and made him abbot of the celebrated White Horse Monastery. She gave him charge of some of her important building operations, for she spent large sums in building temples and making images. She levied a tax on each monk and nun to raise funds for the casting of a huge bronze statue of the Buddha. This project, however, was never carried out. The monk lover became somewhat presumptuous because of his relations with the Empress and was insolent to one of the ministers, who slapped him in the face. But Her Imperial Majesty would not allow her private affections to stand in the way of public duty; she upheld the minister. After a time she tired of the monk and chose the court physician in his place. This so angered the abbot that he set fire to the beautiful Temple of Imperial Ancestors which had just been finished, and destroyed it entirely. Subsequently she had him assassinated.

The Empress Wu, although a devout Buddhist, granted much favor to the Taoists. The Nestorian Tablet shows her unfavorable to Nestorians, but it credits her husband, Kao Tsung, with the building of many churches.

As age crept on, the hand that held the scepter grew feeble. In 704 she was very ill. After consultation with the legitimate Emperor, Chung Tsung, the Commandant of the Guard and other officers of the Court, accompanied by some five hundred men of the Guard, broke into the palace and, having killed two eunuchs who had charge of the imperial chamber, compelled the aged woman to hand the scepter to her son. Chung Tsung restored the dynastic name, T'ang, and the colors and ordinances of his house. The next year the masterful woman, who for half a century had ruled the empire, passed away at eighty-two years of age. Although she had been guilty of many crimes, she was not molested after her retirement, but

was given a laudatory title, "By Heaven's Mandate, the Great and Holy Emperor."

Chung Tsung's wife, the Lady Wei, insisted on making Empress Wu her pattern. Her husband consented to her presence at the meetings of the Grand Council and allowed her to offer certain sacrifices. She imitated the vices of the Empress Wu, but she lacked her abilities. She had the Emperor poisoned in 710 and put her son, a minor, upon the throne, intending to hold the reins herself. But the Emperor's brother still lived. This brother, Jui Tsung, had a son with sufficient courage to oppose the Lady Wei and put her to death. Jui Tsung succeeded to the throne, but in 712 an unkind comet appeared which was taken to be a warning, and he abdicated the throne in favor of his son, Hsüan Tsung, "The Worshipful Ancestor."

Hsüan Tsung

Hsüan Tsung is better known to the Western World by his popular title of Ming Huang, or "Brilliant Emperor," a part of his posthumous, or temple, title. He was not so great a monarch as his ancestor, T'ai Tsung; but the title "Brilliant" was appropriate to his reign, since it was distinguished by its patronage of literature and art. This brought to the Court a remarkable galaxy of poets, painters, actors and musicians.

An Imperial Puritan

Hsüan Tsung was not the natural heir to the throne, but his promptitude and efficiency in checking the ambition of the Empress, Lady Wei, caused him to be selected. The statesmen of the day said: "He who saves the empire deserves the empire." He began his reign as a rigorous puritan. In 714 in the Seventh Moon he had a huge bonfire made in front of the palace gate, into which he ordered to be thrown a great quantity of silk and satin gowns, precious jewels and other articles prized in the harem. This he did to teach the Court economy and simplicity of living. The next month he discharged a large number of women to silence reports that many of the ladies of the palace were unwillingly detained there. Savonarola at Florence was not more earnest in his attack

upon frivolity than this Chinese Emperor of the eighth century.

Frontier Troubles

Hsüan Tsung in the early part of his reign displayed great vigor in the suppression of disorder. The confusion at the capital that followed upon the deposition of the Empress Wu and the successive changes of government that resulted had led the barbarous tribes on the frontier to think of revolt. In east, west, north and south there were uprisings. In 714 a Chinese force was defeated by the Turks in the northwest. The Cathayans were victorious in the northeast and the Tibetans invaded from the west. But the next year the Emperor had his army well in hand and inflicted severe punishment upon the Turks. Eight border tribes were subdued and the upper valleys of the Oxus and Jaxartes were occupied by China. By 719 the success of Chinese arms was so marked that embassies came from Samarkand, Bokhara and Tokharestan. For three decades after these conquests the Chinese were the dominant power in central Asia. In the next reign they lost their influence through the misconduct of their representative, and gave way to the Arabs.

Annamese and Tibetan risings were put down in 722 and the war with Cathay was carried on for some years with alternations of victory and defeat.

A New State

A new state had grown up on the southwestern frontier, known as Nan Chao. It covered present-day Hunan, Yunnan and portions of adjoining provinces. The people were Shans, related to the Chinese racially and found today principally in Siam.

War with this people broke out in 751 and continued for some years, but by this time Hsüan Tsung's army had lost its strength, and his rule, the confidence of the people. The Khalif is reported to have sent assistance to China in 756. A curious result of this was that in 758 the Mohammedans, who were strong at Canton, were reported to be in revolt there. Canton was looted and the rioters put to sea with their

plunder. From this one is constrained to believe that the mercenaries sent by the Khalif had been unpaid, had made their way to the southern port and paid themselves in loot as some armies of China have done in recent times. This incident occurred, however, after the abdication of Hsüan Tsung, an event which it is necessary now to explain.

The Woman Whom Thou Gavest

In the year 735 a chance meeting in one of the courts of the palace altered the whole course of Hsüan Tsung's career and profoundly modified his character. His son, Prince Shou, had a concubine, the Lady Yang, better known as Yang Kuei Fei,[2] who was most fair to look upon. When the Emperor saw her he was so enamored of her that he took her away from his son and made her his own concubine. She acquired such an influence over the monarch that her every whim became his pleasure. Relays of couriers were maintained to bring to the capital for her use the fruit called *li chih* which flourishes in the province of Fukien, distant from Ch'angan not less than a thousand miles as the couriers traveled. She wanted it fresh. She introduced her two sisters into the harem to share the favors of the Emperor. Her father was ennobled and her brother made Prime Minister. Her personal name originally was Yü Huan, or "Jade Circlet." Her imperial lover called her T'ai Chen, or "Most Fairy-like," a name ascribed by legend to the daughter of Hsi Wang Mu, commonly called the Fairy Queen. The Princes Scheherezade was not more successful in entertaining the Sultan of the Arabian Nights than was T'ai Chen in amusing the Chinese Emperor. For twenty years she swayed the Court. The bonfires of 714 were forgotten. There was no longer any thought of the simple life or of economy. The richness and splendor of the palace became proverbial. The gaiety, revelry and extravagance of the Court were notorious. But the entertainment was not altogether vicious. Among those called to contribute to the pleasure of the beautiful Yang Kuei Fei was the poet, Li Po, who wrote verses in her praise which the Emperor set to music. Li became such a favorite with the monarch that the

[2] *Kuei Fei,* literally "Honorable Consort," was a title conferred upon imperial concubines of the second rank.

latter compelled his chamberlain to pull off the poet's boots and put him to bed on those occasions when Li was too intoxicated to wait upon himself. This task the chamberlain did not relish. He took his revenge by persuading Yang Kuei Fei that the poet had purposely insulted her by likening her to the "Flying Swallow," a courtesan of the Han period who had won an imperial lover. Li Po was thus driven from the Court.

The Court painter was Wu Tao-yüan, called by the Japanese, Go Doshi. It is related of him by legend that having at command of the Emperor painted upon a courtyard wall a landscape of marvelous beauty, he invited the monarch to follow him into a grotto represented in the picture. The painter led the way; but as he appeared to enter the painted grotto, he disappeared from sight and was never seen again.[3]

The Pear Garden

The musicians, actors, poets and painters who gathered in the palace to entertain the Emperor, Hsüan Tsung, met in one of the enclosures of the palace, known as the Pear Garden. By some these entertainments are regarded as the beginning of the Chinese drama, but this is incorrect. Dramatic representation began much earlier and, indeed, was an accompaniment of religious worship from the earliest period of Chinese history. But these amusements in the Pear Garden did have a part in the development of the Chinese theater. Plays of a secular character became more common thenceforth. The Pear Garden, too, deserves credit for the introduction of a new style of music, livelier than had prevailed before. The term, "Pear Garden," has been appropriated by the theatrical profession as its designation; and even to this day the image of the Emperor Hsüan Tsung may be seen in the Green Room, as that of the actor's patron saint.

Condition of the Empire

Taken as a whole, the reign of Hsüan Tsung cannot be called an evil one. The interior of the empire was at peace and the people were prosperous. In 280 the census returns

[3] Bushell, *Chinese Art*, vol. ii, p. 130.

had given a population of 13,863,863, exclusive of infants and the superannuated. By 705, shortly before Hsüan Tsung's accession, this had grown to be 37,140,000. During his reign the increase continued so that in 754 the returns showed a population of 52,880,488, a gain of 42 per cent in less than half a century.

In 737 the system of civil service examinations was revised and made more practical. It was in this reign, too, that the Hanlin Academy was established. At its foundation it was an assembly of experts. The greatest authorities upon all sorts of topics were gathered together in this institution to supply the government with the information which it might require upon any conceivable subject. About this time, too, the Court Gazette began to be published. New honors were paid to Confucius, and public schools, it is claimed, were established in every village and town throughout the empire. For the College of Astronomy a celestial sphere was constructed which was made to revolve by hydraulic machinery once every twenty-four hours. The College had also a sort of clock that announced the half-hours by strokes upon a drum and the two-hour watches by the ringing of a bell.

Calamities

There were, of course, some natural calamities. There was a plague of locusts in 716, and in the years following there were the usual droughts and floods; but none of these appear to have been widespread and the suffering was confined to a few localities. Toward the close of Hsüan Tsung's reign, however, these natural afflictions came to have a more serious significance. They were looked upon as evidence of the loss of Heaven's favor. The Emperor was growing old. By 750 he was already sixty-six years of age, and for fifteen years he had been a slave to the caprices of Yang Kuei Fei. The Court had become filled with her relatives and henchmen. The government had become more and more inefficient and corrupt. The Emperor would listen to no complaints that reflected upon the Lady Yang and her friends. In 752 it was discovered that there was a great amount of counterfeit coinage in circulation. The Premier was about to take measures to gather out the false coins and remelt them, but Yang Kuo-

chung, the brother of the Lady Yang, interfered to prevent. He himself became Premier. The false coins were bought up at the rate of five for one genuine, and these counterfeits were brought to the capital and paid out there on the expenses of the Court, to the great discontent of the merchants. This discontent was greatly increased in 754 by the occurrence of an unusually severe drought in the valley of the Wei. The next year a great rebellion broke out, headed by the treacherous favorite of the Emperor, a barbarian general in the employ of the Chinese, An Lu-shan by name. At the head of a vast and well-equipped army he met and defeated the imperial force that had been hastily collected to defend the eastern capital, Loyang. Both capitals were taken and An Lu-shan proclaimed himself Emperor of the Yen Dynasty. The Yang family was in part responsible for the defection of An Lu-shan, for the Premier, Yang Kuo-chung, had tried to ruin the barbarian general by false accusations to the Emperor. Now that An was carrying all before him, the Yangs with the Emperor in their possession fled toward their native province, the modern Szechuen. From the valley of the Wei in 756 they fled over the mountains into the upper valley of the Han and halted one day at Mawei. There the escort mutinied and demanded the punishment of the Yang family. The Premier was put to death. The two sisters of the favorite were next executed and a demand was made upon the Emperor to surrender Yang Kuei Fei. He had no option. She was taken out by the chief chamberlain and strangled. The Emperor never recovered from the shock. The whole story is told in vivid style in the poem of Po Chü-i, "The Everlasting Wrong," written in the following century.[4]

Hsüan Tsung continued his flight into Szechuen, as we call that region today, but the Prince Imperial remained behind, gathered an army about him and moved north to the northern bend of the Yellow River. He summoned the Ouigour Turks to his assistance. Volunteers came from other dependencies in the west. Intrusting the command of his forces to the great general, Kuo Tzu-i, the Prince recovered control of the empire. In the meantime, An Lu-shan, the rebellious general, was killed by his own eldest son to prevent the appointment of a younger son as heir. Hsüan Tsung was compelled to abdi-

[4] See translation of this poem by Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 ff.

cate the throne in favor of his son, the Prince Imperial, but returned to the capital in 757 and thenceforward seems to have given himself up to Taoist superstitions. He employed necromancers who pretended to hold communion with the spirit of the beautiful woman who had caused his downfall and who was represented as waiting for her lover in the Islands of the Blest. Yet he was the man who at the beginning of his reign had scoffed at the pretensions of the Taoist adepts.

Decadence of the T'ang

The sad results of the rebellion of An Lu-shan may be measured in part by the decline of the population. The census of 754, as we have seen, gave nearly fifty-three millions. That of 766 reported but thirty-six millions. These returns, however, tell us nothing of the poverty of the people, but the condition of the government tells us something. The state was bankrupt. The machinery of government had broken down. The sources of revenue in many quarters had dried up. In other places collections were impossible. Rebellion broke out again in 781. Desperate measures were taken to replenish the treasury. Forced loans were made. No merchant was allowed to retain more than ten thousand strings of cash, the equivalent of ten thousand Chinese ounces of silver. A tax of twenty-five per cent was levied upon all incomes. A sales tax was instituted and there was a heavy levy upon the value of all buildings. Frauduent declarations were punished with whipping and informers were given rewards. All this, of course, increased the unpopularity of the government; but the dynasty revived and lasted more than one hundred years after this rebellion. Among the interesting events of the closing years of the eighth century was the arrival in 798 of an embassy from Haroun al Raschid, the Khalif of Bagdad, who sought Chinese assistance against Tibet with which country he was at war. The Tibetans were beaten in 1801.

Superstition

The T'ang Dynasty, with all its love of learning and its patronage of literature and art, was nevertheless in its later

years cursed by gross superstition. This need not surprise us: the Western World at that time was even more superstitious. The founders of the T'ang Dynasty scoffed at superstition, but

Not all who scorn their chains are free.

Even T'ai Tsung, who laughed at the credulity of his ministers, had to comply with their advice to discharge a number of ladies from his harem as a cure for drought. They reasoned that water was of the *yin* principle, that woman also belonged to the *yin* category and that therefore the seclusion of so many women in the palace was a restraint upon the activity of the *yin* principle and thus kept back the rains. When the Taoists in 721 were talking of the Islands of the Immortals, Hsüan Tsung said: "Immortals! I do not believe there are any immortals." Yet, as we have seen, in his later years he sought communion with the dead through Taoist mediums. Moreover, in 731 he deified a hero of the Chou Dynasty, Chiang T'ai Kung, who was said to have had the habit of canonizing his enemies after he had killed them in order to appease their spirits. Chiang was supposed, therefore, to have a great power in the spirit world. To this day one may see over the lintels of the street doors in many houses the inscription: "Chiang T'ai Kung is here; we do not fear a hundred demons." Hsüan Tsung was the inventor, too, of the use of paper imitations of silver ingots that are burned as offerings to the dead.

Buddhists and Taoists were rivals for the favor of the T'ang Emperors. The Taoists scored at first by their pretended revelation from Lao Tzu that he was ancestor of the imperial family; the Buddhists somewhat later delivered a counterstroke by an alleged miraculous demonstration that the Empress Wu was the long-expected Buddhist Messiah, Maitreya. The generous toleration policy of the founders of the dynasty was abandoned by the Empress Wu who persecuted Nestorianism. Later in 845 an imperial decree was directed against all foreign religions. Forty-five thousand temples, monasteries and convents were destroyed. One hundred and fifty thousand slaves belonging to them were set free and many thousand acres of land were confiscated. Two hundred and fifty thousand monks and nuns of the Buddhists

were secularized, and three thousand Christian and Zoroastrian teachers were treated in the same way, but there was no one compelled to recant nor was any one put to death.

Power of the Eunuchs

Eunuchs have always been a curse to Oriental monarchies. Cut off from the ordinary pursuits of men, these unhappy slaves become crafty and unscrupulous. As they pander to the vices of princes, they are rewarded with many favors and often acquire great power. When the House of T'ang became decadent, its monarchs were often no more than the dupes of eunuchs. Sometimes these slaves determined the succession. In 763 the then reigning Emperor was irritated by the continual interference of the Chief Eunuch in affairs of state, but, being afraid to oppose him openly, he had him secretly assassinated. In 834 another ruler attempted to rid himself of the tyranny of the eunuchs by planning a general massacre of them. The eunuchs discovered the plot and struck first, killing about sixteen hundred mandarins.

Distress and Revolution

Near the close of the ninth century the country was in great distress, caused by a succession of calamities: drought, floods and a plague of locusts. The vicious eunuchs in control of affairs did nothing for the relief of the people. Rebellion broke out in 878 but with the aid of the Turks was outwardly subdued. Discontent continued, however. Two men rose to prominence, both military leaders: Li K'o-yung, a Turk, and Chu Wen, a Chinese, who were jealous of one another. In 905 Chu Wen murdered the Emperor and placed the monarch's ninth son as a puppet upon the throne. Two years later this Emperor, a mere youth, handed the scepter to his father's murderer, who set up the short-lived dynasty called the Later Liang. It never obtained control of the whole empire which broke up into a number of petty kingdoms, one of which was ruled by the Turk, Li K'o-yung. The latter did not live to overthrow his rival, but the son of Li K'o-yung defeated the son of Chu Wen and set up the Later T'ang Dynasty. Three other dynasties followed one another in rapid succession, the

last being the Later Chou, which in 960 gave way to the great Sung Dynasty.

The Glory That was T'ang

The period covered by this chapter is rightly regarded by the Chinese as one of the most brilliant in all their history.

It was a period of wide dominion. The empire grew in population to more than fifty millions. It embraced Korea on the east and reached to Cashmere on the west. It included Annam and Cambodia on the south and held in subjection the Tartar tribes on the north as far as Lake Baikal. Its conquering armies laid waste the valleys of the Oxus and Jaxartes, subdued the tribes of Tibet and carried terror even to the cities of the Ganges. It was a period marked by wide intercourse with foreign nations, by the coming of flattering embassies, by the growth of commerce and the introduction of new forms of religion. It was distinguished for its literary activity and was as glorious in art as in song, for its painters were as famous as its poets.

The Poets

A collection of the poetry of the T'ang period made in 1707 contains nearly fifty thousand pieces, arranged in nine hundred books. The greatest of all the poets was Li T'ai Po, or Li Po, of whom mention has been made. He was born in 702 and died in 762. He was a native of the far west. A very brilliant student, he obtained his doctor's degree at twenty years of age. Hsüan Tsung heard of his talent and summoned him to the palace. He was given luxurious quarters overlooking the imperial gardens. In these gardens when the political routine of the day was done, poet and Emperor sat down together. The poet improvised and the Emperor set the words to music. Sometimes the beautiful Yang Kuei Fei was with them. But Li was too fond of wine. He has sung of wine and women much as old Omar did. And the stanza that he used was not unlike that of Omar in that it was a four-line stanza with the first, second, and fourth lines having the same rhyme, while the third was nonrhyming. But Li used a seven-

(From E. H. Parker's *China, Her History, Diplomacy and Commercial Relations.* By permission of the publishers, John Murray, London, Eng., and E. P. Dutton Co., New York.)

word line, and as all his words were monosyllablic there were but seven syllables to a line.

His loss of imperial favor has been mentioned. The story that he died by drowning while trying to embrace the reflection of the moon in the water beside his boat is wholly fictitious. A more reliable account tells us that he passed away while a guest in the home of a relative at Nanking. Scarcely less celebrated than Li Po were Tu Fu (712-770), and Po Chü-i (772-846). Tu Fu was called the God of Poetry. Po Chü-i was noted for his opposition to war, his sympathy with the common people and his caustic criticism of the government.

It would be wrong to ascribe the great literary activity of this period wholly to the patronage of the monarchs. That aided, no doubt; but probably it was due much more to the improved relations of China with foreign countries, the intermingling of races and the introduction of foreign ideas. Much of the literature was of a religious character. Hindu sects introduced their characteristic doctrines. Hindu works were translated into Chinese. There was much controversy, which is reflected in the poetry of the time. Buddhist miracle tales were rivaled by Taoist legends. The eight Genii of the Taoists belong to this period and the Eighteen Lohan of the Buddhists also became popular at the same time. These two religions provided theme and imagery for the poet, and they supplied the painter with many a fascinating picture.

The Painters

The artist painted the halo-crowned saints of Buddhism and scenes illustrating the stories of Taoist feats of magic. He portrayed palace incidents, pictured historic events and sought to reproduce on scrolls of silk, the beauty of landscape and the figures of noble ladies and great statesmen. Bushell says that it was during the T'ang Dynasty that "the sister arts of painting and design arrived at their highest perfection." [5] Wu Tao-tzu, or Go Doshi as the Japanese call him, of whom mention has been made as the Court painter in the time of Hsüan Tsung, was undoubtedly one of the greatest Chinese painters. Of him Fenollosa wrote: "There is a certain primal and universal energy in Godoshi's design which

[5] Stephen W. Bushell. *Chinese Art.* vol. ii, p. 129.

has hardly been surpassed in the whole range of the world's art." In another paragraph he says: "His art establishes itself side by side with Phidias and Michelangelo." [6]

The encyclopedia of K'anghsi gives the titles of ninety-three of his pictures. He was the founder of a distinct school of landscape painting but was noted as well for his pictures of Taoist legendary characters and Buddhist saints. Other artists of the period who should be mentioned were Yen Li-te who painted historical scenes as well as Taoist magicians; Wang Wei, famous also as a poet, and Han Kan, one of whose paintings may be seen in the British Museum.

A Mohammedan traveler, Abu Zeid, who visited China in the ninth century, that is, during the period of which we are speaking, says: "The Chinese surpass all nations in every kind of art, and particularly in painting; and, with their hands, they perform such perfect works as others can but faintly imitate." [7]

The pottery and porcelain of this period are also worthy of note. Another Arab traveler, Soleyman, who visited China in 851, says of the Chinese: "They have an excellent kind of earth wherewith they make a ware of equal fineness with glass and equally transparent." [8] The poets of the period, indeed, refer to the beauty and delicacy of this ware.

Foreign Commerce

The sea-borne trade of China, chiefly through Canton, developed considerably under the T'ang Dynasty. It was controlled almost altogether by the Arabs, who had established quite a colony at Canton. Soleyman, the Arab traveler just mentioned, says that "at Canfu, which is the principal scale for merchants there is a Mohammedan appointed judge over those of his religion, by the authority of the Emperor of China; and that he is judge of all the Mohammedans who resort to these parts. Upon festival days he performs the public service with the Mohammedans, and pronounces the sermon or *kotbat,* which he concludes in the usual form, with prayers

[6] Ernest F. Fenollosa, *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art,* London, 1912, vol. i, p. 131.

[7] Eusebius Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China by Two Mohammedan Travellers,* London, 1733, p. 50.

[8] *Ibid.,* p. 21.

for the Sultan of the Moslems."[9] A Chinese work, the *Ping Chou K'o T'an,* also makes mention of the fact that the Chinese chose one of the foreigners as a headman to preserve order among them. According to Soleyman, the trade consisted of an import of ivory, frankincense, camphor, copper, tortoise shell and unicorns' horns, for which there was given in exchange an export of horses, asses, dromedaries and porcelain. Silk apparently still went by land. The Arab traveler adds in the quaint language of his translator:

> When merchants enter China by sea, the Chinese seize on their cargo and convey it to their warehouses, and so put a stop to their business for six months, and till the last merchantman be arrived. Then they take three in ten, or thirty per cent of each commodity, and return the rest to the merchant.[10]

It was at this time that the Chinese first became acquainted with the poppy which the Arabs introduced along with the jasmine, henna and rose. It was not until much later that they learned to make opium. The poppy seeds were used as a medicine in the form of a decoction. This in time came to be used for a fashionable drink, of which the poets speak in high praise.

Chinese Source of European Alchemy

The study of alchemy by the Taoists of China continued down to the end of the T'ang Dynasty. The Confucian commentator laments the degeneracy of the times.

"Ever since the Han period," he says, "the true doctrine has been lost. From that time we have heard of magicians transporting themselves through the air, of secret process for transmutation [of metals], of the elixir of long life and of magical writings" (probably with the planchette). There can scarcely be any doubt but that Europe received its knowledge of alchemy from China through the agency of Arab commerce, for the Arabs controlled the sea-borne trade as early as the third century of our era and subsequently they came into possession of the land routes to Europe as well. Liebig reminds us that "alchemy was never anything else than chem-

[9] *Ibid.,* p. 7.
[10] *Ibid.,* pp. 20, 21.

istry," so that in these crude experiments in China we ought to see the beginnings of modern science.

Invention of Printing

The greatest gift to the world by the T'ang Dynasty was the invention of printing. The invention, in truth, was a slow process, covering several centuries. Seals were in use in the third century B.C. Paper, as we have seen, was invented by the Chinese in the first century of our era. In the second century the text of the Chinese classics was cut on stone. Lampblack ink was made in the fourth century. Inked seals were used in the fifth century and probably ink rubbings were made at that time of stone inscriptions. Taoist charms were printed from blocks of wood in the sixth century. The oldest extant block prints date from the eighth century. The first book was printed in the ninth century, the *Diamond Sutra,* a Buddhist work. In the tenth century Feng Tao printed the classics. In the same century, paper money and playing cards were printed. Movable type was invented during the period, 1041-1049. Metal type was first used in Korea about the year 1390.[11]

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

T'ang Dynasty

	A.D.
Kao Tsu (Li Yüan)	618-626
T'ai Tsung (Li Shih-ming)	627-649
Kao Tsung	650-683
Chung Tsung	684
Jui Tsung	684
Empress Wu	684-704
Chung Tsung	705-709
Jui Tsung	710-713
Hsüan Tsung	713-736
Su Tsung	736-762

[11] The author acknowledges his indebtedness to the work of Thomas H. Carter, *The Invention of Printing in China,* New York, 1924. The lamentable death of Professor Carter deprived the United States of one of its most promising Orientalists.

Tai Tsung[12] 763-779
Te Tsung 780-804
Shun Tsung 805
Hsien Tsung 806-820
Mu Tsung 821-824
Ching Tsung 825-826
Wen Tsung 827-840
Wu Tsung 841-846
Hsüan Tsung[13] 847-859
I Tsung 860-873
Hsi Tsung 874-888
Chao Tsung 889-904
Chao Hsüan Ti (Ai Tsung) 905-907

THE FIVE DYNASTIES

Later Liang
Chu Wen 907-915
Mo Ti 915-921
Later T'ang
Chuang Tsung 923-926
Later T'ang
Ming Tsung 926-934
Min Ti 934
Fei Ti 934
Later Chin
Kao Tsu 936-943
Ch'i Wang 943-944
Later Han
Kao Tsu 947-948
Yin Ti 948
Later Chou
T'ai Tsu 951-954
Shih Tsung 954-960
Kung Ti 960

[12] Not to be confounded with T'ai Tsung.

[13] The character *Hsüan* in this name is entirely different from that in the name of the Emperor who began to reign in 713.

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CHAPTER VII

CULTURE VERSUS BARBARISM

The Sung Dynasty:	Northern Branch	A.D. 906-1126
	Southern Branch	1127-1278
Tartar Dynasties:	Liao or Cathay	907-1119
	Western Liao or Kerait	1125-1166
	Chin or Golden	1115-1234
	Mongol or Yüan	1206-1368

It is not learning, grace nor gear,
Nor easy meat and drink,
But bitter pinch of pain and fear
That makes creation think.
—KIPLING.

WE ENTER now upon another period of strife,—four centuries of war with Tartar hordes. It was a struggle between the civilized South and the bold and ruthless North. Yet the Chinese during this period, in spite of war, attained to a luxury theretofore unknown. They developed a maritime commerce of great importance, improved their manufactures to a rare degree of excellence, attempted some remarkable social and political reforms, produced great artists, poets and historians and created a profound philosophy that has shaped Chinese thought from that day to this.

Events Elsewhere

It was a period of epoch-making events throughout the world. In central Asia the Ouigour Turks, who had given powerful assistance to the T'ang Dynasty, produced a great Mohammedan leader, Seljuk, who in the tenth century took possession of Bokhara. His descendants captured Bagdad in 1055 and established the dynasty of Seljukian Turks which ruled western Asia until supplanted in the fourteenth century by the Ottoman rulers. Under one of the Seljuks, Alp Arslan, the poet-astronomer, Omar Khayyam, lived and labored in the

eleventh century; and it was the Seljuks, who, by their treatment of Christian pilgrims in Palestine, aroused Peter the Hermit to preach the first crusade in 1095. Fanatics in Europe were expecting the end of the world in A.D. 1000. In 1066 William the Conqueror invaded Britain, and in the thirteenth century the barons extorted the Magna Charta from King John at Runnymede.

The Founding of the Sung Dynasty

In 960 the Emperor of the Later Chou Dynasty was a young child. The capital was at K'aifengfu. The kingdom of Cathay or Liao, which means "Iron," occupied all the region known today as Manchuria. During the years of disorder that followed the overthrow of the T'ang Dynasty, many Chinese emigrated to this Tartar state, Cathay, which under the influence of the Chinese settlers became to some degree a civilized region. The Cathayans, however, were not too civilized to make frequent raids across the border; and when they invaded China in 960, an army under command of Chao K'uang-yin marched out of K'aifengfu to repel them. This Chinese force had not proceeded far from the capital when the subordinate officers one night gathered together and conspired to make their commander Emperor, to take the place of the little child in whose services they were engaged. They proceeded to the tent of Chao K'uang-yin whom they found in a deep sleep. They aroused him, threw a cloak of imperial color around him and proclaimed him Emperor. At first he was disposed to object, but he finally consented on condition that they would promise to do no harm to the boy ruler in K'aifengfu. They promised. The child Emperor was deposed, but was given the title of Prince Ching and was allowed an estate for his support. The new dynasty was called the Sung from the district in which Chao K'uang-yin had been stationed. Fire was chosen as the symbolic element of the new imperial house and red as its color. K'aifengfu was retained as the capital.

Some Reforms

Chao K'uang-yin is known to history by his temple name, T'ai Tsu. The perpetuation of his dynasty for more than

three centuries is regarded as due in no small measure to the fact that he was a humane ruler. He sought the welfare of the people. He saw how militarism was oppressing them and determined to lessen that evil by placing the military under the control of the civil power. He brought the provinces more directly under the control of the central government by appointing imperial agents to collect the revenues and transmit them to the capital, and he limited the power of the governors by requiring all death sentences to have the approval of the Imperial Department of Justice before they could be executed. He was a patron of education. The schools were reopened and the Confucian classics were given the principal place in the curriculum. A remarkable innovation was the introduction of images of the ancient sages for the worship of the students. The practice was abandoned during the Ming Dynasty. Today one rarely sees an image in a Confucian temple. T'ai Tsu did not live to see the complete conquest of China. He died in 976; the Sung Dynasty did not obtain control of the entire territory of China until 979.

The Succession

Before T'ai Tsu's death he had promised his mother, to whom he was very devoted, that he would arrange the law of succession to the throne so that no young child should be placed there. She reminded him that it was due to the presence of a child there that he owed his own succession. He decreed that he was to be followed by a younger brother and he by the next brother, still younger, and that brother by the son of the founder. But the brother who succeeded him ignored the rule and left the throne to his own son, Chen Tsung, who began to reign in 998.

China a Tributary

It was this weak-kneed Emperor, Chen Tsung, who allowed China to become tributary to the barbarian empire, Cathay. The Cathayans had been overwhelmed and crushed by the second Emperor of the Sung Dynasty, so that it was said that the very appearance of a Sung banner was sufficient

to make a Cathayan run. In time this fear wore off, and by 986 the Cathayans were able to destroy a vast Chinese army sent against them. The young Emperor, Chen Tsung, repelled an invasion in A.D. 999 and again in 1000. But in 1004 the Tartar armies succeeded in devastating the northeastern part of the empire and approaching to within a few miles of the capital. Chen Tsung went to meet them and entered into a treaty by which China was bound to pay to Cathay an annual tribute of one hundred thousand ounces of silver and two hundred thousand pieces of silk. This surrender on the part of China induced various Tartar tribes to follow that example. Thus Cathay became a great power. The Nüchen Tartars had acknowledged the suzerainty of Cathay as early as 991, and Korea had submitted in 994. North, south and east were thus dependencies of Cathay. In the meantime, another barbarian state was rising in the northwest. This was the Hsi Hsia. During the T'ang period it had given assistance in the suppression of a rebellion and in reward had received the right to the imperial surname, Li. When the Sung Dynasty came to power, it compelled the Dukes of Hsia to take the surname Chao, that of the new dynasty. This did not please Li Chi-ch'ien, a cousin of the Duke. He gave his allegiance to the Cathayans, established a new state near the northern bend of the Yellow River, and was given the title, King of Hsia, by the Emperor of Cathay. This was in 990. As it grew in strength, it became a menace to the peace. In 1040 its armies raided the frontier, and for three years kept up the disturbance in that region. The Cathayans took advantage of it in 1042 to obtain an increase in the tribute paid them by China. The annual subsidy became two hundred thousand ounces of silver and three hundred thousand pieces of silk. In 1043 peace was made with Hsia upon similar terms. China agreed to pay these barbarians each year two hundred and fifty-five thousand ounces of silver and the same number of pieces of silk and packages of tea. The agreement was carefully drawn so as to indicate that this was a present from a superior and not tribute from an inferior. Such nice distinctions are easily made in the Chinese language. This settlement with Hsia aroused the jealousy of Cathay, for Hsia had been its vassal. In 1049, therefore, when the throne of Hsia was occupied by a minor, Cathay made an

excuse to attack the rising power, but was beaten off. For some years thereafter the two Tartar states flourished side by side and bounded China on the north, occupying, in fact, portions of the northern provinces.

The Golden Horde

By the years 1114 the Nüchen Tartars along the Amur River, who were vassals of Cathay, had become so numerous and powerful that they determined to be independent. They made war upon Cathay and in 1115, having inflicted a crushing defeat upon their former suzerain at a river which in their language had the name "Golden," they took this word for their dynastic title, just as Cathay had named its dynasty after the river Liao, or "Iron." The word for "golden" in Chinese is *chin*. To the Chinese, therefore, this Nüchen dynasty is known as the Chin. The war continued until 1123 when the Chin entirely suppressed the Liao and supplanted it. The Cathayan ruler fled to Hsia and asked asylum, but it was refused; and not long afterward he was captured by the Chins and carried off. A remnant of his subjects made their way to the valley of the Ili, north of the T'ien Shan, and established a new state there, which is known as the Western Liao. Its people are also known as Kara K'itans and Keraits. The Hsia were so impressed by the strength of the Golden Horde that they submitted voluntarily to its overlordship in the following year.

Even before this date the Chinese, who were pleased to see their old enemy, Cathay, being beaten, had entered into an alliance with the Chins. By the terms of the treaty China was to receive a number of districts which it had been forced to cede to Cathay, and Chin was to be paid the annual subsidy that had formerly been given to Cathay. It was not a wise bargain, for if the Chinese were unable to withstand the Cathayans, they would certainly be unable to defeat the conquerors of Cathay, if these conquerors should in future make war upon China. So the event proved. Barbarians need no pretext for war; but the Nüchen Tartars of the Chin Dynasty probably had reason to complain of China, for it was charged that some of their defeated enemies were finding safe asylum in Chinese territory. At any rate, in the

beginning of 1126 the Golden Horde broke in upon the new year's festivities of the Chinese, ravaged the northeastern part of the empire and came even to the gates of the capital at K'aifengfu. The Chinese were able to buy peace only with most humiliating concessions.

The cowardly Emperor, Hui Tsung at the first news of the approach of the enemy resigned the throne to his son and fled to Chinkiang on the Yangtze River. Prince Huan, who became Emperor Ch'in Tsung, ceded three prefectures to the Chins and promised an enormous indemnity in gold, silver, silk and satin, and in herds of horses and cattle. He was not able at once to raise this indemnity, but the capital was thoroughly looted and the treasure handed over as part payment. A prince of the blood was demanded as a hostage and Prince K'ang was sent to the camp of the foe.

The Southern Sung Dynasty

The capital which had been so poorly defended was relieved by the approach of Chinese forces. Prince K'ang was exchanged for Prince Su as hostage. The Chin army temporarily withdrew, and the abdicating Emperor returned to find fault with his son's government. Despite the peace negotiations and the promise of an indemnity, the Chin armies continued to ravage the countryside. The relief of the capital by Chinese forces while peace negotiations were being carried on was probably regarded as absolving them from all obligation under the new treaty. On the other hand, the Chinese accused the Chin of violating the treaty. In the following year, 1127, the barbarian host returned and invested the capital. Their demands this time were heavier than before. They asked and received the surrender of the two Emperors and carried them away, along with some three thousand other persons of importance, into capitivity beyond Mukden. The Chinese throne was vacant, but Prince K'ang, the ninth son of Hui Tsung, was appointed regent, and, there being no hope of the return of the captives, he was proclaimed Emperor at Nanking. In history he is known by his temple title of Kao Tsung. This was the beginning of the Southern Sung Dynasty. After the Chin army had retired with its prisoners, Kao Tsung was urged by leading officers of the

government to return to K'aifengfu and so give encouragement to his people, but he refused and for a time made his headquarters at Yangchow on the Grand Canal, a few miles north of the Yangtze. The following year, 1128, the Chins invaded China again, drove the Chinese armies over the Yangtze and attempted to establish a buffer state between the Sungs and themselves. They captured Yangchow, from which place the Emperor fled to Hangchow. This became the capital of the Southern Sung Dynasty and remained so for one hundred and forty-eight years, from 1129 to 1276. During its first year as the national capital it also was captured by a Chin army and thoroughly looted, but the looters with their plunder were stopped at the Yangtze and fiercely attacked by Chinese forces that crushed and scattered them.

The war continued for some years. The Chinese armies improved in leadership and in discipline and gradually recovered most of the territory between the Yangtze and the Yellow Rivers. The victory might have been more complete had the army in the field not been crippled by treason in the Court. The Emperor fell under the influence of a certain Ch'in Kuei, who, it appeared later, was in correspondence with the Chin generalissimo. Yo Fei, the Chinese commander, found his plans thwarted, his orders countermanded, and himself finally charged with treason, called to the capital and thrown into prison. Although the trial showed that there was no truth in the charges, Ch'in Kuei was able to procure a decree for his execution. His memory was rehabilitated in the following reign and he was canonized in 1179. He has become one of the great heroes of China. His grave outside the walls of Hangchow is still a shrine of pilgrimage. His memory is revered by all and curses are heaped upon that of the traitor who caused his death.

The Rise of the Mongols

The policy of Ch'in Kuei was to establish a peace with the Chin state. He planned to make the Yangtze the boundary between the two powers. He did secure a respite in the fighting, but, after his death, hostilities were resumed. By this time, however, that is, in 1155, a new power appeared upon the northern horizon. The Golden Horde quarreled

among themselves. Rival claimants for the throne precipitated a civil war. A number of the tribes that had acknowledged the overlordship of the Chins, now united under the leadership of Kabul, the great-grandfather of Genghis Khan, and broke away from the Golden Horde. The new people called themselves Mongols. They made war upon the Chins, and the latter, fighting for their lives, gave less and less attention to the Sung empire. Twenty years later the father of Genghis was the Mongol Grand Khan. He died in 1187 when Genghis was a lad of thirteen years. The tribes were unwilling to accept Genghis as leader, but his mother had a will and a way of her own. She raised the standard of Yak Tails and proclaimed her son. Reluctantly about half of the tribes acknowledged him. Thus, in the same year that Saladin in western Asia recaptured Jerusalem and the alarmed Christian world began to prepare the third crusade, this boy, T'e-muching, whom we know as Genghis, began a career of conquest at the other end of Asia, that was to bring Saracen and crusader alike under the sway of his house,—a career that was to end in the subjection of half the world, for Genghis has rightly been called the "greatest conqueror the world has ever known." In a few years he had completely won the confidence of the tribes. By 1206 all Mongolia was subject to him, and in an assembly which he had summoned he was elected Grand Khan. He asked in marriage the daughter of the Naiman chieftain who had conquered the Kara K'itans or Keraits, a Christian tribe, report of whose existence gave rise to the legend of Prester John. The chieftain at first agreed to the alliance, but later war broke out between him and Genghis and the marriage was not completed. The chieftain[1] was defeated and his kingdom taken from him. Following this, Genghis attacked and subdued the Hsi Hsia, swept over north China, drove out the Chins, captured Peking in 1214, burned the city and massacred its inhabitants, and in 1216 brought southern Manchuria under his control. In 1219, leaving to his subordinates the conquest of the Sung empire, he went westward and in the succeeding years ravaged central Asia, invaded India and sent his conquering armies across Persia and Asia Minor and into Europe as far as the Danube. Novgorod was taken and its inhabitants put

[1] See *Travels of Marco Polo*, edited by Cordier, vol. i, p. 239.

to the sword. Thus began the subjection of Russia which in 1238 became tributary to the Mongols.

In 1225 Genghis returned from India, and in 1227 he died, leaving to his sons an empire that extended from the China Sea to the Danube and the Volga. The Mongol capital was at Karakorum and thither the tribesmen made their way to elect a successor. Ogdai (or Okkodai) was chosen. He was the second son of Genghis. To him was assigned the region that we know as Eastern Turkestan. He at once began the conquest of the remnant of the Chins and the empire of the Sungs. In this work Kublai, his nephew, was his lieutenant. Ogdai died two years later of alcoholism and was succeeded by his son, Gayuk, who reigned until 1251 when he was followed by Mangu, brother of Kublai. Mangu died in 1252 while engaged in the subjection of southwestern China, known as the kingdom of Tali,[2] and was succeeded in 1260 by Kublai, who trampled down the opposition of brother and cousins and made himself Grand Khan. To him it fell to complete the conquest of China. He moved his capital from Karakorum to Peking, which he rebuilt. It was known as Khanbalik or Cambaluc, that is to say, "the City of the Khan." He also built a summer capital at K'aip'ing, which he called Shang Tu, the "Upper Capital." This is the capital of which Coleridge speaks as Xanadu, saying:

> In Xanadu did Kublai Khan
> A stately pleasure dome decree:
> Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
> Through caverns measureless to man
> Down to a sunless sea.

The present Peking and the imperial palace are built upon the foundations of Kublai's capital, but the walls were rebuilt under the Mings and the enclosure somewhat reduced by cutting off a considerable section in the north.

Capture of Hangchow

Some years passed before the Sung empire was entirely overthrown. It was in 1276 that Hangchow, the Sung capital,

[2] This state in 938 succeeded the kingdom of Nan Chao, mentioned in chapter VI as founded by Shans and as at war with China.

was taken. Marco Polo gives us an account of it.[3] The city was then called Lingan. Marco speaks of it as Kinsay, which was merely an attempt at the transliteration of *kingshih,* "the capital." The Sung Emperor was a child in the charge of his grandmother, who was regent. She made no resistance, and with the boy Emperor was carried captive to Peking. A brother of the Emperor escaped by sea and was later proclaimed successor to the throne, but died in 1278. Another brother, a mere infant, was set up by the expiring dynasty, but was drowned in 1279 by his Chief Minister, who leaped with him into the sea to escape the enemy. Thus the Sung Dynasty came to an end. The captive monarch at Peking became a Buddhist monk, and his mother entered a Buddhist convent.[4] The imperial scepter was carried back to the north and the glory of Lingan passed to Khanbalik.

The Sung Capital

Something should be said about this beautiful city, Hangchow, which during a century and a half was the seat of the government under the Sung Dynasty. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of our era it was probably the most enlightened city of the world and one of the richest and most beautiful. Marco Polo visited it in the latter part of the thirteenth century, shortly after its capture by Kublai's army, and describes it with great enthusiasm. It was "beyond dispute," he says, "the finest and noblest in the world." It was "a hundred miles in compass." In it there were twelve thousand bridges of stone. Its craftsmen were associated in twelve different gilds. Each gild had twelve thousand houses for its workmen. The wealth of the city was enormous. Around the lake, which was thirty miles in circuit, there were built many "beautiful palaces and mansions, of the richest and most exquisite structure that you can imagine, belonging to the nobles of the city." There were many temples there, too, and many places of entertainment. There were three thousand baths in the city. The people were clothed in silk, which was one of the principal products of the district. The women were described as "most dainty and angelical creatures." The

[3] *Travels of Marco Polo,* edited by Cordier, vol. ii, p. 146.
[4] *China Review,* Feb.-Mar., 1901, p. 195, article by E. H. Parker.

palace was "the greatest in the world, ten miles in compass," with battlemented walls and "most delectable gardens" filled with the finest fruits. There were fountains in its courts, and lakes stocked with fish in its gardens. In the palace, itself, were "a thousand large and handsome chambers, all painted in gold and divers colors." The revenue derived from the industries and trade of the city was immense.[5]

Marco Polo delighted in superlatives, but in the main his description was quite correct. Hangchow is still one of the greatest and most beautiful cities of China. The West Lake is still a great pleasure resort and the manufacture of silk one of the chief industries of the district. A well-known proverb of the Chinese says: "Above are heaven's halls; on earth are Hang and Soo," that is to say, the most beautiful cities on earth are Hangchow and Soochow.

Marco Polo mentions the nearness of the ocean and without explanation states that the port of the capital is at a distance of twenty-five miles and connected with the city by a river. The explanation is that the sea-borne commerce of Hangchow, then as now, was hindered by the existence of a great bore in Hangchow Bay. This tidal wave sweeps up the bay at the rate of more than eleven knots an hour in a wall of water that is almost perpendicular and which measures at spring tide as much as nineteen feet in height. The local port in the Sung period was called Ganju, or Kanpu. Today the principal seaport of the district is on the opposite side of the bay at Ningpo.

The Mongol Dynasty

Kublai Khan called his dynasty the *Yüan,* a word that may be translated "the principal" or "unending," for besides its primary meaning of "the original" it was a term used by the Taoists for an enormous period of time. Kublai showed himself to be an enlightened monarch. He accepted Chinese civilization and surrounded himself with wise ministers. His Court became a center of culture and refinement. But he was not content to be Emperor of China. He sent an army to complete the conquest of Russia and eventually ruled over

[5] See *Travels of Marco Polo,* edited by Cordier, New York, 1903, Bk. ii, chs. lxv, lxxvi, lxxvii, lxxviii.

an even greater empire than that of his grandfather. His rule outside of China, however, was nominal rather than real, for his cousins, among whom the empire of Genghis had been divided, were practically independent, although acknowledging Kublai to be Grand Khan.

He conquered Korea also and the Liuch'iu Islands, and while still engaged in the war with China, he attempted in 1273 to subjugate Japan. Five years earlier he had sent envoys, summoning the Japanese to acknowledge his overlordship, but they had been sent back after some detention without reply. Although the Japanese had for centuries looked up to China as to a teacher and had repeatedly sent missions with presents which the Chinese regarded as tribute, they could not consider themselves as holding a similar relationship to a barbarian Mongol, who at that time had not even made himself Emperor of the Chinese.

Kublai's troops could fight on land, but they knew nothing of warfare at sea. With the aid of the Koreans, hereditary foes of Japan, he constructed a fleet that carried some forty thousand men across the strait. Tsushima and Iki were captured and the army moved on to Kiushiu. Here the Mongols met greater resistance, and, probably realizing that their force was insufficient, they set sail on a dark and rainy night and returned to Korea. In the darkness and storm they lost some three hundred vessels.

Kublai did not abandon the project. He sent another envoy to summon the Mikado. The envoy and his suite were all murdered. Kublai swore vengeance. He constructed another fleet, and in 1281, after he had overthrown the Sung Dynasty, he sent two expeditions, one from Korea and the other from southern China, to punish the islanders. Four thousand five hundred junks carried one hundred and fifty thousand men and their supplies to Japan. But the commanders were jealous of one another, and failed to coöperate. The Japanese made stout resistance and were powerfully aided by a typhoon that wrecked the vessels of their enemies. About five hundred vessels succeeded in escaping to Korea; the remainder were destroyed and the Mongols lost about one hundred and thirty thousand men.[6]

[6] A good account of this invasion is given by Admiral G. A. Ballard in his *Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan*, ch. i, New York, 1921.

The Japanese spared some ten thousand Chinese who could be of service to them with their knowledge and mechanical skill.

War in Indo-China

Kublai was equally unfortunate in his attempt to subdue the kingdoms of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Burmah was invaded in 1277 and the Burmese army put to rout. Marco Polo, who was engaged in the battle, has given a description of the affair. The Tartar ponies were frightened by the Burmese elephants and could not be used; but the Mongols dismounted and so tortured the elephants with their arrows that they fled in confusion and became more of a danger to their masters than to their foes. Success in Burmah led the Mongols into Annam. They won victories there but were conquered by the climate. Only a remnant lived to return home.

Tibet Becomes a Vassal

It was Kublai Khan, too, who established Chinese suzerainty over Tibet. This he did by diplomacy rather than by force. His adoption of Lamaism as the religion of Mongolia no doubt promoted this relationship.

Decadence of the Dynasty

The character of the Mongol rule deteriorated rapidly after the death of Kublai, which took place in 1294. The sudden transformation of the Mongols, a nomadic people, into city dwellers, and their abandonment of the rude fare of the desert for the luxury of the Court soon demoralized and enfeebled them. In less than ninety years they gave nine Emperors to China and then were driven back to the desert whence they had come. Intrigue and debauchery in the palace, disordered finances and oppressive government bore their natural fruitage in brigandage and rebellion. The Mongols were good soldiers but poor administrators. Near the close of the dynasty the Chinese historian says that the bands of rebels were like swarms of bees. These various

bands eventually coalesced under the leadership of Chu Yüan-chang who established a new dynasty known as the Ming, or "Brilliant."

Foreign Influence

As a rule, foreigners found a hearty welcome in China during the period which included the Sung and Yüan Dynasties. A colony of Jews, consisting of seventy persons, arrived at the capital in 1165. A stone tablet there tells us that they came from India with tribute in the form of cloth. They were allowed to settle at the capital, K'aifengfu, and practice their religion. They built a synagogue there which was still standing in the sixteenth century. The colony is there today, but its members are very poor and have forsaken the faith of their fathers, or at least some of the ritual requirements. Hebrew manuscripts have been bought from them by Christian missionaries in recent years and sent to Western libraries.

The Nestorian missionaries who came during the T'ang period continued to propagate their religion under the Sung Dynasty. Churches were established in a number of cities. Marco Polo speaks of one at the city of Hangchow. This sect seems to have met with great success among the Cathayans also. As we have seen, it was the Christian ruler of the western branch of this nation that was represented in Europe under the name of Prester John as a mighty potentate. A Nestorian monk from Cathay, it is believed, was once chosen to be Patriarch of that branch of the Christian Church.[7]

Missionaries of the Roman Church also began coming to China during this period. Plano Carpini visited Karakorum in 1246, and William Rubruquis, in 1253. The latter mentions a rather large colony of Europeans as residing there, among them a Parisian jeweler who had previously had a shop on the Grand Pont. A request of Kublai for Christian missionaries was complied with in part in 1292 when John of Montecorvino arrived in Peking. He worked alone for eleven years and had the gratification of seeing six thousand persons gathered into the Church. He also bought one hundred and fifty children whom he brought up in the faith. Seven bishops

[7] Paul Pelliot, in lectures in the United States in 1924.

were sent to his assistance in 1307. He died in 1328 at eighty years of age. By that time he was said to have converted thirty thousand.

It will be seen that both Genghis and Kublai were very tolerant. Neither was inclined to accept Christianity for himself, but both believed in the good influence of a religious faith. Genghis proclaimed the doctrine of one God and one Grand Khan, but he prescribed no ritual, nor did he try to impose his faith upon others. Kublai, as we shall see, gave his support to Lamaism.

The Mohammedans also flourished in China at this period. Arab traders continued to visit Canton and mosques were established in other cities where Islam found a sufficient number of followers.

The Polos

At the commencement of the thirteenth century of our era, Constantinople was the European terminus of the overland route from the Far East and the *entrepôt* of Oriental trade. Venice and Genoa were rivals for the control of this trade route. At the instigation of Venice, the fourth crusade was diverted from its legitimate object and directed against Constantinople which was captured in 1204. The Greek Emperor was dethroned and a Latin put in his place. By this means Venice became the dominant power on the Bosporus. In 1260 two merchants of Venice, Nicolo and Maffeo Polo, who were in Constantinople on business, left that city for the Crimea and from that place found their way to Sarai on the Volga where they were kindly received by Barca the Mongol Khan. War broke out between Barca and his cousin in Persia and the road to Constantinople was blocked, so that the two brothers, unable to return to the capital, traveled eastward to Samarcand where they fell in with a Persian embassy bound for the Court of Kublai Khan. They joined it by invitation and made their way to Karakorum where they were presented to the Grand Khan. This was about the year 1265. When they were ready to return to their own country, Kublai requested them to ask the Pope to send one hundred missionaries to Tartary to teach their religion to the Mongols. He hoped in this way to improve the manners and morals of his people. On the return journey

the two Polo brothers learned that Genoa had captured Constantinople and restored the Greek dynasty. So they went to Acre, which Venice was making the starting place for their caravans to the Far East. They arrived at Acre in 1269 and found that the Pope was dead. At Venice they waited for some time for the election of a successor to the Papal throne, but, growing weary of the delay, they took Nicolo's son, Marco, with them and began again the long journey to the East. At Ayas, on the Black Sea, they heard of the election of a new Pope and returned, had audience of the Holy Father and secured the appointment of two Dominicans to accompany them. This was but a poor reply to the request of Kublai; but even these two missionaries lost heart and returned to Europe before the journey was well begun. The three Polos went on and in 1275 arrived at Shang Tu, the summer capital of Kublai. Having failed to obtain Christian teachers, Kublai then turned to Tibet and invited the Buddhist lamas to send missionaries. They did so, and Lamaism has been the religion of the Mongols ever since.

Marco Polo, then a young man of twenty-one years, became a great favorite of the Emperor, who sent him into various parts of the empire on errands for the Throne. For a time he was governor of the city of Yangchow on the Grand Canal. The official history of the dynasty speaks of him as Confidential Agent.

In 1286 the Khan of Persia lost his favorite wife and sought a successor among her kindred in Mongolia. Kublai chose a young princess of seventeen years and, at the request of the Persian envoys who had come by land, the Polos were allowed to guide them on their return journey by sea. They went by sea because the land route was disturbed by war.

They sailed from Zaytun in January 1292 and were more than two years reaching Tabriz. There they learned that the Khan, the would-be bridegroom, was dead. The young princess was therefore married to his son, who was more nearly of her own age and a more suitable husband.

Maritime Commerce

The Chinese historian says: "Sea-borne trade with foreign lands began in the early part of the Han period and was

conducted through ports in Nan Yüeh." This was a region embracing the southern coast of China and portions of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. At times it was included in the Chinese empire and at other times constituted a tributary state. That portion of Nan Yüeh which formed the modern province of Kuangtung came under Sung control about 971, and that year a superintendent of foreign trade was appointed to Canton. This trade was carried on by large junks with Annam and Malaysia, with the Philippines, Borneo, Java and Sumatra, with various states of India, with Persia, Arabia and Egypt, and, to a limited degree, with Korea and Japan. It was very largely still in the hands of the Arabs, just as it had been during the T'ang Dynasty. Gold, silver and copper cash, silks, porcelain, sugar, wheat, rhubarb, samshu, and notions were exchanged by the Chinese for ivory, coral, pearls, rhinoceros horns, crystal, agates and various precious stones, tortoise shell, gums, spices, medicines, incense, dyes and cotton cloth. The manufacture of cotton cloth was not introduced into China until about the twelfth century. Tea does not appear to have had a place in maritime shipments at this period.

There were six ports that at various times were engaged in foreign trade: Canton, Ch'üanchou, Foochow, Hangchow, Ningpo and Shanghai. Ch'üanchou, the place mentioned by Marco Polo as "Zaytun," was near the modern port of Amoy. At times but two or three of these ports were open to foreign trade, and at other times the trade was confined to Canton, whose merchants were very jealous of their privileges and unwilling to share the profits of the trade with men of other sections. The commerce became so profitable that in 986 the government sent a commission of eight high officials to visit foreign lands and plan for its further extension.

A Government Monopoly

The Sung Court became directly interested in this business as soon as they obtained control of the southern provinces. Private trading was entirely forbidden in such products as precious stones, pearls, ivory, rhinoceros horns, steel, coral, tortoise shell, incense, medicines and dyes. Such goods could

be disposed of only through licensed merchants. In time, as the government storehouses became stuffed with goods, some of these things had to be put into circulation through ordinary channels. Surplus stocks of medicine were especially turned over to private merchants. The Imperial Court, of course, had an option on all the choicest articles.

Duties

At first, so we are told by the historian, the duties were levied on the vessels engaged in the trade according to their size. They were divided into three classes. The largest, called *tu-ch'iang,* had a capacity of 1,000 *p'o-lan,* equal to about two hundred tons.[8] The next in size were but one-third as large, and the third class about one-third in capacity of the second, or twenty-three tons. This method of taxation was unsatisfactory, for, the tax being independent of the cargo, the merchants preferred to bring in the most precious articles on which their profit would be greater than on staple goods. The practice was then changed and an *ad valorem* duty placed on the cargo. We have seen that during the T'ang Dynasty, too, this was the custom. The duty at that time was about thirty per cent *ad valorem.* During the Sung period the rate varied greatly from reign to reign. Generally speaking, ten per cent was the duty on staples, but on other articles it rose to twenty, forty and even sixty per cent. The duties were payable in cash or in kind, generally the latter. On arrival in port, the vessel deposited a portion of its cargo with the Superintendent of Foreign Trade as security for the payment of duties. What the revenue from this source was it is difficult to estimate, since the value of the articles in which payment was made is unknown. We are merely told that the revenue amounted at times to as much as five hundred thousand catties, pieces, strings, head, ounces, etc., according to the classifier used. Smuggling and other infractions of the regulations were very severely punished by branding on the face, and by exile. But smuggling both in ancient and modern

[8] A *p'o-lan* was equal to 300 catties or, roughly, 400 pounds avoirdupois, so that 1,000 p'o-lan would be 400,000 lbs. But there is nothing given from which to determine the capacity of such vessels in cubic feet.

times seems to have been regarded by the majority of people as a very venial offense; and, in spite of these barbarous penalties, smuggling went on with the connivance of the officials, so that in 1175 the Ministry of Finance reported that, although the provisions of the law were very severe, avaricious merchants were able to bribe the officials, and their subordinates could do nothing to prevent it. Customs arrangements under the Yüan were similar to those under the Sung.

Shipping and Freight

The large vessels carried several hundred men, according to the historians. The master of the vessel was given a certificate empowering him to preserve order aboard and authorizing him to punish disobedience with whipping. During the twelfth century and perhaps earlier, the course of a vessel at sea was fixed by the use of a compass. Prior to the invention of that instrument the seamen had to keep in sight of headlands or be guided by observation of the stars. Communication, even when far at sea was maintained with the home land by the use of carrier pigeons. The cargo space was divided among the merchants interested, and each man slept on his own pile.[9] The government apparently maintained a Shipping Board, for the freight rate was fixed by the government and was collected by the Superintendent of Foreign Trade. For the purpose of estimating it, goods were divided into two classes: coarse and fine. A unit of measurement was the *kang*. For fine articles the *kang* was originally fixed at 5,000 ounces, and for coarse articles, at 10,000 catties.[10] Every *kang* paid freight, including tips, of 100 strings of cash. A string of cash contained 1,000 copper coins, worth altogether one tael, that is, one Chinese ounce of silver. The freight on a *kang* of goods, therefore, was about one hundred taels. But in 1107 the standard was changed. The *kang* for finer articles was reduced to one-thirty-second of the original size and certain articles formerly in the coarse class were transferred to the fine. The freight rate was fixed at 3,000 strings of cash for each *kang*. In

[9] Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 31.

[10] A Chinese ounce generally equals 1 1/3 ounces avoirdupois, and a catty, 1 1/3 pounds.

1171 the *kang* for coarse articles was fixed at 20,000 catties and the freight at 1,662 strings of cash for each *kang*.[11]

Taxation under the Sung

When the Sung Dynasty was established, the founder sought to win the favor of the people by abolishing certain obnoxious taxes. These were the taxes on orange groves, fish ponds, water mills, breweries, on the lotus root, on geese, ducks, snails and mussels, on firewood, on shops, on cattle, and on irrigating water. Such taxes had been levied under various dynasties preceding the Sung. Toll on ferries and bridges, too, was in most places removed.

But as the years wore on and the inroads of Tartars and Tibetans led to frequent wars, the expenses of the government increased and more revenue had to be found, so that taxation became as vexatious as it had ever been before.

The loss of the northern half of the empire and the demands of Cathay and Hsi Hsia for heavy subsidies made the burden on the southern provinces greater than ever. The monopoly of foreign trade, already discussed, was not the least important source of revenue, but there were other sources of still greater importance.

The Land Tax

Chief of these was the tax on land, which had been the principal dependence of the state from very ancient times. There was a tax on public land cultivated by the people, which was of the nature of rent. There was also a tax on farm land privately owned. Besides these there was a tax on houses and lots in the cities. The taxes on agricultural lands were payable in kind, but it was allowable, it seems, to commute these contributions for a money payment. For purposes of taxation the land was divided into three grades. The first class paid about two and one-half bushels of rice an acre; second class, two and one-quarter bushels, and third class, one

[11] The tael in China is not a coin, but a weight of silver of certain fineness. Today the Customs tael is 583.3 grains, Troy 1,000 fine. There being no such silver, additional charge is made for lack of fineness. In the Sung period, of course, the purchasing power of a tael was much greater than today.

and one-fifth bushels.[12] In 1068 a brilliant but inexperienced statesman, Wang An-shih, attempted to introduce a new method of collecting the land tax. He had the land divided into squares of one thousand paces on a side, and held the owners of the land jointly responsible for the payment of the taxes. With the aid of a bailiff they apportioned the amount among themselves. This, however, led to so much bickering that it had to be abandoned.

Other Taxes

Farmers had to pay not only a grain tax, but taxes on silk production, on tea, wood, bamboo, hemp, hay, hides and feathers. There was also a poll tax payable between the ages of twenty and sixty. The salt tax, then as now, was a source of considerable revenue. A royalty was payable on the output of mines, chiefly gold, silver, copper, tin and iron. Taxes were levied, too, on charcoal, varnish, wax, oil, medicines and paper. All alcoholic liquors paid an excise tax. For local purposes the county and provincial officials were permitted to levy duties on merchandise in transit. Market towns were established where trade was supervised by these authorities, and customs officers appointed to collect the duties. These varied from place to place, but amounted generally to about two per cent *ad valorem*. It is impossible to estimate accurately the total revenue of the imperial government. Marco Polo in his day estimated the revenue of the one province in which Hangchow was then situated at more than twenty million florins; but if he reckoned the paper currency of the Mongols at face value, he greatly exaggerated the amount received. The historian of the Sung Dynasty reports that in the year 1021 the revenue from the whole empire amounted to 150,850,100 strings of cash, and the expenditure to 126,775,200 strings. In 1049 this had grown to an income of 1,026,251,964 units, but it is not certain that strings of cash are meant. The great increase is charged to the support of the army, which in 1038 already numbered 1,259,000 men. If these figures seem incredible, we have but to remember that

[12] All weights and measures in China vary greatly from place to place, and the official standards have varied from dynasty to dynasty. The *tou*, or peck in which the tax was estimated contained during the period under discussion about 1.13 pecks.

the Sung empire at the height of its power, before the loss of territory to Cathay, embraced a vast area, and that by 1063 its population had reached the total of one hundred million souls. If we assume that the units are taels in the sum total of the revenue given above, we cannot be far wrong, for if some of the units should be rolls of silk and pecks of grain, these with the strings of cash taken altogether will average not far from a tael a unit.[13] But even allowing for the large population, the taxation that averages ten taels a person for every man, woman and child must be admitted to be heavy at any time and a crushing load in the eleventh century.

Salaries

The salaries of officials paid out of the imperial revenue were very small when estimated in modern money. The Prime Minister received three hundred strings of cash a month, and twice a year, in the spring and winter, he was granted an allowance of silk for clothing,—twenty pieces of damask and thirty of taffeta. Other cabinet ministers received the same pay. There were other allowances besides the silk. The Premier received each month a hundred *tang*[14] of paddy, three *tou* of hulled rice, three of wheat, alcoholic liquors, tea, and kitchen miscellanies, and for the year 4,500 catties of charcoal.

Abortive Reforms

The celebrated statesman, Wang An-shih, mentioned above, was one of the most remarkable philosophers of the period. Political and social questions, however, rather than metaphysical, interested him. He was a teacher of political economy. He was interested in the welfare of the people. He sought a cure for poverty. The historian speaks of him as a man of lofty principles and generous impulses, but as being unpractical, attempting the impossible,—the reformation of the world. In 1068 he was invited by the Emperor to take office and was given two associates to assist him in putting his theo-

[13] A tael today may be taken as worth about 80 cents U. S.

[14] A *tang* is generally about 133 1/3 lbs. avoirdupois. It is equal to 100 *chin* or catties, a catty being about one and one-third pounds.

ries into practice. Among a conservative people precedent counts for much. He taught, therefore, that the principles of his system were those of the ancient sages. These principles had been misunderstood; his was the true interpretation. The lack of wealth, in his opinion, was a calamity. Misery was caused by seeking wealth without understanding the laws of economics. One must utilize the energy of the empire in the production of wealth, and that wealth must be employed for the benefit of the people. From the character of the reforms that he attempted, one is disposed to classify his system as that of state socialism.

Mention has been made already of his attempt to change the method of levying and collecting the land tax. Another reform that aroused much opposition was a system of compulsory military service. Every family that had more than one able-bodied son was required to give one to the army. He was trained in the use of the bow, the spear, the arbalest, and in the simple tactics of the period. Closely associated with this innovation was another, the state control of horsebreeding. Horses had been obtained for the most part through trade with the Tartar races of the north. Wang proposed that the state should breed them in such numbers as to make it easy to obtain the supply needed in the army. Animals and capital were to be supplied to the peasants who were prepared to undertake the business, and an inspection of the breeding farms was to be made once a year.

The ancient system of grouping families for mutual responsibility was revived, but in the form of tithings. The whole tithing was responsible for the offenses of any member and was required to report any attempt to evade the obligations of the new military system.

That there was need of military reform was shown by the inability of the Chinese to withstand the attacks of their barbarian neighbors on the north. Wang expected much from the new army that he was creating. This was evident from his statement made when consenting to the payment of subsidy to Cathay. "It can be but a temporary arrangement," he said; "we shall soon be able to recover our prestige." Some of the reforms introduced were a revival of those attempted so unsuccessfully by Wang Mang at the beginning of the Christian Era. State loans in aid of agriculture was one of

these. The advances were made in the spring and were repaid after the autumn harvests were gathered. On these loans the farmer was to pay two per cent a month as interest. The intention was good but the result was evil. In bad seasons the farmers defaulted and lost their lands. The rich who came to the rescue obtained the lands. The poor became poorer, and the state, too, was a loser. Similarly there was a scheme to promote commerce. The state made loans to the merchants who conducted the business of exchanging the products of one region for those of another, and this was done under the supervision of the state. These loans also bore interest at the rate of two per cent a month and were secured upon the real and personal property of the merchants. With all his interest in the welfare of the people, he had no confidence in the ability of the people to take care of themselves. Individual enterprise was hampered and obstructed by interference of officials whose supposed omniscience enabled them to advise in matters of which they were in fact densely ignorant.

A more practical reform was that which provided relief from the exactions of the *corvée*. From antiquity men had been taken from their proper tasks to be employed upon public works. In theory this was done only in times of idleness; but, in reality, the plowing and the ingathering were often sacrificed to the unpaid service of the state. By the new system, that which is common everywhere today, men contributed proportionately of their means to a fund which was used to hire skilled workmen to construct public buildings.

These startling changes in social and political affairs divided the people into two parties. Wang had enthusiastic supporters and bitter opponents. Among the latter were some of the most prominent statesmen of the empire, chief of whom was Ssu-ma Kuang, the great historian, who was called to take the helm from the hands of Wang An-shih, when the Emperor, Shen Tsung, died in 1085. The successor to the throne was a boy of ten years. His mother, made regent, was a conservative. The new laws were rescinded and Wang's interpretation of the classics put under the ban. Not long afterward Wang An-shih died, but his admirers succeeded in reviving his methods upon the death of the dowager Empress. In 1104 his tablet was placed alongside that of Confucius for

the worship of the people, but in 1106 an untimely comet frightened the Emperor and the new laws were once more abrogated.

Taxation under the Mongols

Taxation under the Yüan Dynasty was no less oppressive than under the Sung. In its later years it was even more obnoxious. The land and grain tax, we are informed by the historian, increased twenty-fold between 1297 and 1329. The silk industry, too, was heavily burdened. In addition to the tax on the mulberry groves, there was a tax on the raw silk, on silk thread, and on the woven piece. The rate of taxation, too, was increased as the years went by. Similarly the salt tax increased from nine strings of cash for each *yin* in 1276 to one hundred and fifty strings in 1320. The *yin,* originally four hundred catties, was reduced one-half, thus further increasing the tax. The tax on tea was gradually increased and a considerable revenue was derived from the tax on alcoholic liquors and vinegar. The number of factories and distilleries was limited, and violations of the excise laws, severely punished.

A tax on business transactions was an annoyance and an inducement to deception. Monthly returns were required of all sales and of all loans, and a payment to the government of one-thirtieth.

Paper Currency

The issue of paper currency began in the closing years of the T'ang Dynasty when the resources of the government were exhausted and the disturbed condition of the empire made collection of revenue very difficult. A somewhat similar practice began much earlier, however, for in the second century B.C. promises to pay, written on deer skin, circulated as money.

Near the commencement of the Sung Dynasty, in the reign of Chen Tsung (908-1004), after the pacification of Szechuen, the people there supplied their lack of money by coining iron cash. In other parts of the country the string of one hundred cash was cut down to eighty-five which passed as

one hundred. Ten iron cash passed for one of copper. At such a rate, counterfeiting, of course, was common, despite the severe punishment decreed for such offense. Since iron cash had to be used in large quantity, their transport was not easy and to relieve the difficulty, the Commissioner charged with the settlement of affairs in Szechuen issued notes for one thousand cash each, redeemable in three years. To create confidence in this currency, sixteen wealthy merchants were charged with the issue, and their property made security. For sixty-five years the method succeeded. Then through financial losses the merchants became unable to redeem their notes and distrust ensued. In 1023 the Emperor Jen Tsung relieved the situation. He continued to issue notes, but fixed the limit at 1,256,340 strings, each string being of 1,000 cash value.[15] From Szechuen the circulation of iron cash had passed into Shensi and the other northern provinces, and even into the kingdom of Cathay. The circulation of paper notes followed the iron cash, and gradually their use became common throughout the whole empire. Counterfeiting of the notes was punishable at first with four years exile, but this was soon seen to be too light a sentence. The crime was then made capital. Refusal to accept the notes was punished by sentence to military servitude. Despite these penalties, counterfeiting became common, and the notes rapidly depreciated. This depreciation was accentuated by the failure of the government to redeem in cash when the due date arrived. At times a portion were redeemed in cash and the rest in new notes; but in time all pretense of redeeming in cash was abandoned and the old notes were exchanged for new, but at a discount, for there were too many counterfeits. In time one new note was exchanged for four old ones. The limit of issue was also forgotten, and the government became reckless in printing money. In 1107 the amount in circulation was twenty times that of 1023. In 1068 a new limit was fixed at ten million strings, but even this limit was not respected. In 1195 the limit was made thirty millions; but in 1219, after destroying a large amount of the old notes, it was found that there still remained in circulation 102,000,000 strings. In

[15] A thousand cash were the equivalent of a tael or Chinese ounce of silver. Subsequently notes for smaller amounts were issued.

1232 two outstanding issues were estimated to amount to 3,029,000,000 strings.

Even before their conquest of China the Mongols had adopted the Chinese expedient of issuing paper notes for money. They continued the practice after the conquest with results not unlike those that have followed the overissue of paper money in Europe since the great World War.

Marco Polo mentions the use of paper notes as a wonderful device of the Grand Khan:

> You might say that he hath the secret of alchemy in perfection, and you would be right. . . . With these pieces of paper, made as I have described, he causes all payments on his own account to be made; and he makes them to pass current universally over all his kingdoms and provinces and territories, and whithersoever his power and sovereignty extends.[16]

The Sung Philosophers

The Sung Dynasty was celebrated for a number of things: for its interest in foreign trade, for its experiments in social reform, for its poets, its painters, and its beautiful pottery; but that which more than all else distinguished it from the dynasties that preceded it and those that followed it was its schools of philosophy. These speculations for the most part were a reaction from the teachings of the Taoists and Buddhists. The Emperors, as a rule, were attached to Confucianism, but there were some who supported Buddhism or Taoism.

Several monarchs of the period tried to check the progress of Buddhism and Taoism by the suppression of a large number of monasteries and convents. Thirty thousand unauthorized monasteries were closed in the year 955, but both faiths continued to flourish. As religions they seemed to furnish something that Confucianism lacked,—something which the people craved. Yet Taoism was still a nursery of magicians, and Buddhism was being corrupted by the introduction of the Yoga philosophy and its discipline of self-torture.

There were a few monks, however, who were real students of philosophy, and even Confucian scholars were attracted by

[16] Yule's *Marco Polo,* vol. i, p. 424.

their speculations. Both Buddhism and Taoism, in fact, exerted considerable influence upon the literature of the period. The striking paradoxes of the *Tao Te King* and the noble idealism of Chuang Tzu could not but stimulate thought in those who read these works. As for Buddhism, its rather numerous sects are divided almost altogether upon questions of a philosophical nature. So it came to pass that poets, historians and statesmen were all affected to some degree by these heresies.

In the eleventh century a reaction set in, led by Chou Tun-i. He and the two brothers, Ch'eng, laid the foundation of a new school of philosophy. The superstructure was erected in the following century by Chu Hsi. But even these loyal Confucianists were unable to escape the influence of Buddhist and Taoist theories. Chu Hsi, in fact, was for a time a devout Buddhist but had returned to the faith of his fathers.

The aim of the Sung philosophers was to restore Confucianism to its ancient place of authority as the dominant philosophy of the empire. What they really did was to create a neo-Confucianism, not at all identical with the teaching of the classics, but a development of those teachings as modified by the conceptions of other schools of thought. One cannot, indeed, revive an ancient faith nor restore an old philosophy. The world is ever changing. New influences transform men's beliefs, even though they may be unconscious of it. While they may still use the terms of old creeds, the words no longer have the meanings given them by the writers of the creeds. The Sung philosophers called themselves Confucianists, yet the sages of antiquity, whom they reverenced, cared very little for metaphysical speculation. The teaching of Confucius was chiefly of an ethico-political character. Mencius did indulge in some disputation with other teachers upon questions that approached the metaphysical border, but the burden of his teaching was social and political reform. The Sung philosophers did not neglect the ethical aspects of their theories; indeed they emphasized them, but they had to meet their Buddhist and Taoist opponents upon their own ground which was metaphysical. They sought in the classics for intimations of the philosophy that shaped the thinking of the sages. They found passages in the "Book of Changes" and in the "Record of Rites" that seemed to outline that philos-

ophy for them, but passages whose authenticity may very well be doubted. The origin of the universe was found in an ether that fills all space and that is directed by a Principle which cannot be separated from the ether. The Principle is conceived as immaterial, yet we are told that it is identical with the ether which, since it fills all space, must be conceived as material. The Principle is identified with Heaven which in the classics is a synonym for God, and there are passages in Chu Hsi that seem to ascribe personality to the Final Cause. In other passages he asserts himself so strongly against the anthropomorphism of the day that one suspects him of denying personality to the First Cause. It is this want of clarity in all probability that has led most European critics to speak of the Sung philosophy as materialistic. Bruce is probably right in defining it as a sort of monism.[17] The ethics of this school were of the highest sort. The Great Ultimate is benevolent, just, worshipful and wise. There seems, however, to be a sort of determinism in the teaching that a man's character is due to the quality of the ether that enters into the constitution of his physical nature. For this he could not be held responsible, yet the Sung philosophers did hold a man responsible for his moral character.

As to death and what may lie beyond, the school had no message of hope. One of Chu Hsi's disciples addressed him, saying:

> The norm of the dead is identical with that of the living, but we called the dead a ghost; the living, a man; the difference is in name only. The living come; the dead go away. The living are visible; the dead invisible; in reality there is no change; it is like the alternation of day and night. The whole process does not constitute a change in the celestial world. Is not this correct?

To this Chu Hsi replied:

> Let us be more precise. The dead go away, it is true. It is also true that they do not change, since it is the termination of the immutable norm. But do not say that it survives as an immutable individual; the individual ceases with death; the norm returns to its fountain in the universal norm.

Such a view savors of Hinduism.

[17] J. P. Bruce, *Chu Hsi and his Masters*, p. 124, London, 1923. This work and Chu Hsi's *Philosophy of Human Nature*, also by Bruce, London, 1922, furnish the best exposition of the Sung School of Philosophy. The author acknowledges his indebtedness.

Chu Hsi's philosophy has for the past eight centuries shaped in a very large measure the thinking of the Chinese scholars. His commentary upon the classics has been officially recognized as orthodox. Yet today, too, as in his own day, we see learned Confucianists turning in their old age to the monasteries of the Buddhists or the Taoists in the hope of finding there something more satisfying.

Literature

The invention of printing in the preceding period gave a great impetus to the production of literature during the Sung and Yüan Dynasties. Philosophy, history and poetry flourished under the Sung Emperors, and the drama and the novel under the Mongol rulers. The Chinese theater today owes more to the Mongols than to any other influence. To them, too, more than to others, we owe the Chinese novel, although it may be said to have developed naturally out of the skillful story-telling for which the Chinese are famous. Some of the best-known novels deal with historic events, but the facts are transfigured in the glow of popular legend, for, as Emerson says: "Time dissipates to shining ether the solid angularity of facts."

Art and Craft

The Chinese encyclopedia gives the names of more than eight hundred painters of the Sung Dynasty. Their subjects cover the whole range of pictorial art, but it is for their landscapes that the artists of this period are most noted. One of the greatest painters belonged to the imperial family, Chao Meng-fu, but he did his best work under the patronage of Kublai Khan of the Mongol Dynasty.

The potters of the period rival the philosophers and painters in the quality of their work. The delicate *Ting Yao* of Chihli, the *Ch'ai Yao* of Honan, the *Kuan Yao* of Honan and Chekiang, and the *Ko Yao, Chien Yao* and *Celadon* of the last-named province all belong to this era.

Both the Sung and Yüan Emperors did much to beautify their capitals by building palaces, pagodas and temples. Dur-

ing the reign of Kublai Khan the Grand Canal was completed, connecting Lingan, the modern Hangchow, with Khanbalik or Peking, the Mongol capital. For centuries this was the principal artery of communication between the north and south.

Mention has been made of the taxation of mines of gold, silver, copper, tin and iron. To Marco Polo we are indebted for information concerning the mining of coal. He says: "It is a fact that all over the country of Cathay there is a kind of black stones existing in beds in the mountains which they dig out and burn like firewood." [18] Coal mining began in Europe in the thirteenth century, but it had been an industry in China since the Han Period in the third century B.C.

RULERS

Chinese

SUNG DYNASTY, NORTHERN BRANCH

Chao K'uang-yin or T'ai Tsu	960- 976
T'ai Tsung	976- 998
Chen Tsung	998-1023
Jen Tsung	1023-1064
Ying Tsung	1064-1068
Shen Tsung	1068-1086
Che Tsung	1086-1101
Hui Tsung	1101-1126
Ch'in Tsung	1126-1127

SOUTHERN BRANCH

Kao Tsung	1127-1163
Hsiao Tsung	1163-1190
Kuang Tsung	1190-1195
Ning Tsung	1195-1225
Li Tsung	1225-1265
Tu Tsung	1265-1275
Kung Ti	1275-1276
Tuan Tsung	1276-1278
Ti Ping	1278

Tartar

LIAO OR CATHAY

T'ai Tsu	907- 927
T'ai Tsung	927- 947
Shih Tsung	947- 951
Mu Tsung	951- 968
Ching Tsung	968- 983
Sheng Tsung	983-1031
Hsing Tsung	1031-1055
Tao Tsung	1055-1101
T'ien Cha	1101-1119

WESTERN LIAO

Te Tsung	1125-1136
Kan T'ien Hou	1136-1142
Jen Tsung	1142-1154
Ch'eng T'ien	1154-1168
Mo Chu	1168

CHIN OR GOLDEN

T'ai Tsu	1115-1123
T'ai Tsung	1123-1135
Hsi Tsung	1135-1149
Hai Ling Wang	1149-1161
Shih Tsung	1161-1190
Chang Tsung	1190-1209

[18] Colonel Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, edited by Cordier, vol. i, p. 442.

Wei Shao Wang	1209-1213
Hsüan Tsung	1213-1224
Ai Tsung	1224-1234
Mo Ti	1234

YÜAN OR MONGOL

Genghis Khan	1206-1229
Ogdai	1229-1246
Gayuk	1246-1251
Mangu	1251-1260
Kublai	1260-1295
Temur	1295-1308
Kaisun	1308-1312
Ayuli Palpata	1312-1321
Kotpala	1321-1324
Yesun Temur	1324-1328
Achakpa	1328-1329
Hosila	1329-1330
Tup Temur	1330-1332
Ile Chepe	1332-1333
Tohan Temur	1333-1341

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CHAPTER VIII

THE DAWN OF THE MODERN ERA

Ming Dynasty, A.D. 1368-1644

The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men and giveth it to whomsoever He will.

—DANIEL.

When God is about to confer a great office upon a man, He first embitters his heart and mind with suffering, wearies his sinews and bones with toil, starves his body, exhausts and impoverishes him, and opposes and confounds his undertakings. Thus He stimulates his ambition, hardens his resolution and supplies his deficiencies.

—MENCIUS.

THE founder of the Ming Dynasty was prepared for his career of conquest and for the high office of Emperor by poverty and much suffering. He was born near Fengyangfu not far from the Huai River in northern Anhui.[1] When he was seventeen years of age an epidemic that raged in central China carried away his parents, who were extremely poor, and left him destitute. In his distress he entered a Buddhist monastery just outside the walls of Fengyang. According to one account he took the vows of monkhood, but other traditions say that he merely entered the service of the monastery as a cook.

Injustice Breeds Rebellion

The misgovernment of the Mongols provoked insurrection in all parts of the empire. Among these uprisings was one headed by Kuo Tzu-hsing who operated in the region between the Huai and the Yangtze Rivers. Chu Yüan-chang quitted

[1] One account says that Chu Yüan-chang was born at Chüyung Hsien near Nanking. But Chinese generally reckon themselves as belonging to the district of their ancestors. Probably Chu's ancestral home was at Chüyung.

the monastery and joined the insurgents under Kuo Tzu-hsing. He rapidly rose in the favor of his chief, who gave him a wife in the person of a young woman from his own household, Miss Ma Ch'i. After the death of the leader, Chu Yüan-chang took command of the band and by 1352 had captured Nanking. His military successes brought various other rebel bands to his standard and within a few years most of the empire was under his control. He was greatly assisted by the natural calamities that afflicted the country. Drought and famine, storm and pestilence were all regarded by the people as indications of the displeasure of Heaven with the reigning house. Other natural phenomena foretold the coming change of dynasty. Two suns were seen in the sky. Two dragons struggled together in the river. Strange lights—the aurora borealis—appeared in the north, and most important of all to a superstitious people, a long-tailed comet swept across the sky, showing that the Mongols were about to be swept out of the empire. These signs enhanced the prestige of the rebel leader, who was thus seen to be a favorite of Heaven. In 1368 his army captured Peking, and thereupon he proclaimed himself Emperor and called his dynasty the Ming, or "Brilliant." The Mongol ruler, a degenerate scion of the house of Genghis Khan, fled to the desert of Mongolia and a year later was dead. But war between the Chinese and Mongols continued intermittently for many years.

The Reign of Hungwu

Chu Yüan-chang is known to history as the Emperor Hungwu. On ascending the throne as the Son of Heaven, his personal name became taboo, and from that time to the close of the Manchu dynasty in 1912 each Emperor has had not only a temple name, conferred after death, but has been known also by a designation given to the period of his reign during his lifetime. *Hungwu,* then, was the name of the period during which the first Emperor of the Ming dynasty ruled the state.

As he had risen from among the people, he was able to sympathize with them. On the whole he was a wise and humane ruler. He endeavored to lighten the burdens of the people. He gave great attention to education, and the laws were revised and codified. He fixed his capital at Nanking

and made K'aifengfu a secondary capital. The empire was divided into thirteen provinces, and the six ministries of the central government were restored as in ancient times. His sons were made Princes and several of them were placed in charge of various portions of the empire. As age crept on, and especially after the death of the Empress to whom he was very devoted, he became irascible and suspicious and, accepting without due investigation charges made against some of his most loyal friends, he was guilty of having them put to death.

His eldest son died in advance of himself and was subsequently buried with Hungwu in the mausoleum which the latter had constructed for himself just outside the walls of Nanking. This was once an imposing monument. The huge monoliths that guard the "dragon way" or road to the tomb, are still impressive. They are images of civil and military officers of heroic size, and of pairs of animals,—horses, elephants and the mythical *ch'i-lin* or unicorn. He greatly enlarged the city of Nanking and surrounded it with its present lofty wall. An altar to Heaven was built in a park south of the city. The rites of the T'ang Dynasty in the main were followed, but Hungwu was inclined to Buddhism although he restricted the number of monks and nuns and forbade their wandering about without passports. He early secured the vassalage of Korea and sent an embassy to Japan to complain of the raids upon the Chinese coast by Japanese pirates. This remonstrance not having the desired effect, he sent a second mission in 1370 when it appeared that the Japanese had not learned of the overthrow of the Mongols and had been disposed to encourage these raids as reprisal for the attempt of Kublai Khan to conquer Japan. Better relations were established after the return of the second mission, but, as we shall see, the pirates were not so easily controlled. Relations with Tibet remained as they had been established under the Mongols. Burmah revolted in 1385, but was brought into submission in 1388. In 1398 Hungwu died and was succeeded by his grandson, whose brief reign is known as Chienwen. His temple name is Hui Ti. His father, the eldest son and natural heir of Hungwu, had never reached the throne, having died, as just said, in 1392. The other sons of the founder did not look with favor upon the accession of their nephew, and he was suspicious of

their designs. Several were put to death by his order, and, to protect himself, the Prince of Yen, second son of Hungwu, whose capital was at Peking, raised the standard of revolt and in 1403 captured Nanking and made himself Emperor under the style Yunglo. Chienwen put on the dress of a Buddhist monk and escaped from Nanking in disguise. For many years his hiding place remained undiscovered. It was not until 1440 that it was learned that he was still living in a monastery in Szechuen. The sixth Emperor then reigning invited him to Peking and gave him comfortable quarters in the palace.

Reign of Yunglo

The Emperor Yunglo was a man of strong character and an able administrator. During his reign a usurper in Tongking attempted to seize the throne in that dependency. This led to intervention by China and the annexation of Tongking to the empire as the fourteenth province. In 1428, however, the little state was once more made autonomous and returned to its position as a vassal of China. In 1405 Yunglo sent out a fleet of junks in command of a eunuch, Cheng Ho, to exact tribute from surrounding nations. The Loochoo Islands, Cambodia, Bengal, Burmah, Malacca, Borneo, Sumatra and Java all sent gifts in token of their dependence, and subsequently the Sulu Archipelago, Ceylon and even distant Aden, according to Chinese chronicles, all became tributary to Peking. The relationship was more nominal than real, and the missions bearing tribute that visited Peking once in three or four years were largely of a commercial character. The expedition did good service, however, in giving encouragement to trade in the Indian Ocean.

Japanese pirates continued to raid the coasts of China, and prior to the expedition just mentioned Yunglo had sent a remonstrance to the Japanese government. This had succeeded in persuading the Mikado to arrest a number of the raiders, whom he sent to China for punishment. Thereafter Japan appears to have acquiesced in a nominal suzerainty on the part of China, for in 1409, the Chinese historians tell us, the ruler of Japan sent an embassy to announce the death of his father and China in return sent an ambassador to confer a posthumous title upon the dead monarch and to invest the

successor, Motohito. The latter continued the practice of apprehending Japanese guilty of piracy and sending them to China for punishment.

In 1421 the capital was removed to Peking where it has remained ever since. Yunglo rebuilt the walls of this city and strengthened them with bastions and with the lofty towers that are today still such a striking feature of the place. Thirty miles north of Peking in a sheltered valley he built his tomb, a beautiful structure that is gradually falling into decay. His successors of the Ming Dynasty are buried in less imposing sepulchers in the same valley.

In 1422 he succeeded in conquering the whole of Mongolia and bringing it into the empire. But peace with the restless nomads of that region did not long endure. Among other works of Yunglo, mention should be made of his improvement of the Grand Canal. It was during his reign, too, that a great religious reform was inaugurated among the lamas of Tibet. The corruption of the monks of the old church led Tsongk'aba of Amdo to preach a reform, which met with the ready indorsement of the people. The Gelupa sect thus founded is distinguished from the older by its yellow dress; the older sect wears red. The Yellow Church made its headquarters at Lhasa and is today the established church of Tibet and Mongolia.

An Emperor in Exile

Trouble broke out with the Mongols again in 1449 when the Emperor in that period, Ying Tsung, marched in person against them. He was defeated and taken prisoner. The Mongols expected a huge ransom for such a prisoner, but the Chinese put his brother upon the throne and the captive was restored after three years' exile. His brother, however, would not vacate the throne and Ying Tsung did not recover it until his brother's death in 1457, when he resumed his reign in the period known as T'ienshun.

Events Elsewhere

It was during the reign of Hsiao Tsung that Columbus sailed from Palos with the firm belief that he was to discover

a western route to the Far East. This great undertaking was the result of the international rivalry in Europe for the control of the trade with China and the Indies. The quarrel between Venice and Genoa for the mastery of Constantinople and the monopoly of its commerce with the Orient has already been mentioned. As long as the Mongols ruled Asia, the land route from Europe to China was protected and made safe. Genoa from Constantinople and Venice from Acre were both enriched by the trade. But after the rise of the Ottoman Turks, the land routes became disturbed and traffic was interrupted. Then the ancient sea route of the Arabs increased in importance. Venice was fortunate in securing the approval of the Pope for an alliance between the Doge and the Sultan of Egypt for the joint control of this route. The vessels of the Arabs monopolized the navigation of the Indian Ocean and brought the treasures of the Orient to Alexandria, while Venice had the sole right to receive them in Alexandria and convey them over the Mediterranean for distribution through Europe. Despite the hostility of Europe to the Saracen, this Christian-Mohammedan alliance survived and Venice was enabled to triumph over her rival.

Then it was that a Genoese navigator named Christopher Columbus dreamed of finding a route to the Indies by way of the western Ocean. He failed to obtain the necessary financial support in Genoa and applied to Portugal, but the Portuguese had their own scheme for a new route to the East.

Portuguese Navigators

Ever since the days of Prince Henry the Navigator, the Portuguese had been trying to find a way around the continent of Africa. In 1486 they were almost disposed to give up. They sent an expedition to Abyssinia, which they had discovered was a Christian country, and proposed an alliance for the establishment of a trade route across Africa. Vessels were to sail from a port in Abyssinia for India and China, and caravans were to convey the goods across Africa to be delivered to Portugal on the west coast of that continent. But the very next year, 1487, Bartholomeu Diaz rounded the Cape of Storms and changed its name to the Cape of Good Hope. This was five years before Columbus set sail for the west. But

the Portuguese were not able at once to press their advantage. Ten years passed. In 1497 Vasco da Gama sailed around Africa and in 1498 reached Calicut on the west coast of India.

Smiting the Heathen

The Portuguese received a very cordial welcome from the Hindus in spite of the efforts of the Arabs to poison their minds against the newcomers. The ruler sent a friendly letter to the King of Portugal. The manner in which this kindness was repaid does not reflect credit upon Portugal. A number of the natives were kidnapped and taken to Portugal. On the next visit of the Portuguese these natives were able to act as interpreters. But the subsequent history of Portuguese relations with the Far East is one of great cruelty. They robbed their host, the Zamorin of Calicut, of his territories and in 1510 they secured possession of Goa which is still the capital of Portuguese India. To the Arabs, of course, the coming of these Christian rivals was a sore offense. They tried to stir up the natives against the Portuguese and the Portuguese retaliated in acts of frightful barbarism. On one occasion they met an Arab vessel bearing a large number of pilgrims, returning from Mecca to India. These pilgrims were among the wealthiest merchants of Calicut and offered a large ransom for themselves and their families. To all these offers the Portuguese turned a deaf ear. The women held up their little children and begged that these at least might be saved, but the so-called Christians hardened their hearts and ordered the vessel with its precious human freight to be burned, and the order was executed. To the Portuguese as well as to most Europeans at that time all non-Christian peoples were heathen who had no rights that a Christian was bound to respect. The Christians believed that the Lord had given them the heathen for a possession. In Mexico and Peru as well as in the Indies this barbarism was shown. With fire and sword the Portuguese carried their conquests over the East and founded a vast empire, most of which has passed into other hands. The Mameluke Sultan of Egypt came to the assistance of the Arabs, but was defeated. The Venetian trade passed to Portugal and the Portuguese ruled the Indian Ocean.

The Portuguese in China

In the sixteenth century war needed no other provocation than the profession of a non-Christian religion. The Sultan of Malacca had done nothing to offend the Portuguese, but he was not a Christian. Accordingly in 1511 the Portuguese attacked the place and captured it. Now Malacca was tributary to China and the Sultan appealed to his overlord at Peking for protection. In 1516 the Portuguese sent a vessel to China to study the situation. The following year four Portuguese vessels accompanied by as many Malay junks sailed from Malacca and anchored at Shang Ch'uan, an island lying off the southern coast of China, which, from the similarity of its name to the Portuguese form of St. John, is known to this day among Europeans as the Island of St. John. From Shang Ch'uan two vessels made their way to Canton where they found the Arabs very hostile and disposed to do all in their power to prejudice the Chinese against the Europeans. These two vessels were escorting Thomé Pires, the envoy of the King of Portugal who was to endeavor to open relations with Peking. Peking sent word that he should first restore Malacca to its rightful owners. Pires, however, waited patiently. He managed to preserve a degree of discipline among his seamen and made a good impression upon the Chinese, so that in 1520 he was permitted to proceed to Peking. He arrived there in 1521, the last year of the reign of the Emperor Wu Tsung. While he was engaged in negotiations with the Chinese, an envoy from the Sultan of Bantam arrived in Peking[2] bringing news of Portuguese outrages in Java. News came also from Canton of the arrival of a second Portuguese fleet in Shang Ch'uan under command of Simon d'Andrada, who was fortifying that island and who was accused of kidnapping women and girls and behaving with great insolence and cruelty. These reports confirmed the earlier charges made by the Arabs that the Portuguese were bent on conquest rather than trade. The negotiations were broken off. Pires in 1522 returned to Canton, where the feeling was so bitter against his people that he was thrown into prison. He died in confinement in 1523.

In a naval battle off Canton which followed the dismissal

[2] Wieger, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 2033.

of Pires, the Portuguese were defeated. The commander, de Melo, escaped with one vessel of his fleet. The prisoners of war were treated by the Chinese as pirates and were put to death. This severe treatment, however, did not keep the Portuguese away; they managed by bribery of local officials to secure a certain tolerance and gradually built up a lucrative trade. They established colonies at Ningpo and Ch'üanchou, where they showed no improvement in character. Their licentiousness and cruelty finally aroused such hatred in the breasts of the Chinese that in 1545 the Emperor issued a decree ordering their extermination wherever found, on land or sea. A massacre followed at Ningpo in which twelve thousand Christians perished, eight hundred of whom were Portuguese. The native Christians, presumably, were followers of the Portuguese. In 1549 a similar massacre occurred at Ch'üanchou. The survivors retired to a small island near the peninsula of Macao. In 1557, after giving assistance to the Chinese in suppression of piracy in that vicinity, they were given permission to build some sheds on the mainland for drying their sails and cargoes. Taking advantage of this they gradually built up a small settlement there which grew into the city of Macao. Chinese officials continued to exercise jurisdiction there and collect customs dues until 1849, when the Portuguese refused to pay rent any longer and claimed ownership. This claim was not recognized by the Chinese until 1887.

Spain Takes the Philippines

While the Portuguese envoy, Pires, was patiently waiting at Canton for permission to go up to Peking, a Spanish navigator, Magellan, was slowly making his way across the broad Pacific. Day after day, day after day, with his seamen famishing and scurvy-stricken, and his scanty store of worm-eaten biscuit and putrid water gradually disappearing, the bold sailor must almost have lost hope of ever seeing land again, but he found relief in the Ladrones and then passed on to the Philippines. He arrived there in 1521 about the time that Pires was leaving Canton for Peking. Thus the dream of Columbus was realized. He had died, not knowing that he had discovered a new world; he thought that the islands of the

West Indies were not far from the shore of Asia and that Marco Polo's Cipango and Cathay were just a little farther on. Magellan completed the voyage upon which Columbus had started; he reached the Far East by the western route. Thus the two rivals, Portugal and Spain, reached their goal at about the same time.

In the Philippines the Spaniards came into touch with the Chinese, who had had commercial relations with the islands since the tenth century. After the Spanish conquest of the islands the trade with China increased in importance, but it remained almost wholly in the hands of the Chinese. More interest was shown in religious propaganda than in trade by the Spanish residents of the islands in the sixteenth century. A volume published in Rome in 1585 gives an account of a visit to China in 1580 by Martin Ignacio and six other friars.[3] The Governor of the Philippines pointed out the difficulties in the way of such an undertaking, but, seeing their determination "to preach the holy gospel in China," he yielded to their request for a vessel and sent them on a frigate with a small guard. Owing to their attempt to land at a port not open to trade, they were arrested. After some detention they were sent to Canton where explanations led to their release and their return to the Philippines. Their desire to preach the "holy gospel" in China was not gratified. Their ignorance of the Chinese language made their reception seem much more hostile than it really was. The Spaniards eventually became alarmed by the rapid growth of the Chinese colony in the Philippine Islands and in 1603 massacred nearly all the twenty thousand said to be resident there. This cruel measure failed of its purpose, and the massacre of others in 1639 was equally unsuccessful. A head tax of six dollars was then levied on each Chinese immigrant and their number limited to six thousand. Even these measures, however, failed to check the immigration.

Japanese Annoyances

Piracy was a criminal calling that had many followers in the sixteenth century. All sailing routes suffered from it to a greater or less degree. The Japanese continued to raid the

[3] Reprinted in the *Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino*, vol. v. This is a compilation made by W. E. Retana.

coasts of China and found collaborators among the Mongols, who were intermittently at war with the Ming Dynasty. This was particularly true during the period 1522-1566. On one occasion they made their way as far inland as Soochow which they looted, along with smaller places in the vicinity. But there were Chinese pirates as well as Japanese. One of the Chinese pirate junks, in 1542, sailing from a central port toward the south, had as passenger a Portuguese, named Mendez Pinto. The junk was overhauled and captured by the Chinese coast guards. As it was being taken back to the port of departure, it was caught in a violent typhoon and swept on the coast of Japan. There Pinto found a cordial welcome. The Japanese were especially interested in his fire-arms. When he sailed away after his vessel had been refitted, a Japanese, named Anjiro, was found hiding on board. He had committed murder and was trying to escape. Pinto took him with him to Goa where he came under the influence of Xavier, the great "Apostle to the Indies." In 1545 Xavier took Anjiro and another Japanese exile with him on a mission to Japan and found the two men useful as interpreters. This was the beginning of Japanese intercourse with Europeans.

At that time the government of Japan was in much the same condition as China had been in the fifth century B.C. The Mikado was in seclusion at Kyoto, while the real power was exercised by the Shogun or chief military leader of the nation. A stable boy in the employ of the Shogun was named Hideyoshi. He displayed great military skill and rose to the chieftainship, but being of humble birth, could not assume the title of Shogun. It was he who dreamed of conquering China. He approached the Portuguese and asked for the loan of two armed vessels. He failed to obtain them but built a fleet of his own with which in 1592 he transported a large army into Korea. The Koreans called upon their suzerain for aid, and in response the Chinese sent an army to their relief. The Japanese were defeated, but the real victor in the war was not the Chinese but a Korean admiral, Yi Sun, who had built an iron-clad junk with which he destroyed the Japanese fleet and cut off the supplies and reinforcements being sent to the Japanese army.[4]

[4] *Vide* G. A. Ballard, *The Influence of the Sea on the Political History of Japan,* ch. ii, N. Y., 1921.

Missionary Work

St. Francis Xavier, after remarkable success in Japan, determined to attempt the Christianization of China. He arrived on the island of Shang Ch'uan, or St. John, in 1552, but was almost immediately taken ill and died shortly afterward. His companions of the Jesuit Society took up the task. in 1562 they began work at Macao. A bishopric was established there in 1578. In 1579 Ruggieri arrived. The Spanish Dominicans came at about the same time. Pasio and Ricci of the Jesuits arrived at Macao in 1582. In 1589 Ricci was at Shaochou; in 1595 he visited Nanking, and in 1598 reached Peking. The Chinese name taken by Portugal was *Ta Hsi Yang Kuo,* or "Kingdom of the Great Western Ocean." [5] The Chinese geographies knew nothing of such a country, but the Emperor apparently felt flattered by the arrival of a representative of a land so far distant. He was given a place to live and provided with a pension. He died in Peking in 1610.

The Ming Dynasty had not been very favorable to Christianity. This was not surprising, in view of the fact that the Christians had been rather closely associated with the Mongols and later had been known as followers of the Portuguese whose offences had made them detested. Ricci with his pure life and scholarly attainments made an altogether different impression upon the Chinese. To his brethren, as he lay dying, he said: "I leave before you an open door." He was the first of a remarkable group of men who wielded great influence at the Court of the Mings and later at that of the Manchus. Longobardi succeeded Ricci as head of the Society of Jesus and later was followed by Schaal, Verbiest and others, all men of tact and noted for their mathematical and scientific attainments. They made themselves liked by the mandarins and were very useful to the government. They prepared correct maps of the provinces. They reformed the calendar. They taught the Chinese how to manufacture brass cannon. They had many pupils, translated numerous mathematical and scientific treatises and made many converts among the highest officers of the state. This was easy, because these mission-

[5] Ricci, himself, was an Italian; but the mission had the support of Portugal, the country to which Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, belonged.

aries showed themselves very tolerant toward the rites of the state religion. They permitted their disciples to continue to worship their ancestors and to participate in the sacrifices to Confucius and other great leaders who had passed to the spirit world. But they, too, met at times with opposition, and attempts were made in 1616 and subsequently to expel them from the empire.

Netherlands India

In 1580 Philip II of Spain united Portugal with Spain and thus the great Portuguese empire in the East became Spanish. Philip was at war with the Netherlands. The Dutch were in revolt. They had been accustomed to getting their spices and other oriental products at Lisbon. This was no longer possible. They determined to seek for themselves a route to the Indies. At first they tried to find a passage around the northern coasts of Europe. This proved impossible. Being at war with Spain, the easiest course was to take possession of the former Portuguese colonies now become Spanish. Thus most of the vast oriental empire of Portugal passed to the Netherlands. Portugal still retains half of the island of Timor, the port of Macao, Goa, the capital of Portuguese India, and certain territories on the east and west coasts of Africa. But the Dutch were not successful at that time in opening trade with China. The Portuguese being at Macao obstructed them at every turn. Effort was made in 1604 and again in 1607 to engage in trade at Canton, but without success. In 1662 the Dutch decided to try force. After attempting to capture Macao, in which they failed, they seized the Pescadores and later took possession of Formosa. This island they held for some forty years, until driven out by Koxinga. Another hundred years were to pass before they could get permission to establish a hong at Canton.

It was thus in the closing years of the Ming Dynasty that the Netherlands laid the foundations of that vast island empire in the Far East which it still holds, and which has an area of 738,000 square miles and a population of forty-seven millions. Large numbers of Chinese were settled in the East India islands when the Dutch took them, and after the estab-

lishment of the Manchu Dynasty their relations with China greatly increased in importance.

Trade Monopolies

During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, European trade with the Far East was almost wholly in the hands of licensed companies which enjoyed a monopoly of the business in so far as their own nations were concerned. Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Austria and Spain, all chartered East India Companies. The Chinese from very early ages had been accustomed to the interference of the government in the conduct of their business and were familiar with the establishment of monopolies. Foreign trade especially was kept under strict control during the Sung and Yüan Dynasties, and under the Mings also it was restricted. When the project of a British East India Company was broached to Queen Elizabeth near the close of the sixteenth century, she opposed it strongly. She was about to make peace with Spain and feared the enterprise proposed would create friction with Spain's Portuguese subjects, who still held important colonies in the East. The promoters of the Company assured her that there were many countries in the Far East and that trade could be conducted without encroaching upon Portuguese rights. She finally gave her consent in 1599. The first vessel was sent to the Moluccas, or "Spice Islands." But it soon appeared that the Company could not trade without interference with the claims of Spain's Portuguese subjects. The natives of the Moluccas wanted articles that could be obtained only in India. So, in spite of Portuguese opposition, in 1609 the British sent vessels to Surat in northeastern India and in 1612 established a factory there. This was the beginning of British relations with India, out of which has come the great British Indian empire. In 1637 the Company sent vessels to China, but on this occasion they first sent to Goa and obtained permission from the Portuguese authorities there to despatch five ships to Macao. Four only were sent, however. These were under the command of Captain Weddell. On arrival at Macao in June, the Portuguese there denied the right of the Governor of Goa to issue such a permit to aliens for trade in China. They used

their influence with the Chinese to try to prevent all trade with the British. But Captain Weddell was equal to the occasion. He sent out small boats to discover the channel to Canton, then weighed anchor and sailed to the Bogue. There he was stopped by the Chinese in the forts, who told him he must wait for a permit to pass up the river to Canton. This they said would require six days. He waited patiently for six days, and, no permit arriving, he started up the river. The forts opened fire which he returned with considerable effect, then proceeded as though he had been firing a salute. He reached Canton, disposed of his cargo, loaded with ginger and sugar, and sailed away. Later attempts of the British to trade during the period of the Ming Dynasty were unsuccessful. They did better under the Manchus.

Downfall of the Mings

The Ming Dynasty went the way of all its predecessors. The story is one that has repeated itself over and over again in the history of China. A courageous commoner, or perhaps some military chieftain rises up in rebellion against a corrupt and an oppressive government. He endures hardship, braves danger and through much tribulation establishes himself upon the throne. His descendants, brought up in luxury and idleness, grow more and more effeminate and vicious with each passing generation. They become callous, cowardly and corrupt. They intrust the government to crafty eunuchs, and when the people can no longer put up with their degenerate rulers, the dynasty is swept aside to be replaced by a new family, and the cycle begins again.

Origin of the Manchus

In case of the Ming Dynasty, not only their Chinese subjects were, many of them, led to revolt, but the Manchus, also, vassals of the empire, were stirred to insurrection. As early as 1583, troubles with the Manchus were brought about by the folly of a Chinese general in command in the Liaotung, who had taken sides in a quarrel between two Tartar chieftains. He loaned soldiers to aid his protégé, who nevertheless was beaten. The victor Noorhachu vowed vengeance upon

China. Noorhachu belonged to an obscure tribe of the Nüchen Tartars, one branch of which had established the Chin Dynasty or "Golden Horde" that for a time ruled north China. This obscure tribe, now known as the Manchus, notwithstanding that it was once much despised, has nevertheless its legend of a supernatural origin. Three sisters, so we are told, were once bathing in a lake. The youngest picked up and ate a red berry that a passing magpie had let fall in the water. She immediately conceived and bore a son, who was called Aisin Gioro. He became a hero among his people and the founder of the Manchu tribe. A descendant of his after several generations was at war with another tribe, and, being compelled to flee, a magpie alighted upon his head when he was trying to elude his pursuers. He stood still. In the distance he seemed to be a stump with a bird perched upon it. His enemies were deceived and passed by. Thus the magpie became the sacred bird of the Manchus. Noorhachu was the descendant of these legendary chieftains.

In the closing years of the sixteenth century the Chinese were at war with Japan over Korea. They were also engaged in suppressing a rebellion in western provinces. They were too busy to take note of what was transpiring in Manchuria. Noorhachu subdued several hostile tribes and consolidated all Manchuria under his rule. In 1599 he refused longer to pay tribute to China. By 1616 he was able to proclaim himself Emperor. In 1625 he established his capital at Mukden. In the meantime, China had been putting down a rising of the White Lily Society in Shantung and contending with a great rebellion in the southwest.

In 1626 Noorhachu died, but his son, known as the Emperor T'ai Tsung, continued the work. In 1627 he subdued Korea, and having thus secured his rear he proceeded to make war upon China. The next fifteen years were spent overrunning the northeastern provinces.

Christian Assistance

Peking was isolated, cut off from the rest of the empire by invading Manchus and by rebellions in various provinces. The missionaries in the capital aided in its defence by teaching the Chinese to found brass cannon. The government was

weakened by faction quarrels. The eunuchs were more powerful than the Emperor. But they, too, were divided. There was a Christian party and an anti-Christian party. The Christians urged the Emperor to invite assistance from the Portuguese. A company of two hundred artillerymen was, indeed, sent up from Macao, but, after reaching Peking, they were not employed.[6] The opposition was too strong and they were sent back. Subsequently, as matters grew worse, the Christian, Hsü Kuan-ch'i, a minister of state, persuaded the Emperor in 1630 to accept a Portuguese force which was being organized in the south. This company, commanded by Captain Gonsalvo Teixera Correa,[7] crossed the Mei Ling and advanced as far as Nanch'ang Fu, in Kiangsi, when it was halted by the protests of the merchants at Canton, who foresaw that, if the Portuguese should give effective assistance, they would win such favor at Peking as to be able to break up the Chinese monopoly of foreign trade at Canton. The commander of the little foreign army went on to Peking, but was unable to prevent the dismissal of his force, which returned to Macao. He himself took part in some fighting near the capital and was killed.

Li Tzu-ch'eng

In the same year, 1630, in which the Portuguese force was sent from Macao, a severe famine desolated the province of Shensi. The distress drove the people to brigandage. The disaffection soon assumed the proportions of a great rebellion, and the disorder spread to adjoining provinces. One of the principal leaders was Li Tzu-ch'eng, who by 1633 was in control of the upper valley of the Han. He gradually extended his conquests and in 1642 captured the old capital, K'aifengfu. In the same year the Manchus took Tsinan and were in control of Shantung and the Grand Canal. Li advanced rapidly from K'aifengfu toward Peking. The cowardly eunuchs who controlled several of the most important cities opened their gates to him. Silver keys, it is said, unlocked the outer gates of Peking in 1644, and the palace eunuchs betrayed the Inner City to the conqueror, who called

[6] Leon Wieger, S. J., *Textes Historiques,* vol. iii, pp. 2043, 2046.
[7] *Ibid.*

his dynasty the Great Shun. It was, however, a short-lived affair and died a-borning.

An Imperial Curse

Tradition says that when the last Emperor of the Mings, found himself deserted by ministers and servants, he killed his unmarried daughter to save her from suffering and then escaped through the T'ai P'ing Gate at the rear of the Forbidden City and made his way to a temple of the San Kuan [8] situated on the street leading to the Ch'i Hua Men, or East Gate. The San Kuan are the three orders of spirits,—those of Heaven, Earth and Sea. There are a number of temples of this order in Peking. On arrival at the San Kuan Miao, the Emperor cast lots before the idols, inquiring whether he should commit suicide or try to escape. The response indicated that he should commit suicide. Rising from his knees the monarch then cursed the idols and the temple and returned to the T'ai P'ing Gate of the palace; but, instead of entering, he went into the park of Prospect Hill and hanged himself on a tree near the present central pavilion on the summit of the hill. From that day to this, it is said, the San Kuan Miao near the Ch'i Hua Men has been under a curse. It has at any rate been abandoned to beggars, and has fallen into decay. Peering through its lattices, one can see much dust-covered furniture piled up in its halls; but its altars are deserted, and only some of the inferior buildings give shelter to vagrants.

Cherchez la Femme

Li Tzu-ch'eng had barely seated himself upon the throne before it was upset. Many of the officers of the Ming government submitted to the new dynasty. Among them was Wu Hsiang, the father of Wu San-kuei, a general in command of an important army that was fighting with the Manchus near Shanhaikuan. Li Tzu-ch'eng directed Wu Hsiang to order his son to give his allegiance to the Great Shun Dynasty. Wu San-kuei was about to do so, when he learned that Li had

[8] A temple of the same name in the American Legation compound is sometimes incorrectly said to be the scene of the incident reported.

taken to himself one of Wu's concubines, a beauty named Ch'un Yüan-yüan, of whom Wu was very fond. This decided him to oppose the upstart monarch. Li attacked and the battle was undecided, when Wu invited the Manchus to join him in overthrowing the new government. The Manchus were but too willing. Li was defeated; Peking was taken by the Manchus and, as T'ai Tsung had died the preceding year, his son, a young boy, was proclaimed Emperor of the Ch'ing Dynasty under the reign name of Shunchih. His uncle acted as regent during the minority of the Emperor.

Subduing the Empire

After Li's defeat, he rifled the palaces of Peking and fled to his native province, Shensi. He attempted to establish his capital in Hsianfu, but the Manchus followed him up. His strong defences at T'ungkuan were taken and, as he retreated toward Hsian, he learned that another army was approaching from the north. He set fire to the city and fled over the mountains into the valley of the Han. There he was either killed by local trainbands or committed suicide. The Manchus found many other opposing forces to be destroyed, several being armies of various Ming pretenders. Had the Mings been united, they might even yet have saved the dynasty; but rival candidates for the throne quarreled and fought one with another, and the Manchus profited by the dissension.

Although it was the policy of the regent to deal leniently with the people and thus win them to the support of an alien dynasty, he determined to make it dangerous to show any strong resistance to his government. Fu Wang, a scion of the Ming House, had proclaimed himself Emperor and set up his capital at Nanking. The Manchu army moved south along the Grand Canal. Yangchow barred its pathway. A strong defence was made and the city had to be taken by storm. A frightful massacre followed of men, women and children. When the victorious army approached Nanking, the people of that city themselves opened its gates and welcomed their conquerors.

Another pretender was Lu Wang, who established his court at Hangchow. He fled on the approach of the Manchu army, but carried on a piratical warfare along the coast for

some years. A third aspirant to the throne was T'ang Wang at Foochow. The disloyalty of his general-in-chief, Cheng Chih-lung, was the cause of his downfall. This was in 1646. Immediately thereafter two other candidate were proclaimed, one in Canton and the second in the adjoining province of Kuangsi. The latter, Kuei Wang, deserves especial mention because of the support that he received from Christian missionaries.

An Appeal to the Pope

The missionaries of the Society of Jesus in Peking transferred their allegiance from the Mings to the Manchus and were of considerable use to the latter in the establishment of their government. Elsewhere, however, some of them supported their Chinese converts in resistance to their Tartar enemies. Among the adherents of the Church was Kuei Wang, just mentioned. He had never received baptism, but he was Christian in his sympathies; and his wife, his son and heir, his mother and his titular mother, that is to say, the principal wife of his father, were all Christians. The wife had received the Christian name, Anne; the son had been baptized Constantine, the real mother was Mary and his titular mother, Helen. In 1650 the Princess Helen, claiming to be the dowager Empress, and a Christian eunuch in her service each wrote a letter to Pope Innocent X, which they sent by the hand of a Jesuit missionary returning to Europe. In these letters they proclaimed their sincere faith in Christianity and prayed the assistance of the Holy Father in their cause.[9] The letters were delivered, but brought no help to the fugitives, who were driven from one province to another. The reply of the Pope did not reach China until 1656. The Princess Helen was already dead. Kuei Wang had succeeded in gaining control of nine of the eighteen provinces, but these were gradually lost to the Manchus, and the would-be Emperor fled for asylum to Burmah. In 1661 Wu San-kuei with a powerful army at his back demanded the surrender of the fugitive. He was given up and together with his son was put to death in

[9] For these facts relating to the appeal to Pope Innocent X the author acknowledges his obligation to Professor E. H. Parker, who published a translation of the letters and his comment thereon in the *Contemporary Review* in 1911. A reprint appeared in the *National Review of Shanghai* in February 1912 at the very time that the Manchu Dynasty came to an end.

1662. The Princesses Mary and Anne were carried back to Peking by the Manchus and treated with all the respect due their rank.

Koxingà

While T'ang Wang was maintaining himself at Foochow, he had in his service one Cheng Ch'eng-kung, of whom he was very fond. This man was a son by a Japanese mother of the General Cheng whose disloyalty deprived T'ang Wang of his chances for the throne. But, notwithstanding the desertion of the father, the son remained true to the Ming cause. T'ang Wang, to honor him, had given him his own surname, Chu, that of the imperial house. From this circumstance Cheng Ch'eng-kung became known as Kuo-hsing-yeh, that is to say, "the gentleman with the imperial surname." This phrase was corrupted by Europeans into "Koxinga." After the overthrow of T'ang Wang he gave his allegiance to Kuei Wang. He maintained a precarious foothold on the coast at Amoy and made many raids into the interior. In 1654 and again in 1659 he nearly succeeded in taking Nanking. In 1661, after the flight of Kuei Wang, he decided to make his headquarters in Formosa, whence his father in earlier days had often sailed on piratical expeditions. The Dutch, however, had been in control of the island since 1624. Koxinga landed there in 1661 and after nine months of warfare succeeded in driving the Dutch away. Many Chinese, loyal to the Ming Dynasty, emigrated from the mainland to Formosa after Koxinga had established himself there. This led to measures by the Manchus to check the movement. To prevent all intercourse, the people on the mainland along the Formosa channel were required to move inland thirty *li, i.e.,* about ten miles. Koxinga died in 1662, but his son carried on the war with the Manchus, and it was not until 1683 that the island was subdued and annexed to the empire.

Wu San-kuei

Had it not been for the powerful assistance given by Wu San-kuei, the Manchus would have found it very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to subdue the Chinese empire. Wu,

as we have seen, had no reason to love Li Tzu-ch'eng. Li was a rebel, moreover, and to him Wu owed no allegiance. The Ming Emperor was dead and had left no direct heir to the throne. Under the circumstances, it was not very surprising that Wu should have preferred the Manchus to the rebel Li. During all the years of continual warfare needed for the conquest of China, Wu San-kuei had been in the thick of the fighting. He had not shrunk from any difficulty or danger. The Manchus owed much to him. In a lesser degree they were indebted to two other Chinese military leaders, Shang Ko-hsi and Kung Chung-ming.

Under the first Manchu ruler in Peking, Shunchih, these men had been highly honored. Wu San-kuei became Viceroy in the region of Yunnan and Kueichou, Shang Ko-hsi had a similar position in Canton, and Kung Chung-ming, in Fukien. These honors continued to be extended to them during the minority of K'anghsi, and, after the capture of Kuei Wang, Wu was made a Prince and was permitted to rule the southwest as he pleased. Nominally a subject of the Emperor, he was practically independent. He levied taxes, established customs barriers, developed the mineral resources of his district, and maintained a strong army. His court was scarcely less imposing than that at Peking. The viceroys at Canton and Foochow were also made Princes and possessed in their districts a power but little short of sovereignty. When K'anghsi assumed the reins of government, although still quite young, he saw the danger to the throne of this state of affairs. In 1673 the Prince Shang of Canton asked to be allowed to retire and leave his principality to his son. K'anghsi granted his request for retirement, but ordered the disbandment of his army. This alarmed Wu and the grandson of Kung, now Prince of Fukien. They raised the standard of rebellion and Wu proclaimed himself Emperor. The rebellion spread with great rapidity and before the end of the year the whole empire south of the Yellow River was in the hands of the triumvirate. The Manchus were urged by the Dalai Lama to consent to a division of the empire, but K'anghsi was resolute and insisted on suppression of the rebellion. Wu San-kuei died in 1678, but the war continued until 1681 when Manchu authority became supreme throughout the empire.

Civilization Under the Ming Dynasty

The Ming Dynasty had lasted for two hundred and seventy-six years, but its monarchs, with a few notable exceptions, were not of remarkable character and are not to be reckoned among the great leaders of men. Although there were wars with the Mongols, the Japanese and the Annamese, the interior of the empire during the greater part of the period was at peace, and the people had opportunity to develop their industries and improve the artistic products for which the land is celebrated.

Pottery and Porcelain

The Ming period is particularly noted for its potteries. It was in this period that the manufacture of *faïence* began at Yihsing, the capital of a *hsien* or county on the shore of the T'ai Hu or Great Lake not far from Soochow. The industry still flourishes there. The ware, very light in weight and varying in color from a dark brown to a light buff, is still highly prized for teapots and for small articles for the toilet table and the scholar's desk.

The porcelain kilns at Chingtechen in Kiangsi were rebuilt by Hungwu, and under subsequent reigns became more than ever famous for the fine quality of their ware. It was under the Mings that the greatest advance was made in this manufacture. In character the product scarcely fell short of the standard attained only under the Manchus. Another center of pottery production was at Tehua in Fukien, noted for its delicate white ware.

Metal Working

Under the reign known as Hsüante (1426-1436), the manufacture of brass reached its highest development. Even today, if a brass founder wants to show artistic skill, he imitates the designs of Hsüante, and not infrequently he forges the mark of that period, *Ta Ming Hsüan Te.*

The Chinese did not invent the process of enameling, so commonly used by them now in the *cloisonné* and other styles,

for the art appears to have been introduced from Constantinople during the Mongol Dynasty. Under the Mings, however, it had a great development.

Lacquer

The manufacture of lacquered ware is a very ancient art in China. From that land it was carried to Japan, where it underwent considerable improvement. This seems to have been during the Sung Dynasty.[10] Under the Mings these Japanese improvements were introduced into China and were readily adopted. The olive and brown wares of Fukien flecked with gold, and the carved red lacquer of Peking are still in great demand.

Painting

The painters of the Ming period are not so famous as those of the T'ang and the Sung, but there was a great deal of excellent work done, though much less originality was shown. The names of over twelve hundred painters are preserved in the catalogues.

Literature

The founder of the dynasty, although not an educated man, was a patron of literature. He established schools, introduced a new system of public examinations for the civil service and generally gave encouragement to learning. His son, Yunglo, the third Emperor of the dynasty, was also a friend of scholars. It was during his reign that the great encyclopedia, the *Yunglo Ta Tien,* was compiled. It is said that more than two thousand scholars collaborated in its production and that it contained over five hundred thousand pages. It was never printed, but copied by hand; and the last copy appears to have been destroyed during the Boxer troubles of 1900.[11]

The novel and the drama, so popular during the preceding dynasty, continued to find favor under the Mings. Of poets, too, there was no lack, but there were none so talented as those that gave distinction to the T'ang Dynasty. It is worthy

[10] Li Ung Bing, *Outlines of Chinese History,* p. 241.
[11] Giles, *History of Chinese Literature,* p. 296, note.

of note, however, that there were a number of women who became celebrated as poets at this time.

The most distinguished philosopher of the period was Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529), whose works have recently been translated into English.[12] Since the establishment of the Republic he has become very popular with students, particularly those who have had a foreign education. Wang Yang-ming was an idealist. "For him mind covered the entire gamut of existence; he thought that nothing exists independent of and apart from mind. . . . Each individual has the solution of the problems of the universe within himself." [13] He was a very practical man, however, and an energetic administrator. He held that theory and practice must be kept together, that there can be "no real knowledge without action." The moral influence of his writings is of the highest. He said of freedom: "The saying of the superior man regarding freedom does not carry with it the connotation of the swaggering and dissipation implied in giving rein to the seven passions and in acting unscrupulously. It means that the mind is not embarrassed by desire and that the individual can find himself in no situation in which he is not himself." [14] He did not hesitate to criticize the philosopher Chu Hsi. He pointed out what he regarded as the mistakes of that writer in his commentary on the *Great Learning*. Wang's observations on the present text of certain classics are also of great value.

RULERS OF THE MING DYNASTY

	A.D.		A.D.
Chu Yüan-chang, T'ai Tsu, Reign Name, Hungwu	1368-1398	Ch'enghua	1465-1487
Chienwen	1399-1403	Hungchih	1488-1505
Yunglo	1403-1424	Chengte	1506-1521
Hunghsi	1425-1426	Chiaching	1522-1566
Hsüante	1426-1435	Lungch'ing	1567-1572
Chengt'ung	1436-1449	Wanli	1573-1619
Chingt'ai	1450-1456	T'aich'ang	1620
T'ienshun	1457-1464	T'iench'i	1621-1627
		Ch'ungcheng	1628-1644

[12] *Philosophy of Wang Yang-ming*, translated by Frederick Goodrich Henke, London and Chicago, 1916.

[13] *Ibid.*, Preface.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

PROSPECT HILL, PEKING, WHERE THE LAST EMPEROR OF THE MINGS HANGED HIMSELF

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CHAPTER IX

AN ERA OF PROGRESS

Manchu Dynasty, First Period, A.D. 1644-1796

There is an easy way to win the empire; win the people. . . . The people turn to a benevolent rule as water flows downward.

—MENCIUS.

The prosperity of a state is not measured by wealth but by justice.

—THE GREAT LEARNING.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

THE Manchus called their dynasty Ta Ch'ing, that is, "The Great Pure" Dynasty. They followed the Ming Dynasty in the use of a name or title for each reign. The Emperor's personal name was taboo. One of the written characters by which it was represented became sacred and was not to be used in any other connection. To use it in any communication, even inadvertently, was an offense that was punishable. In taking over the government at Peking, they made but few changes in its organization. The most important was that of placing in each of the more important offices two men of equal rank, one Manchu and one Chinese. Thus each ministry in the capital had two presidents, a Manchu and a Chinese, coöperating in the discharge of its functions, and four vice-presidents, two of each race. In the provinces this dual system of control was not practiced, but in those places where Manchu garrisons were stationed there was a Manchu general, who ranked with but before the highest civil officer. Since the Manchus obtained the empire by conquest, military matters for a time seemed to be of greater importance than civil. This is shown, too, in the organization of a military Council in Peking, known as the Chün Chi Ch'u, which took over the duties of the Cabinet. After the pacification of the country, this Council continued to discharge these duties and the Cabinet became merely a court of archives. The adminis-

tration of the central government was intrusted to six ministries, as had been the practice throughout the greater part of Chinese history. These in the order of their rank were those of the Civil Service, Finance, Ritual (religious and other ceremonies included), War, Justice and Works. Besides these there were departments of lesser rank, such as the Bureau of Colonial Administration, which until after the second war with Great Britain (1860) had charge of foreign relations. In the later history of the dynasty a number of new ministries were organized.

Provinces and Dependencies

The Ming Dynasty had divided the empire into fifteen provinces. The Manchus by further division of three of these increased the number to eighteen. Subsequently, a nineteenth was organized in Turkestan; and still later the old kingdom of Manchuria, which for a long time enjoyed a privileged status, brought its three provinces into harmony with the rest of the empire, making twenty-two in all.

In addition to Manchuria there were several outlying regions dependent upon Peking. Chief of these was Mongolia, divided into two parts: Inner Mongolia, whose tribes acknowledged the overlordship of the Manchus before the conquest of China, and Outer Mongolia which became tributary in 1691. Other dependencies were Korea, the Loochoo Islands, Sulu, Annam, Siam, Burmah, Nepaul, Tibet and Turkestan. Tibet had, indeed, entered into relations with the Manchus before the conquest of China. In some cases the relationship between Peking and the dependencies was a very nominal one; but Manchuria, of course, was intimately connected with the Court, and representatives of the imperial power were stationed as Residents in Urga, the capital of Outer Mongolia, in Turkestan, in Tibet and at times in Korea.

The three highest officers of a province were the Governor, the Treasurer and the Judge. In some instances a Governor-General or Viceroy was associated with the Governor or Governors of one, two or three provinces. He ranked with but before a Governor. The province was divided into prefectures, and the prefectures into counties. The county was subdivided into townships or wards, but was itself the real admin-

istrative unit. The provincial officers from County Magistrate upward were appointed directly from Peking and, as a rule, no man was permitted to serve in his own province. Thus the imperial government kept its hands upon the local administration.

Official Ranks

Under the Manchus rank was either hereditary or appointive. Of the aristocracy those belonging to the imperial family were of twelve grades. There were four grades of imperial Princes, four of imperial Dukes and four of imperial nobles. Closely related to the imperial family were eight other families whose heads had aided in the conquest of China. The head of each of these eight families was known as an "Iron Crowned Prince," which meant that the title was perpetual and descended unchanged from generation to generation to the head of the family. This was not true of other hereditary titles, for, after a stated number of generations, these were exchanged, each for one that was a degree lower, as it passed from father to son. The son, could, however, if he distinguished himself in the service of the state, be raised to a rank even higher than that of his father, but it would in such case be due not to inheritance but to his own endeavors. The system was one which placed a premium upon merit. Families of noble blood which had nothing else to recommend them, in a few generations thus became commoners. These families, whether Manchu, Mongol or Chinese, were of nine grades. The first five titles are usually translated in English as duke, marquis, earl, viscount and baron. The remaining four we may consider as corresponding in rank with banneret, knight, squire and honorary squire.[1]

Serfdom and Slavery

Many of the Manchu and Mongol nobles have vast estates inherited from their ancestors in Manchuria and Mongolia. Large tracts of land in these regions are still held free from

[1] Originally these four seem to have been charged with duties at the imperial palace; the first attended the imperial car, the second was Master of the Horse, the third, his assistant and the fourth had the same title by grace, *i.e.*, it was honorary.

cultivation. In Manchuria and Inner Mongolia were hunting preserves in earlier days where the Manchu monarchs and imperial Princes were wont to find sport in killing tigers, bears, deer and other game. The Mongols require extensive tracts for grazing. Where land was cultivated, as in southern Manchuria, the lords of the soil intrusted the work to bailiffs in charge of serfs that were attached to the land, or to slaves belonging to the establishment. When the Manchus conquered China, many peasants near the capital, who were frightened by the invasion, sought the protection of one or other of the Princes and turned their lands over to these Princes by a species of commendation, as was done by the peasants of Europe in the Middle Ages. These peasants became then permanently attached to the land, the revenues of which went to the overlords. The descendants of these peasants continued to be held in such serfdom until the decree of 1910 providing for amelioration of their lot.

Household slaves were obtained either by purchase from their parents in times of famine or by capture in war, especially at the time of the conquest of China. Descendants of these unfortunates also were held in slavery. In addition to these, there were men who with their families were condemned to slavery for offenses against the law. The bondmen, known as *Pao-i,* were not slaves in the strict sense of the word. They were retainers of the bannermen, bound to suit and service. All bannermen, Manchu, Mongol and Chinese, were enrolled and, even in childhood, received a pension. They were therefore not free to go and come as they might like, any more than an enlisted soldier is with us. But these bondmen were permitted to take the civil service examinations and frequently were appointed to office.

Official Classes

Except in the Banner Corps described below, entrance into the civil or military service was usually by examination. The Manchus took over the system of examinations as it existed among the Mings. Annually before the County Magistrate, biennially before the Provincial Superintendent of Education who toured the prefectures, triennially at the provincial capital and triennially at Peking, also, examinations were held for

the selection of the most promising candidates for office. The brightest of the metropolitan graduates were selected by a Palace Examination for the Hanlin Academy, whose members served the government as historiographers, writers of decrees, and ministers of state. All who successfully passed the provincial examinations were placed on the civil list to receive a small dole and await appointment to office. All officers, civil and military, were divided into nine classes and each class into two grades: principal and supplementary.

Military Organization

The Manchu political organization in its origin was purely military. Every able-bodied man was a warrior. At first Noorhachu organized his followers in four banners, distinguished by their color,—yellow, white, red and blue. Subsequently the number was doubled by adding four banners with borders,—a yellow with white border, a white with yellow border, a red banner with white border and a blue with white border.

When the Inner Mongols attached themselves to the rising Manchu power, they, too, were organized in eight banners with the same colors as the Manchu Division. The same system was adopted for the Chinese contingent that aided in the conquest. Thus the Banner Army consisted of three divisions of eight banners each. The members of this army had a distinctive uniform and were all thoroughly drilled in horsemanship and archery. Upon this fine body of men, numbering at the beginning perhaps not more than one hundred thousand, the government depended for the subjection of the empire and the preservation of order. As the conquest went on, its numbers were increased; and after peace was made, garrisons of the various banners were established at the most important strategic centers. There these pensioners of the state settled with their wives and children in military colonies.

For defense and police purposes in the provinces the local authorities recruited a Chinese force, known as the Green Standard Army. Until the reorganization of the army in 1902 this force, which existed very largely upon paper only, was the chief reliance against local disturbances; but it was

a motley assemblage of men, poorly armed, poorly paid and almost wholly lacking in drill.

Costume and Insignia

After the capture of Peking, the Manchus availed themselves of the services of the Chinese civil officials who were willing to take office under them, and throughout their history they depended to a great degree upon their Chinese subjects in the administration of the government. The Manchus were inexperienced in such matters, while the Chinese had their age-old traditions and a large body of trained experts. At first these officers were allowed to continue to wear the Ming Dynasty costume, but as the conquest proceeded the Manchus insisted upon a change. Generally speaking, they were considerate and sought to win the affections of the people, but in some matters they were very exacting. It was made a test of loyalty to submit to the shaving of the head and the wearing of the queue. A new official dress was also prescribed. The *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien* or "Fundamental Laws of the Manchu Dynasty" give in minute detail and with illustrations a description of the various garments needed in formal and informal dress in summer and in winter, at the Court, and in the temples and yamens of the empire. The richly embroidered robes, the plumed hats with their distinguishing buttons, the rosary worn as a necklace, the girdles with their pendants, the fans, the boots, and all the various insignia and decorations are carefully prescribed. The mandarin, thus arrayed, rivaled Solomon in all his glory. The Emperor's robe was marked by the same twelve emblems that were used by the ruler in the earliest historical period.[2]

The nine classes of officers were distinguished by the buttons worn upon their hats. These in the order of their rank were ruby, coral, sapphire, lapis lazuli, rock crystal, adularia (an opaque white button), plain gold, chased gold, and silver.

Civil and military officers wore medallions embroidered upon the breast and back of their jackets. For the civil officials birds were employed to indicate rank and for military officers, wild beasts. For civil officials, in the order of their rank, the birds were crane, golden pheasant, peacock, wild

[2] See Chapter II.

goose, silver pheasant, lesser egret, mandarin duck, quail, and the jay. For the warriors,—the unicorn, the lion, the leopard, the tiger, the black bear, the wild cat, the mottled bear, the seal and the rhinoceros.

At the same time that the men were required to shave their heads and wear the queue, the women were forbidden to bind their feet. But Chinese women paid no attention to the decree until in recent years bound feet were forbidden to enter public schools. The Manchu women never were given to the cruel practice of foot-binding. Their dress, too, is quite unlike that of the Chinese women.

Codes and Courts

Even before the invasion of China, the Manchus had adopted many Chinese customs. Among other things, they drew up a code of laws based upon that of the Ming Dynasty, and after the seizure of Peking in 1747 they revised the Chinese code, making it more humane in its punishments than it had been under the preceding dynasty, though it was still more severe than modern penology would approve. This, however, was true also of European codes at that time. Indeed, offenses against property were treated much more leniently in China than in the West. In Great Britain at the period under review, and even until the early part of the nineteenth century, sheep-stealing and the stealing of small sums of money, if exceeding twelve pence, were offenses punishable with death.

The severest penalty under the Manchu code was that of the *ling ch'ih, i.e.,* death by slow dismemberment. This was less cruel than it seems, for the fatal stroke was given with the third cut. To the Chinese, however, the dismemberment of the body, which was the result, was shocking because of their belief that it would compel the victim to appear in the nether world before his ancestors in such a shameful condition. It was the penalty provided for high treason, parricide, and certain other forms of murder marked by excessive cruelty. Another feature of the code most objectionable to the modern mind was that for certain great crimes, such as high treason, the family of the criminal, even those members who were entirely ignorant of the offense, were involved in the punishment.

Such vicarious punishment, however, was common throughout the ancient world. This punishment of relatives meant death for certain of them, especially if they had guilty knowledge of the plans of the criminal; and it meant castration and enslavement for other male relatives within certain degrees, and enslavement of female relatives, together with confiscation of property. It was in this respect more severe than the British law which affected relatives only in the loss of property and civil rights; but the British law was perhaps more barbarous in the punishment of the principal. Until 1789 the man convicted of treason in Great Britain was punished by forfeiture of all property to the Crown and was condemned to be drawn on a hurdle to the gallows, hanged, cut down while still living and his entrails taken out and burned before life was extinct. After this his body was to be beheaded and quartered.[3]

The Chinese code was severe, too, in its attitude toward offenses committed by slaves and serfs. The penalties were heavier than for the same offenses committed by freemen. Fugitive slaves, unless returning to their masters of their own accord and within a specified time, were branded. This may be compared with the British Statute of Laborers of the fourteenth century, which in 1351 bound the agricultural laborer to the soil and subsequently provided a penalty of branding the runaway on the forehead with a hot iron.[4]

The Manchus and other bannermen constituted a special class. In some respects they were a favored class. They were not to be tried in the ordinary Chinese courts, but were subject to the jurisdiction of their banner officers. Certain laws applied specifically to them. On the other hand, their military obligations and the lack of freedom of movement was at times a great disadvantage. Until 1902 intermarriage between bannermen and Chinese subjects was forbidden by law.

The County Magistrate was the judge in all ordinary civil and criminal cases, but often had to have an assistant. His court was provided with secretaries well trained in the knowledge of the code. No attorneys were permitted until very recent times to appear in court either for the prosecution or defense. Capital sentences had to be reviewed by the Pro-

[3] xxx of George III.

[4] *Vide* Green, *History of the English People,* vol. i, pp. 248, 249.

vincial Judge and referred to the Ministry of Justice at Peking for approval before being carried out.

The Imperial Court

Shut up within the Forbidden City, the Court led a life apart. In later years as many as four thousand persons were found living there. These included the Emperor with his wives and concubines, the officers of the Imperial Household, the Ministers of the Presence, ladies in waiting, secretaries and clerks, guards, eunuchs and other servants.

In their earlier home in Manchuria, the Manchus did not employ eunuchs. These miserable creatures had been largely responsible for the decline and overthrow of the Ming Dynasty. They had made themselves the confidential advisers of monarchs, and caterers to their depraved pleasures. By their influence with the Court they had made themselves ministers of state and commanders of armies, and in times of crisis they had proved to be weak and cowardly. When the Manchus took possession of the palace, the new Emperor was a boy of eight or ten years of age. He immediately fell into the hands of these panderers to passion. His uncle, the regent, died in 1650, and the youth of about sixteen years began to reign. He was but little better than a tool in the hands of eunuchs, and when he died in 1661 the imperial clan adopted a regulation forbidding eunuchs to hold any high office or to interfere in affairs of state. This regulation remained in force under succeeding reigns, but in the closing years of the dynasty the eunuchs, nevertheless, wielded a great deal of influence at the Court. They were nearly all from one prefecture in the province of Chihli, that of Hochien. Some of them were men who had reared families before submitting to mutilation.

Human Sacrifice

Shunchih was still quite young when he passed away. He had married the wife of one of his officers and was devoted to her. By her he had a son, but mother and child both died and in the excess of his grief he ordered the immolation of thirty persons, who were buried with the favorite. This was the last example in China of a very ancient practice of burying

living servants with the dead. It was a custom condemned by Confucius and one that had been abandoned for many centuries by the Chinese. Shortly after this exhibition of barbarism, the young Emperor himself died of smallpox.

The Kotow

In the punctilious observance of forms the Chinese are past masters. On taking possession of the palace at Peking, the Manchus took over the Court ceremonial. The most objectionable feature of this was the kotow. All over the greater part of Asia from very ancient times the subject had been required to prostrate himself in the presence of his ruler. Greek emissaries to Persia had refused to abase themselves in that fashion before a man. In China the kotow demanded by the Manchu Emperors consisted of kneeling three times before the throne and, with each kneeling, striking the head three times upon the floor. It was a rite demanded of Princes of the blood as well as of the meanest subject. In time it was to become a source of much friction with foreign powers.

Great Rulers

The period embraced under the rule of the first four monarchs of the Ch'ing or Manchu Dynasty was the most glorious in its whole history. Although the first Emperor, Shunchih, was a nonentity and passed away in young manhood before he had opportunity to display much statesmanship, the regent, who conducted the government during the critical years of that reign, was a man of strong character and resourcefulness. Shunchih was succeeded by his third son, K'anghsi, a child but eight years of age. For the next six years the government was in the hands of a regency of four persons. The eunuchs having been put in their proper place, if there could be said to be a proper place, as servants, the young ruler was prepared for the duties of his office by wise teachers, and at fourteen years of age was able to take the reins into his own hands. His was the longest reign in the history of the dynasty. For sixty-one years he sat upon the throne (1662-1722). It was during this reign that Formosa was annexed to the empire. Siam renewed her vassalage in 1665 and Annam in 1666. It was this young Emperor who insisted that the powerful armies of

Prince Shang of Canton, Prince Kung in Fukien and Prince Wu San-kuei in Yunnan should be disbanded, and who thus provoked the great rebellion of 1674 that was put down in 1681. It was K'anghsi who brought the Khalkhas of Outer Mongolia to acknowledge his suzerainty in 1691, who subdued western Mongolia and Turkestan, who drove a Mongol invader out of Tibet and placed a new Dalai Lama in Lhasa in 1720. But one of the greatest achievements of his reign was the Treaty of 1689 with Russia.

Russian Conquest of Siberia

Once the Russians had been vassals of the Mongols. That vassalage had been broken by the courage of Sophie Paleologus, wife of Ivan III. She, proud daughter of Greek emperors, could not bring herself to acknowledge Mongol overlordship, and pushed her husband into a renunciation of the relationship. This was in 1480. A hundred years later, or to be exact, in September 1581, a Russian adventurer, Yermak, upon whose head a price had been put by the Tsar because of piratical forays along the Volga, crossed the Urals, leading an expedition for the Stroganoffs to hunt for furs in the valley of the Ob. He succeeded in bringing the tribes of that region into subjection and was pardoned by the Tsar. He defeated the Mongol chieftain, Kutchum, and took his capital, Sibir, from which circumstances the new province came to be called Siberia. Yermak was drowned in 1584, but his successors rapidly added other valleys to the east,—that of the Yenisei in 1620, that of the Lena in 1630; and by 1636 they had reached the shores of the Pacific. In 1644 the Manchus were busy taking Peking. That same year the Russians entered the beautiful and fertile valley of the Amur. They found towns with houses of stone and a people that owed allegiance to the Manchus, but they proceeded to found settlements there. In 1651 Khabaroff sailed down the Amur to the mouth of the Ussuri, where, on the bluff overlooking the junction of the great rivers, he built a fort. Today the city there bears his name, being known as Khabaroffsk. For some years after this invasion by the Russians the Manchus were unable to give attention to the matter; but in 1684 they took the Russian forts on the lower Amur and the next year burned the Russian

settlement at Albazin. At this time it was Russia that was having internal trouble. The Tsar who died in 1682 left as next of kin, an imbecile brother, Paul, and bequeathed his crown to his half brother, Peter, whom we know as Peter the Great, after whom Petersburg or Petrograd was named. But Peter and Paul had a sister, Sophia, who insisted that the two half brothers should both be Tsars with herself as regent. Peter in 1689 shut his sister in a convent and took the reins into his own hands. This was the year in which envoys of China and Russia met at Nerchinsk to settle various questions at issue. When the Russians with a small escort arrived at Nerchinsk, they found that K'anghsi had despatched a huge army to back up his demands. There were ten thousand infantrymen, fifteen thousand cavalry and a train of three thousand camels. The Russians had no option but to agree to K'anghsi's terms, which required that they should evacuate the valley of the Amur and make the watershed to the north, —the Yablonoi Mountains,—the boundary between the two empires.

A Remarkable Treaty

This treaty, supplemented by those of 1727 and 1768, is the longest-lived treaty on record, having continued in force until 1858. It is notable, too, in that unlike the treaties of the nineteenth century with China, it was negotiated between the two powers as equals. China abandoned the arrogant tone assumed at Canton, and each nation was granted the right to have its subjects guilty of offenses in the territory of the other returned to their "natural judges" [5] for punishment. The question of jurisdiction had not yet acquired the importance given to it a hundred years later, and there was no grant to either power of a right to establish extraterritorial courts in the territory of the other.

Patronage of Science and Literature

K'anghsi had found the Jesuits very useful and continued to employ them. Besides the revision of the calendar under their direction, much scientific work was done by them. At

[5] The modified treaty of 1727 has in its French text the words: *remis à leurs juges naturels, i. e.,* they were to be delivered to judges of their own nationality.

the command of the Emperor, they had made a careful survey of the empire and prepared maps of the provinces, which remain today the source of most of the maps of China.

The Emperor showed great interest in the welfare of the people. He made visits to all parts of the empire that he might see conditions with his own eyes. For the instruction of the people he issued a decree, composed of sixteen exhortations of a highly moral character, expressed in very scholarly fashion. These were subsequently elaborated by his successor in the language of the common people and illustrated by many homely proverbs and historical incidents. It became a custom to read a portion of this Sacred Edict twice a month in some public place in each county capital and accompany it with a homily in popular style.

K'anghsi gathered many great scholars about him and did much to promote education and literary production. The greatest monument left to his name is his dictionary of the Chinese language, which is still the last authority upon the meaning of the characters and is also the foundation of all dictionaries of Chinese in European languages. The encyclopedia, known as the *T'u Shu Chi Ch'eng* in 1628 volumes, was also produced under his direction; and among the popular works of his reign we ought to mention the *Liao Chai* of P'u Sung-ling, a collection of fascinating stories of marvelous character, and the *Hung Lou Meng* still one of the most widely-read novels in Chinese.

Painting and Porcelain

The decline of the pictorial art which began under the Mings was not arrested under the Manchus; but much good work was done, nevertheless. In the manufacture of porcelain, however, the period of K'anghsi by general consent is held to surpass all others.

K'anghsi and the Missionaries

K'anghsi was without doubt one of the greatest rulers that ever held sway in China. He was a man of broad mind and generous impulses, but at the same time a man of strong convictions, unyielding where the interests of the state were con-

cerned and swift in the punishment of those who menaced its safety.

Since he was a mere child at the time of his accession, he cannot be held responsible for the persecution of the Christian missionaries which was directed by the regency. Adam Schaal in 1664 had been imprisoned and condemned to death, but had been released by the intervention of the Empress Dowager. Christianity remained under the ban; but upon the accession of the youthful monarch to power in 1667, although he was but fourteen years of age, a change took place in the attitude of the government. In 1669 the charges against Schaal were expunged and due honor paid to his memory; but the missionary was already dead. The chief promoter of the persecution was degraded, and an associate of Schaal, Père Verbiest, was put in charge of the College of Astronomy and authorized to revise the calendar. Subsequently the Emperor rescinded the decree against Christianity and the Roman Catholic missions had an era of great prosperity. In 1699, however, other Catholic societies having charged the Jesuits with being too tolerant of heathen practices because they permitted ancestor worship, the Jesuit missionaries at the capital appealed to K'anghsi for an authoritative statement as to the character of these observances. The Emperor sustained the view of the Jesuits that the worship of Confucius and of ancestors was merely intended as an honor to a great teacher and an expression of affection for parents, not inconsistent with the worship of the One True God. He also declared that the worship of Heaven, tolerated by Jesuits, was a worship of God. The Pope, Clement XI, nevertheless, refused to accept the Emperor's interpretation, and a bitter quarrel among the missionaries led K'anghsi in 1718 to issue an edict forbidding any missionaries to remain in the country without his permission.

The Reign of Yungcheng

In 1723 K'anghsi was succeeded by his son, whose reign is known as Yungcheng. He was already forty-five years of age and his reign was comparatively brief. But it was long enough to do some damage to the work of Roman Catholic missionaries. The attack began very promptly. In September of

that year, the Viceroy of the provinces of Chekiang and Fukien issued a proclamation, exalting the teaching of the Chinese sages, particularly emphasizing the duty of ancestor worship. He condemned the teachings of the missionaries as inconsistent with this duty. He quoted the law against heresy, and ordered all missionaries in his viceroyalty to be expelled, their converts to recant, and the churches to be confiscated and devoted to public use. He also petitioned the Emperor to order a general expulsion of all foreign missionaries from the empire. Yungcheng responded by issuing an edict condemning Christianity and ordering the foreign teachers of that religion to be deported to Macao. He made exception, however, of those at Peking, who he said were of use to the government. Those in the provinces, he declared were of no use.

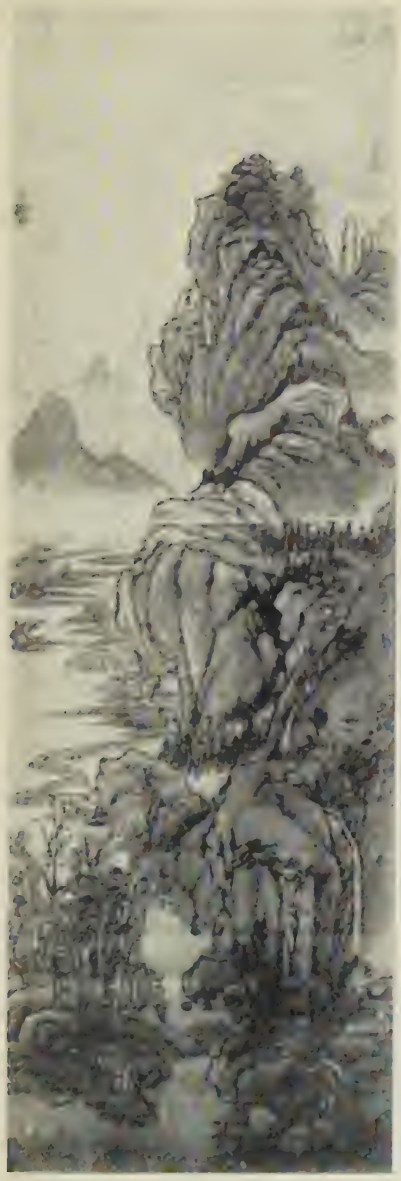
In his elaboration of the Sacred Edict of his father which was to be read twice a month to the people, he found the seventh exhortation quite in accord with his attitude toward Christianity. It read: "Avoid strange doctrines and so exalt the true religion." This was enlarged into a chapter attacking Christianity, Buddhism and other unorthodox religions. Nevertheless, in 1727 he received an embassy from the Pope and exchanged presents with him. These courtesies did not alter his attitude toward the Roman Church.

Social Reforms

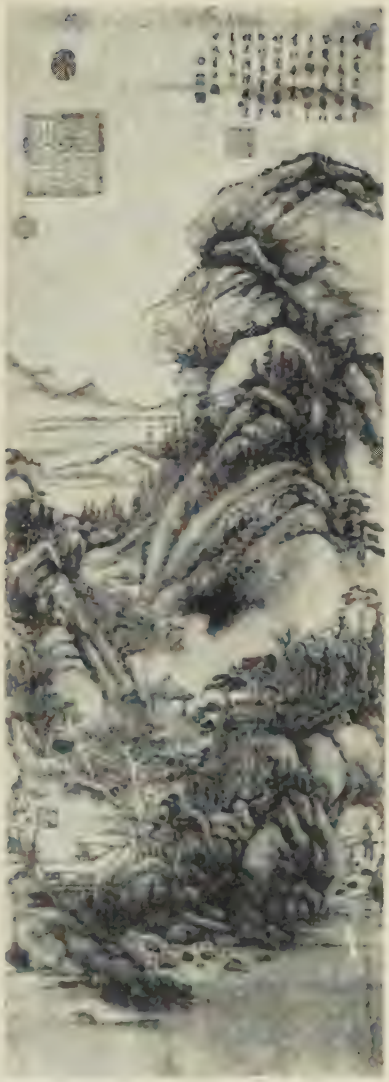
One of the most noteworthy accomplishments of this reign was the grant of freedom to certain classes of bondmen and the removal of civil disabilities of groups of outcasts in various provinces.

Russian Trade

In 1727 it became necessary to negotiate a supplementary treaty with Russia to define more exactly the boundaries between the two empires and to regulate commerce between them. Trade between China and Russia began at a very early date and was a profitable one for China. One of the interesting sights in Moscow is the Kitai Gorod, that is, "the Chinese City." China to the Russians is still Kitai, just as it was



PAINTING BY YUNG YUNG, EARLY PART OF MANCHU DYNASTY, "THE SETTING SUN IN SPRING"



PAINTING BY CHANG TSUNG-TS'ANG, "THE HERMIT MIDST HILLS AND STREAMS," EARLY PART OF MANCHU DYNASTY, THE POEM AT THE TOP WRITTEN BY THE EMPEROR CH'IENLUNG, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

to Marco Polo, for Kitai and Cathay are the same word. The Kitai Gorod dates from that far-away time when the Grand Dukes of Moscow were still invested by the Grand Khan of China. It has its own wall which was built by Helena, mother of Ivan the Terrible, in 1535. Even then its warehouses were filled with the precious stuffs of the Orient. The trade with Russia, until the extension in recent times of the Trans-Siberian Railway into Manchuria, was carried on by caravan across the desert of Mongolia. The caravans at first proceeded from Moscow to Peking; but by the provisions of the Treaty of 1727 the exchange of goods was made at the frontier. A city has grown up there which on the Chinese side is known as Maimaichen, and on the Russian side as Kiakhta. One of the stipulations regulating this trade confines it to barter.[6] The use of money was forbidden. Chinese tea and silk were exchanged for broadcloth, furs, and lambskins. It was for this trade and that with Mongolia that brick tea began to be made. Steamed tea and tea dust are thrown into molds and pressed into solid cakes resembling Chinese bricks in shape. This brick tea was better suited than boxes of tea leaf for camel transportation.

A Russian Colony at Peking

The Russians, having once been vassals of China, were better known at Peking than any of the other Europeans. In the fourteenth century the Grand Khan maintained a guard of Russian troops at the palace. When the Russian settlement at Albazin was destroyed in 1685, a number of prisoners were carried off to Peking. They formed the nucleus of a colony there that has continued its existence up to the present time. By the Treaty of 1727, of which we are speaking, it was agreed that Russia might keep four priests of the Greek Church constantly in Peking, and four youths and two adults there as students of the Chinese language, so that there would always be interpreters to assist in the intercourse between the two governments. While this attitude toward the Greek Church seemed more friendly than that toward the Roman communion, it is to be remembered that the Russians maintained no mis-

[6] Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, vol. i, p. 473.

sionaries in the provinces and that the Roman mission in Peking was also tolerated for political reasons.

This Treaty of 1727 was followed in 1733 by the despatch of a Chinese embassy to Russia. This was the first mission from China to any Western nation. It had been arranged in 1720 that, if Ismayloff, the Russian ambassador then in Peking, would perform the kotow, any ambassador that might be sent afterward to Russia would conform to all the requirements of the Russian Court. Presumably this was done in 1733, but the ceremonial of the Russian Court did not demand from the Chinese representative any such humiliating prostration before the Tsar as a kotow.

Accession of Ch'ienlung

Yungcheng passed away in 1735 and was buried with much pomp in the splendid sepulcher that he was having built in the *Hsi Ling,* or Western Cemetery, located about eighty-five miles southwest of Peking. He had had the place selected by geomancers. It is a valley of wonderful beauty, protected on the north by a lofty range of mountains sloping down on the east and west in a horseshoe curve that opens on the south into the plain. His mausoleum is a vast vault now overgrown with forest trees and surrounded by a grey wall with crenelated parapet, a quarter of a mile in circuit. Before it a temple with red walls and golden-colored tiles shaded by a dark cypress grove is erected for the worship of his spirit.

He was succeeded by his son, the title of whose reign is Ch'ienlung, a reign as famous in Chinese history as that of his grandfather, K'anghsi. Ch'ienlung had been born outside the Forbidden City before his father's selection as heir to the throne. In accordance with Chinese superstition, the palace in which he was born could not be used as an ordinary residence after his accession. It was therefore converted into a lamasery, the well-known Yung Ho Kung in the northeastern part of Peking. After his coronation, he bestowed many favors upon the monks gathered there, of whom there were usually some five hundred in residence. A pair of bronze lions that guard one of the inner gateways and a huge bronze censer in one of the courts are among his gifts, and are also fine examples of the bronze work that distinguishes his reign.

Extension of Empire

Ch'ienlung fell heir to the troubles of his father and grandfather. An uprising of the aborigines in the province of Kueichou had been caused by misgovernment during the Yungcheng period; and the Khan of Sungaria in the valley of the Ili had given much annoyance to K'anghsi by his inroads upon neighboring territories. It was through K'anghsi's assistance given to the Khalkhas against this ambitious chieftain that the tribes of Outer Mongolia in 1691 were brought to acknowledge the suzerainty of China.

One of the first tasks of Ch'ienlung was to suppress the disturbance in the southwest. He recalled the inefficient commanders who were operating there and sent in their stead a general in whom he had more confidence. His confidence was not misplaced; the general quickly put down the rebellion, but it was with a shocking sacrifice of human life. Forty thousand of the unhappy tribesmen are said to have been massacred, and two thousand of their villages were destroyed. In the far northwest the Galdan or Khan of Sungaria had subdued a good portion of western Mongolia and all of eastern Turkestan. The Tourgouths of Kobdo, forced to migrate, had gone as far west as the Volga and had become subject to Russia. Civil strife that followed upon the death of the Galdan gave Ch'ienlung the opportunity to subdue Sungaria. The war resulted in the conquest, not only of Sungaria, but of eastern Turkestan as well. Subsequently the Mohammedan tribes west of the Pamirs also gave him their allegiance, and the boundaries of the empire in central Asia extended almost as far as under the T'ang Dynasty. The vigor of Ch'ienlung's administration was illustrated by his severity toward incompetency. The commissioner who allowed a rebellious chieftain of the Eleuths to escape was commanded to commit suicide. A general who failed to put down an insurrection in Szechuen was recalled to Peking and beheaded. Another inefficient officer was sent a sword, the significance of which he understood, for he used it to commit suicide. In 1766 war with Burmah broke out. The Viceroy of Yünnan, whose troops were defeated by the Burmese, was granted the favor of suicide as a more honorable death than decapitation by the executioner. That war resulted in making Burmah a tributary of the empire.

Relations with Tibet

Even during the reign of K'anghsi it had been found necessary to intervene in the affairs of Tibet to put an end to the attempts of the Khan of Sungaria to control that country, and two thousand soldiers had been left in Lhasa to protect the Dalai Lama, who had replaced a rival candidate for that post. Ch'ienlung had been enabled to strengthen this hold upon the country by the invasions made into it by the Goorkhas of Nepaul in 1790 and 1791. They ravaged the country and looted the wealthy lamaseries. Peking was far away; it did not seem possible that Chinese armies could ever cross the mountain barriers and punish these enemies of her vassal, but they did so. They not only overtook the retreating Goorkhas laden with loot, but destroyed the invaders and descended into Nepaul and brought that country into subjection to Peking. This effective protection of Tibet by China brought the Tibetans into closer relations than ever with the empire.

Return of the Tourgouths

It was during this reign, in 1763, that the very romantic incident occurred that was described by De Quincey in his "Flight of a Tartar Tribe."[7] The Tourgouths or Turbets, as they are sometimes called, whose migration to Russia has already been mentioned, had settled in the neighborhood of Orenburg. They were very unhappy there. The strict control exercised by the Russian government, the compulsory service in the army and the exactions of the tax-gatherers all irritated them. After holding a council of which the Russian government was kept in ignorance, the whole tribe, consisting of one hundred and sixty thousand men, women and children, rose up one morning and started east, determined to return to their fatherland. Flocks and herds accompanied them and all went well until they reached the Kirghiz country. There their progress was opposed and a detour over the mountains had to be made. Their sufferings were intense and seventy thousand only survived to reach their old home. They were received with all kindness by the orders of Ch'ienlung and

[7] De Quincey, *Narrative and Miscellaneous Papers*, Boston, 1853, vol. i.

were assigned a district in which to lead the nomadic life to which they were attached.

Catherine of Russia was much incensed by this movement, but, since she was at war with Turkey, she could do nothing, and had to accept the explanation of Ch'ienlung that the migration was not "desertion" in the sense of the provisions of the treaties of 1689 and 1727.

A Versatile Genius

Ch'ienlung was a man of great versatility. He was, as we have seen, a vigorous ruler. He was also a patron of literature. Important historical works were produced under his direction, and reproductions of older works. He was himself a poet whose verses are counted by the thousands. He was a great builder, too. Some of the most beautiful specimens of Chinese architecture to be found today were constructed under his direction. A number of palace buildings and temples of earlier dates were reconstructed and improved. Of these the most important was the Temple of Heaven. The open marble altar was entirely rebuilt to express more exactly the symbolism attaching to it. Odd numbers belong to Heaven, even numbers to Earth. He directed that all odd numbers among the nine digits should be represented. The Board of Works, reporting the completion of its task, declared that the topmost terrace was nine *chang* [8] in diameter, representing 9 times 1. It is covered with a pavement consisting of one central stone, surrounded by nine circles, each containing a multiple of nine stones. The second terrace was declared to be fifteen *chang* in diameter, *i.e.,* 3 times 5 *chang,* and the third or lowermost, twenty-one *chang,* representing the numbers, 3 and 7. The symbolism was indicated, too, in the use of nine steps in each flight of stairs. But since the circle is appropriate to Heaven and the terraces had to be circular, and since a circle contains 360 degrees, this had also to be represented. Therefore the balustrades around the terraces are so constructed as to contain in all just three hundred and sixty panels.

Ch'ienlung was an antiquarian. Like the Sage whom he

[8] A *chang* is ten Chinese feet, but the foot of the Board of Public Works at that time must have been much smaller than at present for the topmost terrace is but 79 feet in diameter.

worshiped, he was a "lover of the ancients"; [9] like him, too, he "loved the ceremony." [10] He made an earnest effort to restore the ancient practices in the worship of Heaven. He forbade the use of modern or highly ornamented vessels and required his ministers to replace them with the coarse pottery, wicker baskets and wooden vessels of the ancients. The ritualist who insists upon candles rather than electric lights in the church service will readily understand the motive that inspired him.

It was during his reign that the first British embassy visited Peking. To understand its object it is necessary to review the situation at Canton.

The Maritime Powers

The sea-borne trade with Western nations had continued to flourish even during the war between the Manchus and the Chinese. The Portuguese endeavored to strengthen their hold upon Macao, which became the principal foreign colony in China. All attempts upon their part at this time, however, to exercise the rights of sovereignty over that territory were effectively resisted by the Mings and later by the Manchus, who insisted not only upon the payment of rent but upon keeping a customs station there and magistrates with jurisdiction over the residents,—foreigners no less than Chinese.

As early as 1573 the Chinese authorities had built a wall across the isthmus that connects Macao with the mainland and had established a guard at the solitary gateway in the wall to regulate all intercourse between the port and the interior. This was due to the unsavory reputation of the Portuguese, who were charged with kidnapping the natives and selling them into slavery. The wall was not sufficient protection, however, as we shall see. During the period of which we are speaking, Macao was the residence, not only of the Portuguese, but of all foreigners who traded at Canton. They were allowed to visit Canton during the trading season only. This lasted from late summer to early spring. The shipping consisted entirely of sailing vessels, and trade was regulated therefore by the monsoons. Vessels arrived in the late summer or autumn from Europe on the southwest monsoon and departed in the winter or spring on the northeast.

[9] *Analects,* Bk. vii, ch. i.
[10] *Ibid.,* Bk. iii, ch. xvii, 2.

An Open Door

With the accession of the Manchus to power, the whole empire in 1685 was thrown open to foreign intercourse. The British and Dutch had even before that date attempted to carry on trade at Amoy, where they could escape interference by the Portuguese. The decree of 1685 brought to an end the obstructive tactics of the Portuguese, and in 1689 the British East India Company sent a vessel to Canton. It did not establish a factory there, however, until 1715. The French, the Dutch, the Germans, the Danes and Swedes also found a welcome there and to these were added Asiatics of various races. Other ports being open, attempts were made to develop trade elsewhere than at Canton, but the exactions of local authorities discouraged these efforts, and after 1757 the Manchu government reverted to the old policy of the Mings and limited trade to Canton and Macao. This return to an earlier practice was, of course, in the interest of the merchants at Canton and had, no doubt, been inspired by them. They formed a gild according to Chinese custom and sought through it to monopolize the trade. Even under the T'ang and Sung Dynasties, as we have seen, the government restricted foreign trade to certain licensed persons; and in the formation of the Canton Co-hong, as the gild was called, the government no doubt had a part. At any rate, the Court at Peking and the mandarins at Canton neglected no opportunity to use it for their own purposes and the profits derived from their exactions were not inconsiderable. These exactions were responsible in part, as may readily be believed, for the dissolution of the Co-hong in 1771. It was revived under more favorable conditions in 1782 as a company of thirteen merchants. Their monopoly of the trade continued until the first war with Great Britain and was ended by the Treaty of 1842. Such monopolies were common in all countries at that period, so that the Chinese are not to be regarded as pursuing an exceptional policy.

Factory Life

The business houses of the Europeans at Canton were called factories. They were not places of manufacture, but were the

residences of the factors or agents of the firms and companies that conducted the trade. These large buildings of two and three stories contained on the ground floor the offices and godowns, or warehouses, of the firms. The upper stories were luxuriously furnished as quarters for the agents and their staffs. But while the factories were thus fitted with everything that could minister to the comfort of Europeans in a tropical climate, they were after all, as Morse says, but "gilded cages." To the Chinese the foreigner was a barbarian, lacking the culture of the "great empire." They regarded him as an inferior being. He was not supposed to deserve much consideration from the haughty mandarins and consequently he received very little. He was compelled to confine himself to his factory, where there was but small space for exercise. Three times a month, however, he was permitted under responsible escort to visit a flower garden across the river. Major Shaw's comment was that, after twelve years' residence, one could see no more of China than was visible during the first month. These supposedly barbarian merchants were forbidden to employ Chinese servants, but the rule was not enforced except in time of trouble with the authorities, who were only too happy on such occasions to deprive the foreigner of his cook and coolies. The stranger was also forbidden to use sedan chairs, which were reserved for the civilized Chinese and their masters, the mandarins. Boats were available, but for business purposes only; there was to be no rowing for pleasure.

When the trading season opened, the foreign merchant had to buy a permit to go to Canton to attend to his business, and, although he was forbidden to remain there after the season closed, he was compelled to buy another permit to return to Macao. He was not allowed to bring his family with him to Canton; "women and fire arms," as the regulations phrased it, "were forbidden."

The Chinese merchants were not allowed to borrow money from the Europeans; but since the enforcement of the rules was left in the hands of the Co-hong, this prohibition was not respected. The temptation to borrow at better rates than their own banks afforded was too great to be resisted. Chinese banks charged from two to five per cent a month. The result was that many Chinese firms became hopelessly involved in indebtedness to the foreigners, and on more than one occasion

the Chinese government had to intervene and effect a settlement.

Major Samuel Shaw

On the 28th of August, 1784, a small vessel of 360 tons burthen, flying a strange flag, appeared amidst the shipping at the mouth of the Pearl River. It was the *Empress of China* of New York, and the flag was that of the new republic that had but a few months before won its independence from the British Empire. The vessel was commanded by Captain Green and the supercargo was Major Samuel Shaw. Tyler Dennett says: "The first Americans went to Asia because they had to go—they had to go everywhere. In later years, when this necessity was removed, they showed their preferences by electing to remain at home." Americans had been impoverished by the War of the Revolution, but they were filled with courage, energy and ambition. Shaw had enlisted in the American Army as soon as he reached his majority in October 1775, and had served with distinction throughout the war, having won the rank of Brigade Major of Artillery by his gallantry and ability. At the close of the war, as soon as peace was established, he resigned his commission and looked about for congenial employment. He was as embarrassed as most of his comrades by the worthlessness of the continental currency and the consequent lack of capital for business enterprises. Fortunately for him, he was offered the post of supercargo on a vessel about to sail for Canton and accepted on condition that his chum, Randall, be permitted to accompany him. They sailed from New York on Sunday, February 22, 1784, and arrived at Macao on August 23. From Java Head they had had the company of several French vessels, and the French assisted them in getting settled at Canton. The cargo of this first American venture in Far Eastern trades consisted very largely of ginseng, a wild root found in the northeastern part of the United States. It is very similar to the Manchurian and Korean ginseng so highly esteemed by the Chinese for its supposed medicinal virtues. The plant is cultivated now in our country, and there is still a considerable export; but the cultivated variety does not recommend itself to Chinese taste as equal to the wild.

Shaw's account of the character of the trade at that period

is very enlightening.[11] The British vessels carried lead and cloth from the home-land and took on cotton in India. The cloth they were required to carry by the terms of their charter, to encourage the woolen manufacture at home. British-owned vessels from India, besides bringing cotton, sandalwood, putchuk, ebony, opium, sharks' fins and birds' nests from various East Indian ports, carried on "a smuggling trade with the Dutch settlements in and about Malacca and with the natives whom they supplied with opium, clothing, fire arms, etc., in return for tin, pepper and spices." "The establishments of the Swedes and Danes," so he tells us, were "principally supported by the smuggling trade they carried on in the Channel and upon the coasts of Britain." Even the captains and other officers of the British East India Company's ships, being allowed certain cargo space in the vessels under their command, did not scruple to dispose of all sorts of merchandise to smugglers along the coast of England, who had a clear understanding with the customhouse officers.

The First American Consul

Shaw's first voyage to Canton did not turn out to be a very profitable one; and upon his return to the United States in 1785 he accepted a post as Secretary to the Minister of War, General Knox, under whom he had served during the War of the Revolution. At the instance of his superior, he prepared a report of his experiences in China which he sent to the Honorable John Jay, then Minister for Foreign Affairs. This report was read with interest and resulted in the election of Major Shaw by the Congress to the position of American Consul to China. It was a position of honor but it carried no salary, and Shaw was permitted to engage in trade while discharging his official duties. He returned to China, therefore, in 1786 and served his country acceptably as Consul at Canton until his death in 1794. We had no treaty with China at that time, nor had any nation any agreement with China permitting the appointment of consular representatives. Such officers were appointed by various governments, but they were not regarded by the Chinese as having any official status. At best they were looked upon as occupying a position similar to

[11] See *Shaw's Journals,* pp. 168 ff.

the headmen of the Arabs and Hindus in an earlier age, who were spokesmen for their fellows in all dealings with the Chinese authorities.

Jurisdiction

Today an American Consul exercises jurisdiction over his fellow countrymen in China in civil actions in which the American is defendant, and in criminal cases where an American is accused;[12] but all attempts in Shaw's day to assume such jurisdiction was stoutly resisted by the Chinese, when it came under their notice, although they did not interfere with efforts to make amicable adjustment of disputes growing out of commercial dealings. During Shaw's first visit to Canton an unfortunate accident on board a British vessel had resulted in the death of a Chinese. A gunner, firing a salute, had neglected to remove the ball with which his piece was loaded, and the unfortunate Chinese was struck by it. The Chinese authorities at once demanded the surrender of the gunner. The British knowing that the killing was accidental, were unwilling to give him up. Various excuses were made. The chief of the East India Company said the vessel was not one belonging to his Company. The captain said that he could not learn who had fired the ball, and later declared that the gunner had absconded. The Chinese pretended to be satisfied, but as soon as the supercargo of the vessel set foot on shore he was arrested and held prisoner until the gunner should be given up. To obtain the release of the supercargo, the man was surrendered, tried and put to death. But the accident had occurred in November 1784; the execution did not take place until January 1785. During these two months, the British, had they known the Chinese law, could have obtained the man's release if they could have shown with reasonable certainty that the killing was accidental, for the law provided that in such cases redemption could be purchased by the payment of a small fine. A number of other cases before and after this occurrence showed conclusively that China claimed territorial jurisdiction. This question of jurisdiction was destined in a short time to assume great importance.

[12] Since 1906 the consular jurisdiction in all serious cases is exercised by the United States Court for China,—connected with the Foreign Service under the Department of State, however, and not under the Department of Justice.

Other Causes of Friction

Another question that was beginning to create ill feeling between China and the West was that of opium smuggling. The cultivation of the poppy, as we have seen, had been introduced by the Arabs in the ninth century A.D.; but then and for a long period thereafter it was a decoction of poppy seed that was used for medicinal purposes and also as an exhilarating drink. In the seventeenth century tobacco was introduced by the Dutch from Java and mixed with opium to make the smoking more attractive. The Chinese soon omitted the tobacco and took the opium alone. In the eighteenth century the government became alarmed by the spread of the habit of opium smoking, and in 1729 Yungcheng issued an edict against the sale of opium for smoking purposes and forbidding the opening of opium-smoking dens. As yet the import was not prohibited, nor was there any penalty prescribed for smoking. Later, smoking the drug was forbidden under penalty of death. The law was too severe and was not enforced. The evil habit spread apace. All nations engaged in trade at Canton were involved in the importation, for the Chinese did not feel the want of foreign goods in large amounts except raw cotton and opium. The Americans imported Turkish opium which the British were forbidden by their government to do,—a restriction intended to encourage the trade with India. The question of opium import was also soon to become a critical one.

On the part of the foreign merchants, dissatisfaction was due to the exaction of illegal duties upon imports and exports, the restriction of trade to one company of thirteen firms and the necessity of conducting all intercourse with the government through this Co-hong which was, of course, not interested in curtailing its own privileges. To these causes of friction must be added the severe regulations that deprived the foreign residents of natural freedom of movement and shut them up to the unwholesome life of the factories.

Appeal to Diplomacy

It was under these circumstances that the British government decided to send a diplomatic mission to Peking. In 1792

the Earl of Macartney was chosen as Ambassador and arrived at Taku in August 1793. The Chinese government had been duly notified and received the mission with great display of hospitality. It was reported that they spent not less than $850,000 on the entertainment of the embassy. The British government was equally extravagant, and, to impress the Chinese with the wealth of their country and the value of their friendship, sent for the Court six hundred cases of choice presents.

To the government and to the people of China these presents were tribute from Great England, and the name of this wealthy state was added to the list of tributaries. A flag hoisted to the masthead of Lord Macartney's boat as he sailed up the Pei Ho to T'ungchou bore in Chinese this inscription: "Tribute Bearers from Great England." Macartney was informed of the character of the inscription, but since he did not read Chinese, he assumed that the Chinese would know that he was ignorant of the meaning of the characters. On their part, the Chinese knew that he had interpreters who would tell him what they meant. On arrival at Peking, it was discovered that the Emperor was at his hunting lodge in Jehol, so the embassy had to be carried in chairs and carts to that place, four days' distance from Peking and north of the Great Wall.

The question of the kotow had already been raised, and members of the embassy had debated among themselves the propriety of complying with the custom of the Court. Lord Macartney offered to perform the humiliating obeisance, if a Chinese officer of equal rank with himself would abase himself in like manner before a portrait of King George which he had brought with him. To this the Chinese would not agree. What really was done at the audience is in dispute. The British say that a compromise was arranged and that Macartney merely knelt on one knee. The Chinese declared that he kotowed. A member of the embassy who did not attend the audience said that something was done which was kept secret. Rockhill believed that Macartney had kotowed and based his belief on what seemed to him conclusive evidence.[13]

Whatever the facts as to the obeisance, the mission accom-

[13] *Diplomatic Audiences at the Court of China.*

plished nothing in the way of improving the relations at Canton. The letter of Ch'ienlung to King George was supremely offensive in its assumption of superiority and condescension. King George is praised for his humble desire to partake of the benefits of Chinese civilization, but his request for permission to send a representative to reside in Peking is denied.[14] The causes of complaint at Canton were not removed. Indeed, matters grew worse rather than better.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	A.D.		A.D.
Shunchih	1644-1661	Yungcheng	1723-1735
K'anghsi	1662-1722	Ch'ienlung	1736-1796

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[14] E. H. Parker, *Nineteenth Century,* July, 1896.

CHAPTER X

ARROGANCE AND AGGRESSION

Manchu Dynasty, Second Period, 1796-1850

The cause of the War is the kotow.
—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The fact could not be concealed that Great Britain, the first Christian power, really waged this war against the pagan monarch who had vainly endeavored to put down a vice hurtful to his people. The war was looked upon in this light by the Chinese; it will always be so looked upon by the candid historian and known as the Opium War.
—S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

AT THE end of the sixtieth year of his reign, Ch'ienlung abdicated in favor of his son, whose reign is known as Chiach'ing. This abdication was out of respect for the memory of K'anghsi who had reigned sixty-one years. Ch'ienlung did not feel that he was worthy to reign as long as his grandfather. Perhaps there was also some superstition responsible for the act, for since the sixty-first year of K'anghsi's reign brought his life to an end, it may be that Ch'ienlung feared that sixty-one might be an unlucky number. He died, however, in 1797, one year after his son ascended the throne.

DISTURBANCES

Chiach'ing found a portion of the empire in considerable disorder at the time of his accession. A secret society, partly religious, partly political in character, known as the "White Lotus" or "White Lily Society," had been operating for some years in the central provinces. It was not unlike the "Boxers" of 1900 in its teachings and practices, but it aimed at the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty, whereas the Boxers were bribed to support the Manchus and attack foreign residents. The society was Buddhistic in its origin, but its religious char-

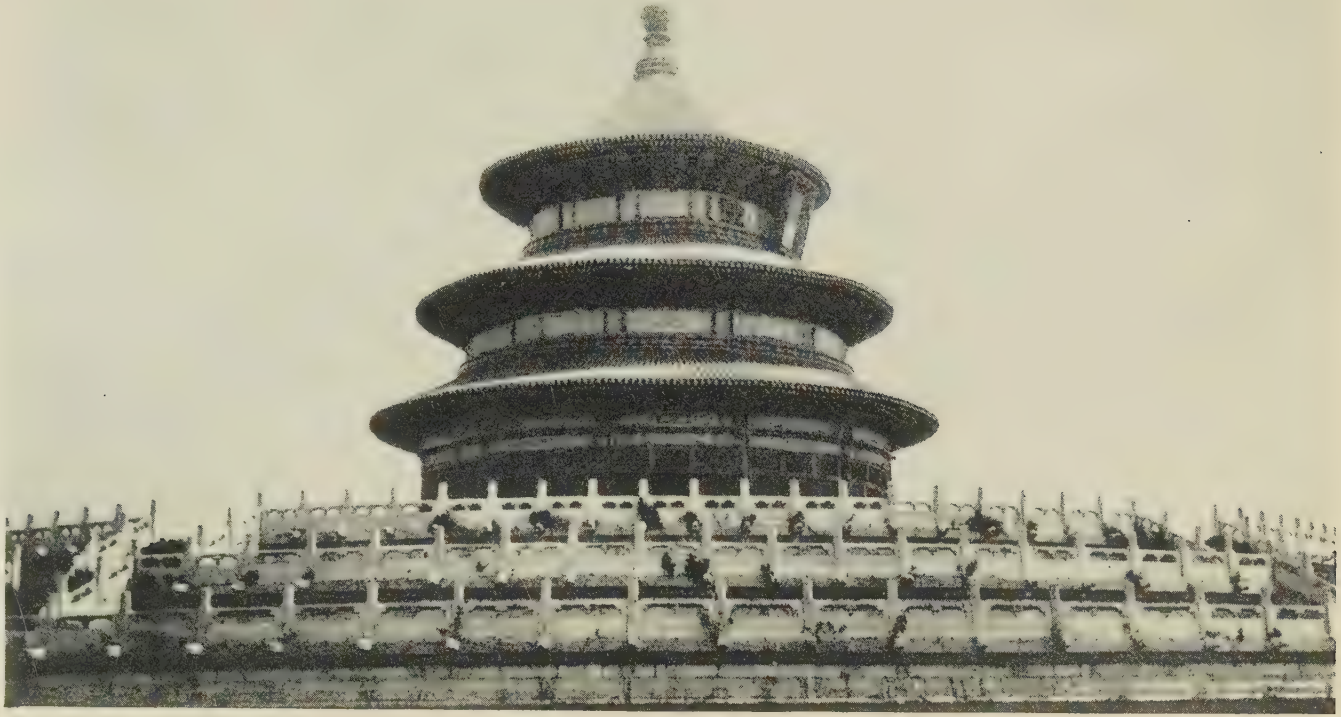
acter had become a mere cloak for its political designs. In the fourteenth century it had been responsible for many of the uprisings that wrought the overthrow of the Mongol Dynasty. Now, at the end of the eighteenth century, it was seeking the downfall of another alien dynasty, the Manchu. By 1798 it had spread over six provinces and drastic measures were taken for its suppression. The cruel manner in which the law was enforced served only to fan the flames of rebellion. Men and women were arrested upon the slightest suspicion and put to death. Their property was confiscated and appropriated by the mandarins. Such injustice made the restoration of order difficult. Many years were required to put down the rebellion. The society continued to exist, however, and under new names appeared again and again in the later history of the dynasty.

While these troubles were in progress in Hupei and Szechuen, the Miao tribes of Kueichou in 1801 were again driven to revolt by the rapacity of the officials there.

In 1803 the coasts of Chekiang and Fukien were harassed by the pirates operating under Ts'ai Ch'ien. Formosa became a rendezvous for these "sea-robbers," and six years were required for their extermination.

Foreign Relations

The increase in the imports of opium and the rapid spread of the vice of opium smoking in spite of the severity of the law led the Chinese government in 1800 to issue an edict prohibiting the importation of the drug. From this date the trade in opium became illegal, but it continued to flourish notwithstanding. The British East India Company forbade its ships to carry the drug to China, but as rulers of a large portion of India they continued to produce and sell it. Other British vessels carried it to Macao and Canton, and the vessels of all nations sailing to China engaged in the contraband trade. There were high-minded merchants, of course, who refused to violate the law, but they appeared to be few. The value of the opium carried by Americans to China in 1810 was only $21,664; but the amount increased rapidly in subsequent years and in 1829 was worth considerably over a million dollars, nearly one-third of the total value of their imports. The prohibition was not rigorously enforced until



COVERED ALTAR AT THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN

1821, and after that date the vessels engaged in the business discharged the contraband cargo into receiving ships anchored at islands outside the limits of the port of Canton.[1]

The question of jurisdiction at Macao arose again in 1802, when the success of Napoleon caused the British to fear that the French might occupy that port. To protect the Portuguese and British interests there, the British occupied it. The Chinese protested as they did again in 1808, when similar action was taken by the British against the French.

In the last-mentioned year Annam, a dependency of China, issued a decree forbidding the entrance into that kingdom of opium and missionaries. The British, interested in the opium trade, attempted to force their way up the Red River. Out of ten vessels, seven, according to the Chinese account, were burned by the Annamites, and the remainder, having sailed to Canton, were ordered away by the Chinese authorities and took their departure.

The severe laws against heretical sects in China continued during this reign to be enforced against Christianity. Missionaries were forbidden under penalty of death to preach their faith and converts were subject to deportation.

Notwithstanding the law, missionaries of the Roman Church continued to arrive and several suffered martyrdom. In 1807 Protestant mission work began with the arrival of Robert Morrison. The British East India Company, conforming to its policy of respect for Chinese prohibitions, declined to allow Morrison to sail to China in one of its vessels. Thereupon he came to the United States and went out in an American vessel. Subsequently, after Morrison had acquired a knowledge of the Chinese language, the East India Company was glad to give him a position as translator.

In 1812 war between the United States and Great Britain led to friction with China. The *Doris,* a British vessel, captured an American merchantman and brought her into Macao as a prize. A few weeks later her boats captured another American vessel at Whampoa. The American seamen in port then retaliated by a recapture of this schooner. These violations of the sovereignty of China incensed the Chinese, who demanded that the *Doris* be sent away. The *Doris* took

[1] For a complete review of the question at this period see Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire,* vol. i, pp. 82, 83, 90, 91, and ch. viii.

her departure, but the British felt that they had been insulted and demanded redress. A peace was patched up, one of the conditions made by the British and agreed to by the Chinese being that Americans should not be permitted to sell at Whampoa prize goods taken from the British.

The Mission of Lord Amherst

The situation at Canton, however, was far from satisfactory to the British. All the old annoyances continued. The arrogance of the Chinese was unbearable. The Europeans and Americans were confident that they were superior to the Chinese; the Chinese were just as sure that they were the only civilized people. Under such conditions amicable relations were almost impossible to maintain. But the British determined to make one more effort to enlighten Peking and obtain a better treatment for their merchants at Canton. Accordingly, in February 1816 Lord Amherst sailed from England with letters of credence as an Ambassador to China to adjust these matters. In August he reached Peking. His government had given him instructions to follow the custom of the Court and kotow to the Emperor, if this would further the success of his mission; but the East India Company on the other hand urged him on no account to make the humiliating obeisance, since that would irreparably damage British prestige at Canton. Morrison, who was interpreter, urged him to comply with the usage of the Court. Others opposed. The Chinese who accompanied the embassy annoyed him daily with insistence upon the kotow. In the end, however, no opportunity was given to comply with the Chinese demand. The mission reached T'ungchou, the terminus of river traffic, at night. Amherst was immediately hurried into a sedan chair and carried to Peking and to the Summer Palace beyond in a night ride of some twenty-two miles. He arrived about five o'clock in the morning at the Yüan Ming Yüan, as the Summer Palace was called. He was weary and dusty. The Emperor, in accordance with immemorial custom, was already holding Court, for from ancient times the Council of State assembled before daylight each morning. The British Ambassador was summoned to audience immediately. Probably it was intended to hurry him into the imperial presence while he was fagged

so as the more easily to compel him to comply with the usages of the Court. Amherst objected that his uniform had not arrived, that his letters of credence were in his baggage which had not come, and finally that he was ill. The Emperor sent his own physician to examine him. The physician reported that the Ambassador was shamming. The Emperor in his wrath ordered him to be sent away without delay. Thus the representative of the great British Empire was ignominiously expelled from the palace. His long and painful journey had been altogether in vain. He was not allowed even to present to the Chinese government the complaints of his countrymen or their request for fairer treatment. Decades were to pass, but in less than half a century the insult was to be avenged, and avenged in the very spot where it had been received.

Reign of Taokuang

In 1820 the Emperor Chiach'ing mounted the dragon chariot and left this wicked world. He was succeeded on the throne by his son, whose reign was called Taokuang. He appears to have been more talented than his father, and a more vigorous ruler; but he came to power at an unfortunate time. There was corruption at the capital and misgovernment in the provinces. Secret societies had revived their activities and started uprisings in many places. During this reign there were rebellions in Kuangsi, in the island of Hainan, in Formosa, in Szechuen, in Hupei, and Shansi, and a more serious insurrection of the Mohammedans in Turkestan. Most of these were due to the rapacity of the officials. The Emperor succeeded in correcting conditions at Court, but he was too far from the provinces to reform the administration there. These uprisings, however, were not the things that gave him most concern. It was the spread of the vice of opium smoking that distressed him. Three of his sons had been killed by the use of the pipe, and this affliction had brought home to him the misery of the people that was being caused by the accursed drug.

Many of the mandarins shut their eyes to the smuggling that made the law of no effect and were indifferent to the poverty and sufferings of the people caused by the introduction of the poison. There were a few, however, who could not

hold their peace and who ceased not day and night to cry out against the infamous traffic. Among these was the Viceroy of the Two Kuang Provinces, who in 1821 submitted a memorial praying that measures be taken to suppress the traffic. Somewhat later a censor presented a similar petition, in which he called attention to the evil being wrought by this illegal trade. He noted the effects of the drainage of silver from China in payment of the import of opium, as shown in the rise in the exchange value of silver, and the inconvenience suffered by merchants because of the lack of currency. But he laid more emphasis upon the moral and physical results of the habit of opium smoking—a vice that "shrivelled the body, destroyed the will and ruined both the individual and the family." "From the foundation of the empire," he said, "no such calamity had ever visited it." It was "more destructive than flood and more cruel in its ravages than wild beasts." Another officer, Governor-General Lin, pointed out that "it was daily impoverishing the people and destroying their strength," and prophesied that in ten years, unless the vice were checked, there would be no able-bodied men who could be enlisted for the army. One declared that the stuff came from England whose people were deliberately seeking to destroy the empire. This of course was unjust, but the Chinese knew that most of the import originated in British territory. The Emperor was so disturbed by these memorials that he called Governor Lin from Wuchang to Peking, made him a member of the Ministry of War and sent him to Canton as a special commissioner to deal with the question. This was in 1839.

A Change of British Policy

Prior to Lin's arrival an important change had been made in the control of British trade at Canton. The Company's monopoly of British trade with China was abolished in 1834 and the trade thrown open to all British subjects on an equal footing. Due notice of the impending change had been given to the Chinese authorities, who were solicitous that some one should be appointed to take the place of the Company's officers to represent British merchants. They asked for a *t'ai pan*. At once there was a misunderstanding. The Chinese under-

stood by a *t'ai pan* a senior merchant, such as Arabs and Indians in the old days had had appointed over them, and such as the Chinese themselves have in their colonies in the East Indies. They were not in any sense representatives of foreign powers. The British very naturally supposed that, since the British Government was replacing the Company in control of the trade, there would be needed a Superintendent of Trade, having an official status, as a representative of that government. Accordingly, at the end of 1833 Lord Napier was appointed Chief Superintendent of Trade and two others were made assistants: William H. C. Plowden and John Francis Davis. Both these assistants had had long experience in China under the Company. Plowden was soon replaced by Sir George Robinson, also previously of the Company's staff. The Chief Superintendent was not only to be a superintendent of trade, but was also to have jurisdiction over British subjects in Canton and Macao and was empowered to establish an extraterritorial court for this purpose. All of this was done without consulting the Chinese and without any treaty provisions authorizing such action. It was a plain violation of the sovereignty of China, but the British government had set up a court of similar character in Calcutta as early as 1773 before the British Crown had yet obtained the sovereignty of the soil, and without any agreement with the titular sovereign at Delhi. Western powers apparently assumed that heathen nations were disqualified for the exercise of jurisdiction over Christians, and, with the precedent of the Turkish capitulations to support them, they would naturally seek similar privileges in other non-Christian countries; but to do so without the consent of the sovereign was not a reasonable proceeding. Western notions of jurisdiction, however, at this time were still confused. The Chinese had a clearer conception of the rights of the territorial sovereign than seemed to prevail in the West and they had repeatedly protested against violation of those rights by European powers.

The Gathering War Clouds

The setting up of an extraterritorial court was not, however, the immediate cause of friction between the British and the Chinese. The instructions which Lord Napier received

from his government were intended by that government to be of a conciliatory character. He was to respect Chinese prejudices and he was to comply with all Chinese regulations. Yet these same instructions required him to do certain things which could not but offend their prejudices and some of which would violate the established regulations. It was well known that no European could visit Canton without the permission of the Chinese authorities, yet he was directed to go to Canton. It was a rule of long standing that foreigners could communicate with the Viceroy only through the Co-hong and that all such communications should be framed in the form of a petition. Napier was required to notify the Viceroy by letter of his arrival at Canton, and it was impossible for the representative of a great empire to send such a communication through the hands of private parties or humble himself by the presentation of a petition. Napier's mission therefore was doomed to failure from its very inception.

Men and Manners East and West

The Chinese arrogant assumption of superiority may seem amusing today, but it was not amusing then. And even then the Chinese were not the only people who acted as though they were the people and wisdom would die with them. Human nature east and west, and Oriental and European customs were strikingly similar. There are others than the Chinese who, like them, cling with a bulldog grip to their prejudices, who make a fetish of conventions, who bow reverently to precedent and worship old custom. There are countries in the Western World where a line is drawn between those engaged in retail and in wholesale trade, where the former are relegated to an inferior social status. So the Chinese mandarin of the old days looked upon all who engaged in trade, whether wholesale or retail. Men were divided according to occupation into four classes: scholars (including officials), farmers, mechanics, and merchants. All officials were supposed to obtain their rank by a scholarship that enabled them to pass the civil service examinations. They accordingly became the directive force in society. The farmers, as producers, came second. The mechanics who converted natural products into articles of usefulness were third, and at the foot of the social ladder were

those engaged in distribution and exchange. It was this rather contemptuous opinion of those engaged in trade that explains the statement made by the Viceroy at Canton in a proclamation issued after the trouble with Napier:

> The object of the said barbarian headman in coming to Canton is commercial business. The Celestial Empire appoints officials,—civilian to rule the people, military to intimidate the wicked; but the petty affairs of commerce are to be directed by the merchants themselves. The officials are not concerned with such matters.[2]

It is true that the officials interfered with the conduct of trade and sought to control it, but for one purpose only—revenue. The Viceroy's statement was quite correct. Until very recently there was never any commercial code promulgated by the government. The gilds concerned legislated for themselves. They never appealed to the national courts if it were possible to avoid such a course; and when a commercial case came before a mandarin, he always in his decision applied the regulations of the gild.

Napier's Failure

When Lord Napier arrived at Macao on July 15, 1834, he was looked upon by the Chinese as a British merchant, who, like other merchants, would be expected to observe the regulations provided for commercial intercourse. Within a week after his arrival two senior members of the Co-hong were sent to Macao to consult about trade matters and to communicate to him certain instructions from the Viceroy, for this high official had a suspicion that this so-called Superintendent of Trade was after all not a *t'ai pan,* and he was to be made clearly to understand that he was received as a *t'ai pan,* or head merchant, and nothing else. He was to be told that he must obey the laws of China and that if he had any changes to propose in procedure, they would have to be reported first to Peking and receive assent there. The merchants of the Co-hong were held responsible by the Viceroy for entire compliance with Chinese regulations by these foreign merchants. The two senior merchants, therefore, were much chagrined on their arrival in Macao to find that Lord Napier had gone up

[2] Quoted by Morse, *International Relations of the Chinese Empire,* vol. i, p. 126.

to Canton without consulting the Co-hong and without a permit. They hurried back to Canton, and two other merchants called upon the British Superintendent of Trade at the British factory and asked to be allowed to communicate to him the message from the Viceroy. He declined to receive any communication in that way and prepared an official letter to the Viceroy, as his instructions required. This letter was sent by the Secretary of the Superintendency to the city gate to be forwarded to the Viceroy's yamen, but not a single officer of any rank was willing to carry it. A mere glance at the superscription was enough to show them that it was not a petition; and, moreover, it was evident that it was not being sent, as required, through the Co-hong. For three hours the Secretary tried to get some official to receive the communication. For three hours he was annoyed by the ridicule and the scoffing of the crowd, and in the end he had to carry the letter back to Lord Napier. When the Viceroy learned that Napier had come to Canton without a permit and was seeking to communicate directly with him, he reprimanded the Co-hong and ordered the Customs officials to be punished. Subsequently the Chinese merchant who was security for the vessel on which Lord Napier had come to Canton, together with the interpreter and pilot who accompanied Napier, were all imprisoned. Weeks passed in futile discussion, each side holding tenaciously to its original attitude. The Viceroy issued a proclamation directing that all the severe restrictions upon the movements of the foreign merchants should be rigorously enforced. Many Chinese in foreign employ, realizing that matters were growing serious, left their employers. Napier was repeatedly warned that he must comply with Chinese laws. The danger to British trade was intimated in an amusing statement of the Viceroy that China could get on without British cloth, but that the British depended for health upon Chinese tea and rhubarb.[3] On September 4th, a proclamation forbade all trade with the British and required all servants and other Chinese employees to leave the British factory. Chinese troops surrounded the place and prevented all supplies reaching them. Napier replied to these measures by ordering two British frigates to come up the river. They were fired upon by the forts and returned the fire. But the

[3] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

situation of the British merchants was desperate, and to relieve them, Napier left Canton and returned to Macao on September 20th. He had been ill with fever since the 9th, and on October 11th he died at Macao. His illness had undoubtedly been aggravated by anxiety and disappointment. He was a martyr in a well-meant but misunderstood effort to bring China and Great Britain into more friendly relations.

Watchful Waiting

Lord Napier was succeeded in the office of Chief Superintendent of British Trade by the next in rank in the Superintendency, Mr. Davis, afterward Sir John Davis, a man of long experience in China and one with a profound knowledge of the Chinese people as well as of their language and literature. He pursued a policy of apparent acquiescence in the claims of the Chinese, but really avoided committing himself on the questions at issue. He was content to await instructions from home, and in the meantime he resided at Macao. He was followed in 1835 by Robinson, who continued the same policy. This was not at all to the liking of the majority of British merchants who wanted more vigorous assertion of the equality of their nation with China and an enforcement of their claims to fair treatment. Lord Napier himself, in his despatches to the British government, had shown that there was but one course to be pursued if they were to preserve their self-respect.[4] His instructions forbade him to take it, but in the end it was that which the British government decided to take and was identical with that demanded by the British merchants at Canton.[5] Sir George Robinson was removed from office in December 1836 and was succeeded by Captain Charles Elliot, who at once attempted to get into communication with the Chinese authorities. He announced his appointment to the Viceroy in a letter drafted in the form of a petition, as required by Chinese regulations, and asked for a permit to go to Canton. He attempted to convince the British government that the form of the letter was immaterial, and he sought on the other hand to win a point from the Chinese by communicating directly with the Viceroy. In both efforts he

[4] Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 142. See footnotes for Napier's correspondence.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

failed. Lord Palmerston forbade him to use the obnoxious form of communication and the Viceroy promptly put him in what he conceived to be his proper place. Finally Elliot, too, had to withdraw to Macao.

Causes of Strife

The question of the equality of sovereign nations was, after all that may be said of the approaching war, the most important and the most pressing issue. The Chinese regarded all other nations as their tributaries. The Manchu rulers had adopted the Chinese view, although in the seventeenth century they had treated Russia as an equal. But no nation has a right to assume that it has a mandate from Heaven to rule the world. Such arrogance, of course, was due to ignorance. To acquiesce in the claim was but to make matters worse and prevent friendly intercourse. There were, however, other sources of ill feeling. One complaint, in which the merchants of all nations joined, was that against the oppressive monopoly of the Chinese Co-hong. Protests had been made in earlier days but had failed to bring any improvement of the situation. After the abolition of the monopoly of the British East India Company, the British merchants were in a better position to unite with others in calling for the removal of all the restrictions upon their freedom to deal with such Chinese firms as they chose. There was objection not only to the limiting of the trade to the thirteen firms of the Co-hong but also to the regulations that placed the foreign merchant under the control of that hong, for this meant that he could make no complaint against the exactions of the Hong except through the medium of the Co-hong itself, which naturally would not forward to the officials any complaints against itself.

Complaint was made, too, against the collection by the Customs of many illegal charges, which were levied under various pretexts. The foreign merchant wanted a definite and an authoritative schedule of the duties on imports and exports and of the tonnage dues.

As it turned out, the immediate cause of the appeal to arms was the demand of the Chinese for the surrender of a British seaman who had killed a Chinese in a brawl at Kowloon. Captain Elliot had set up a court and had tried and punished

a number of sailors engaged in the disturbance and had so notified the Chinese authorities. He had told them, too, that he could not discover the murderer. This at once raised the old question of jurisdiction. The Chinese refused to recognize the jurisdiction of the British court.

Every one of these questions had its part in producing the friction that caused the flame of war to burst forth, but there were only two prime causes of strife. On the part of the British there was the demand of the Chinese that Great Britain should acknowledge herself an inferior state, a vassal of China; on the part of the Chinese was a just resentment against the almost universal practice of smuggling opium to the receiving ships anchored in Chinese waters.

Lin Tse-hsü and Opium

Mention has been made already of the appointment of the Hukuang Viceroy as Special High Commissioner to suppress the opium traffic. In order to accomplish this task he was authorized to organize a naval force, for the smugglers, whether European or Chinese, were all well armed. Lin arrived at Canton on March 10, 1839. His coming had been expected for weeks. His reputation as an energetic administrator was spread abroad. He was coming as an earnest crusader in a righteous cause. The law was well known. Opium was contraband; the vice of opium smoking was forbidden under severe penalties. He had full power to act and was determined to enforce the law. It is sometimes said that the only interest of the Chinese government in the supression of the traffic was economic, that it desired to prevent the outflow of silver. This is incorrect and most unjust. It was not ignorant of the economic consequences of the trade. Attention had been called to the loss of silver, and one of the strongest memorials on the subject was that of Hsü Nai-tzu, who advocated the legalization of the traffic under heavy duties that would increase the revenue. The memorial cost him his position. It was the moral question involved that was given most weight. The memorial of Chu Tsun on the subject has this paragraph:

> The sum of the matter, the widespread and baneful influence of opium, when regarded simply as injurious to property, is of inferior importance; but when regarded as hurtful to the people, it demands

most anxious consideration, for in the people lies the very foundation of the empire.[6]

Dr. S. Wells Williams in his *Middle Kingdom* says:

> There can be no reasonable doubt that the best part of his people and the moral power of the nation were with their sovereign in this attempt. Hsü Nai-tzu was dismissed for proposing legalization, and three princes of the blood degraded for smoking opium; arrests, fines, tortures, imprisonments and executions were frequent in the provinces on the same grounds.[7]

The unhappy monarch thus delivers himself:

> How can I die and meet the spirits of my imperial ancestors unless these direful evils are removed.

Yet it was true that in many places the law was a dead letter. Smuggling was winked at in Canton, where the officials were well paid for their connivance at the open violation of the law.

Lin spent a week getting acquainted with local conditions, and on March 18th he notified the Co-hong that its members would be held responsible for the compliance of the foreign merchants with the law, and threatened that one or more of the Chinese merchants would be put to death if foreign firms did not deliver up the opium in their possession. On the same day he sent to the foreign merchants a demand for all the opium in their hands or stored in the receiving ships, and required each of them to give a bond, pledging never again to bring opium to China, and agreeing to submit to the extreme penalty if opium should be found in the cargoes of their vessels.

To enforce compliance with his demands, he had the Commissioner of Customs notify the factories that no foreigner would be allowed to leave Canton until these orders were obeyed. Troops surrounded the factories, and the Imperial Commissioner to emphasize his determination, deprived the Prefect and lesser officials of their rank and put the two senior members of the Co-hong in chains for neglect of duty. This system of responsibility has existed in China from time immemorial. From Village Elder to Emperor every officer

[6] Quoted in MacNair, *Selected Readings*, section 13, p. 98.
[7] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 497.

was responsible to those above him for the execution of the law and the preservation of peace and good order. The Commissioner therefore held the senior merchants responsible for the smuggling although they had had no part in it and did not deal in opium. He proceeded on the same principle to hold the British Superintendent of Trade responsible for all the smuggling by British subjects and required him to collect and turn over to him all opium in foreign possession.

Elliot Takes a Hand

While these measures were being taken at Canton, Elliot was still in Macao. On learning of the situation, he directed all British vessels to leave the river and proceed to Hongkong. The same day, March 22nd, he wrote to the Viceroy for an explanation. On the 23rd he sent word to British subjects at Canton to be prepared to leave that city at once. The following day he arrived there himself and took charge of the situation. By nine o'clock that night not a single Chinese employee was left in the factories. Elliot had written to his government that he was sure that a firm tone would be all that was needed to check the rash spirit of the provincial authorities.[8] He was mistaken in two respects. He was not able with all his firmness to cause the Commissioner to swerve a hair's breadth from his course, and he discovered that he was not dealing with the provincial authorities, but with a Special Commissioner who was the personal representative of the Emperor and possessed of more authority than any other officer in the whole empire.

Three hundred and twenty foreigners, mostly Europeans and Americans, were shut up in their factories, deprived of all service and cut off from all supplies of food and water save such as could be obtained surreptitiously through Chinese friends. There was not a British warship in that part of the world until August 31st, of that year. Elliot had to alter his firm tone to one of ready compliance with the demands of the High Commissioner. He had to do this to save the lives of the foreign residents and he knew full well that in the end the Chinese would have to pay for the high-handed measures they were taking. The High Commissioner's cause was a righteous

[8] See Morse, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

one, but the means taken in its behalf were not only unwise, but unjust, since they were cruel and made no discrimination between the guilty and the innocent.

Elliot delivered to the Commissioner 20,291 chests of opium, and it is of interest to note that since he had made a mistake in the original report of the amount on hand, he had to buy over five hundred chests from those who were smuggling, in order to make good his promise. This purchase cost the British government £63,266. As the deliveries of opium came in, the restrictions upon the movements of the foreigners were relaxed and by May 4th trade was proceeding in a normal manner except for the British who were directed by Elliot to abstain. On the 24th of that month all British subjects celebrated their young Queen's birthday by shaking off the dust of Canton from their feet and taking their departure for Macao. Twenty-five persons, all Americans, remained in the foreign factories at Canton.

Elliot attempted to conduct the British trade from Macao, but the Commissioner of Customs forbade. British merchants then, until the subsequent blockade of Canton, managed to carry on part of their trade through the agency of the Americans.

The High Commissioner was nonplused. He had thought that everything was going as he had planned. He could not understand why the British did not return and get the tea and rhubarb that, as he thought, were essential to their lives. Moreover, it appeared that his drastic measures had entirely failed to prevent smuggling. The smugglers merely moved farther up the coast and were reaping a richer harvest than ever because of the advance in the price of opium. The situation was not unlike that which prevails along the coasts of the United States today, where, in spite of legislation forbidding the traffic in intoxicating liquors, fleets of foreign vessels, laden with wines and whiskey, do a thriving business outside the twelve-mile limit, and bootleg craft smuggle the liquor ashore. The demand for opium, like that for strong drink in the United States, was so great that men would pay any price to satisfy their appetite. But whereas the American government can employ a powerful navy and spend millions of dollars in fighting the bootlegging fleets, the Chinese were poorly equipped to deal with the opium smugglers.

The Storm Breaks

When Lin discovered that he could not compel the British to return, he sought to make their stay at Macao as uncomfortable as he could. His animosity was increased by a riot at Kowloon created by British sailors. A Chinese was killed. The authorities demanded the surrender of the murderer. Captain Elliot, as already stated, organized a court and punished some of the rioters, but could not discover who was responsible for the murder. The Chinese continued to demand the surrender of the guilty man, and denied the jurisdiction of the British. The High Commissioner directed the Portuguese at Macao to expel the British. They were forced to comply. The whole British colony,—men, women and little children—went aboard their vessels. They had no territory of their own in the vicinity to which they could flee, but they went to Hongkong, which at that time was but little better than a barren rock. There they suffered for want of provisions which the Chinese were forbidden to sell to them. Fortunately there were Chinese peasants who were not afraid to violate the prohibition. The High Commissioner, on October 25, 1839, made another demand for the immediate surrender of the murderer of the Chinese killed at Kowloon and ordered British vessels either to come up the river and reopen trade or to sail away within three days. He also gave orders that if the British should fail to obey, the Chinese fleet of war junks should attack British vessels and burn them. By this time there were two British men-of-war at Macao. Elliot directed them to protect British shipping by such measures as seemed best. These men-of-war on November 2d reached Chuenpi, just outside the Bogue, where the High Commissioner had his temporary headquarters. The senior naval officer sent a note to the High Commissioner, demanded that he recall the order to attack and burn British vessels and that he permit British merchants and their families to live ashore and have proper supplies and service. The next day, the Chinese replied by sending twenty-nine war junks to attack the two men-of-war. They were of very little more danger to the British naval vessels than a swarm of flies to a buffalo. The captain of the *Volage* warned them not to approach. They made another demand for the murderer. Reply was

made, as before, that he was unknown. The junks continued to approach. The British fired upon them. Four junks were sunk; others were damaged and retired. This was the commencement of the war. But in those days there were no telegraphs or cables. There were very few steam vessels. Communication was slow. The Suez Canal did not exist. Months were consumed in getting news of the situation to London and having war vessels and troops sent out to China. In the meantime repeated efforts were made by the Chinese to burn the British vessels, and every attempt by the British to get a safe place on shore for their families was successfully frustrated by the Chinese. Elliot issued orders to British vessels to keep out of Canton. Lin replied by forbidding the British forever and ever to enter Canton. The imperial government at Peking approved Lin's order and declared that the British were never again to have any of the Chinese tea or rhubarb.

Military Operations

At last, in the closing days of June 1840, fifteen months after the enforcement of Lin's measures against the foreign factories at Canton, the British avengers began to arrive. There were in the force sixteen men-of-war, besides four armed steamers and twenty-eight transports. Of troops there were but four thousand of all arms. Yet against them the great armies of the Manchu government and all the war junks of the empire were practically as powerless as a rainstorm is in impeding the approach of a railway train. Such was the superiority of British over Chinese equipment. The Chinese infantry had a few matchlocks which were almost as dangerous to themselves as to the enemy, but their chief dependence was upon bow and arrows, spears and swords. The junks and the forts were armed with cannon, but of a very primitive sort. Mandarindom in its ignorance thought to overwhelm the British with the swarming myriads of the empire.

The commander of the British expedition and principal plenipotentiary was Admiral George Elliot, a cousin of Captain Charles Elliot. The latter was associated with the Admiral as second plenipotentiary.

The first act of the British commander was to establish a blockade of the port of Canton. Lin, the High Commissioner

ENTRANCE TO TEMPLE TO CONFUCIUS AT NANKING

who had now become Viceroy, replied to this measure by offering rewards for the heads of British subjects and for the capture of British vessels. He did not, however, forget the chief purpose of his mission to Canton,—the removal of the opium curse. He had given the smokers warning in July 1839 that eighteen months would be allowed them in which to break off the habit, after which the death penalty would be inflicted. So now, on September 27, 1840, he notified them that but one hundred days remained in which to save themselves. To aid them, a refuge had been established, to which the victims were urged to come for relief. He wrote a letter to Queen Victoria about the matter, which indicates clearly that the war going on had no other cause in his opinion than the determination of the Chinese to remove the evil of opium.

Meantime the British fleet was following the instructions of the British government to bring the seriousness of the situation home to the Court at Peking. On July 6, 1840, Tinghai in the Chusan Archipelago was occupied and by the 28th of that month a blockade had been established at the mouth of the Yangtze. By August 15th Admiral Elliot was at Taku and consternation seized upon the imperial government. The Viceroy of the metropolitan province was a Manchu, Ch'i-shan. He was directed to treat with the British, and succeeded in having the negotiations transferred back to Canton. The Emperor was wroth with Lin. Instead of driving the British and their opium far away as he boasted he would do, he had brought war upon the empire and the menace of British arms to the very gates of the metropolitan province. Lin was degraded and condemned to exile in Ili, but his sentence was suspended and he was ordered to remain at Canton and assist Ch'i-shan in negotiating a satisfactory peace.

When Admiral Elliot reached Chusan on September 28, 1840, on his way back to Canton, he found that the troops left in the island had been suffering severely from malarial fever and dysentery. While he delayed there, the Viceroy of the province of Chekiang entered into an agreement with him for an armistice to cover merely his own viceroyalty. Following this, the Commander-in-chief returned to Macao and on November 29th resigned the command of the fleet to Commodore Bremer and turned over the diplomatic functions to his cousin, Captain Elliot, who thus became sole plenipotentiary.

An Abortive Convention

The negotiations with Ch'i-shan dragged along unsuccessfully through December and came to naught chiefly through the opposition of Lin, who used his position as associate in the negotiations to intrigue against Ch'i-shan, who had adopted a policy of conciliation. Contemporary writers have noted the fact that the Chinese were more hostile to foreigners than the Manchus, who were the real rulers of the country. Lin, a Chinese, was for war to the bitter end. He was intolerant, conceited and abusive. Ch'i-shan, the Manchu, was suave and tactful. He corresponded with Elliot on terms of equality, and he was wise enough to see that China was unprepared to carry on a war with Great Britain with any prospect of success. But with the opposition of his associate and the strong party that cried for war, it was impossible for him to agree at once to the terms that Elliot demanded, especially the demand for the cession of Hongkong. Military operations were resumed on January 7, 1841, resulting in the capture by the British of the forts at the mouth of the river. The Chinese immediately sought another armistice, and finally, on January 20th, Ch'i-shan was induced to sign the Convention of Chuenpi, which provided as preliminaries to peace that Hongkong should be ceded to the British, that China should pay an indemnity of six million dollars, and that official intercourse should be direct and upon terms of equality. It was agreed, too, by the British that Chusan should be evacuated and the captured forts returned to China. The Convention was satisfactory neither to the British nor the Chinese. Both Governments repudiated it and both negotiators were removed. Ch'i-shan and all his family were condemned to death, his property was confiscated and he was himself sent to Peking in chains. Lin had triumphed temporarily, but in the end Ch'i-shan was vindicated and restored to favor. Elliot was replaced by Sir Henry Pottinger, but, pending his arrival, affairs were still in Elliot's hands. The Chinese provoked another attack by the British and on February 26, 1841, the forts at the Bogue once more fell into the hands of the foreigner. On March 18th the British forces were in possession of the factories and controlled the river. A suspension of hostilities on the 20th lasted until the 21st of May when the

The American treaty accepted the British provisions in the main, but in some particulars it was an improvement upon that. It did not, like the British treaty, make the Consuls responsible for the payment by their fellow citizens of the import and export duties. The provision relating to jurisdiction, moreover, was more explicit than that of the British treaty, particularly in respect to criminal acts. Article XXI of the American treaty reads as follows:

> Subjects of China who may be guilty of any criminal act toward citizens of the United States shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China, and citizens of the United States who may commit any crime in China shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul or other public functionary of the United States thereto authorized by the laws of the United States; and in order to the prevention of all controversy and disaffection, justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

In controversies of a civil character between Chinese and Americans which could not be amicably settled otherwise, the Treaty of 1844 provided that the matter was "to be examined and decided conformably to justice and equity by the public officers of the two nations acting in conjunction."

When both parties to a controversy in China were Americans, the American officer was to have sole jurisdiction; and if a controversy should arise between an American and subjects of some other country than China, it was to be regulated by the treaties between the United States and the countries concerned. Such, in brief, is the origin of the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction by various European and American states over their citizens and subjects in China. The reasons given for compelling China to yield jurisdiction were chiefly as follows:

(1) The Chinese penal code was too severe and some of its punishments were barbarous. This was true at the time, but a few years earlier some European codes were more severe than that of China.

(2) The courts were corrupt. Magistrates, not being permitted to serve in their own provinces, were at the mercy of their subordinates who belonged to the locality and could often be bribed to cause a miscarriage of justice.

(3) The prisons were foul and unsanitary, and the small measure of comfort allowed a prisoner could not be assured without payment to the jailor.

To the Chinese, of course, the surrender of jurisdiction was very humiliating, for there was no *quid pro quo:* the treaties were unilateral.

There were two other respects in which the American treaty differed from the British. The British treaty made no mention of opium; the American provided that American citizens engaging in that contraband traffic or any other illegal trade would receive no protection from their government. The British treaty made no provision for revision; the American stipulated that the treaty might be revised after a lapse of twelve years, should such revision seem to be desirable. This subsequently became a stipulation of great importance.

All three treaties contained similar provisions relating to the tariff on imports and exports. The British had arranged with the Chinese a tariff of specific duties, based upon the general charge of five per cent *ad valorem.* Exceptions were gold and silver, either as coin or bullion, free, import of rice and other grains, free; and export of tea at about ten per cent *ad valorem.*

Thus in the days of China's ignorance of international practices there was imposed upon her, as the result of a war in which she had been humiliated, a treaty tariff, which was in violation of her sovereignty and which, by reason of the duties levied, has interfered seriously with her revenue and which today gravely affects the stability of her government.

A Wonderful Journey

It was near the beginning of this same year, 1844, that the celebrated Abbé Huc, accompanied by his brother in the Lazarist Order, M. Gabet, started upon the long journey across Mongolia and northwestern China to Lhasa, the capital of Tibet and the holy city of Lamaism. Although they were well received there, they were expelled by order of the Chinese authorities and returned by way of eastern Tibet and the Yangtze River. They reached Macao early in 1846. After their arrival in Europe the Abbé published an account of the journey which excited great interest, since it was the first ac-

count in a European language of the manners and customs of the people in some of the regions through which they passed.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

A.D.

Chiach'ing 1797-1820
Taokuang 1821-1850

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CHAPTER XI

A STRUGGLE OF CIVILIZATIONS

Manchu Dynasty, Third Period, 1850-1860

It has long been recognized by anthropologists and cultural historians that the contact of cultures is far the most effective force in breaking down stagnation, repetition, localism and provincialism in the civilization of any people.
—HARRY E. BARNES.

ACCESSION OF HSIENFENG

THE unhappy Emperor, Taokuang, died in 1850 and was succeeded by his son, whose reign is called Hsienfeng, meaning "General Prosperity," a characterization scarcely deserved when the events of the decade covered by it are reviewed. Internally the period was marked by a civil war that but narrowly failed to overturn the dynasty. Externally the government became involved in a struggle with foreign powers that resulted in the capture of the imperial capital and the humiliating flight of the Court.

THE T'AI P'ING REBELLION

The decade that followed the close of the first war between Great Britain and China was a time of great unrest throughout the whole world. The United States from 1846 to 1848 was engaged in war with Mexico which led to the annexation of New Mexico and California, followed in 1849 by the rush of gold-seekers to the last-mentioned region. In Europe the year 1848 was one of revolutions in France, Italy, Austria and Hungary, and of insurrections in Ireland. Louis Philippe abdicated in France and a republic was established. In Italy Victor Emmanuel emerged as King. Austria and Hungary became a dual monarchy under Francis Joseph. Prussia and Denmark were at war in 1849 and 1850. Great Britain an-

nexed the Punjab in 1849. The Crimean War broke out in 1853.

In China the triumph of British arms in 1842 had been followed by a loss of prestige by the Manchu government. Many of the Chinese subjects of this alien dynasty were restive. Floods in the Yellow River had destroyed thousands of homes and driven the people there to brigandage. In the south secret societies were fomenting rebellion and along the coasts pirates swarmed and looted at their pleasure. But the movement that finally overshadowed all other disturbances was really of a religious character. It was led by one Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, a native of Hua Hsien, some thirty miles north of Canton, but belonging to a people known as Hakkas, immigrants from the neighboring province of Fukien, much disliked by the Cantonese. Hung Hsiu-ch'üan was born in 1813. He was the youngest son of a farmer, and being a bright boy, was sent to school and took high rank in the local examinations. But in the provincial examinations he repeatedly failed to get a degree. After one of these failures in 1837 he had strange visions during a period of illness. In 1847 he tried the examinations again, and again he failed. He then called upon the Reverend Issachar Roberts, an American Baptist missionary in Canton, and spent some time with him being instructed in Christianity. He left, however, before he was ready for baptism and returned to his home. There he organized a religious society called the *Shang Ti Hui* or "Society of God." He began to preach the worship of one true God and to condemn idolatry. He gradually gathered quite a following. As the membership grew in numbers it grew in fanaticism. Not content with attacking idolatry by preaching, Hung and his disciples began to attack it with physical force. They entered the temples and threw down the images, and thus fell afoul of the law. They gathered in 1850 in Lienchu in Kuangsi, a province that was already seething with sedition. In 1851 a large number of these religionists were making Yunganchou their headquarters and in the following year were besieged there by the imperial troops. They cut their way out and marched north into Hunan. Repelled at Ch'angsha, they seized boats and sailed down the Siang to the Yangtze. Up to this time the rebels were God-fearing fanatics, thoroughly disciplined and strictly moral, but, like

the Israelites of old, bent upon the destruction of heathenism. Their god was the Lord, God of Hosts, the God of marching armies. At the mouth of the Siang they found an arsenal which they captured and which supplied them with artillery and other munitions of war. Their march from Kuangsi had done much damage to the countryside; now they became much more destructive. At Ch'angsha the leader had assumed the title of *T'ien Wang,* or "Heavenly King." Thenceforth he aimed at the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty and the establishment of a new government. He called his kingdom *T'ai P'ing T'ien Kuo,* or "The Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace." Hence the movement became known as the T'ai P'ing Rebellion. Religious literature was prepared which on the whole was quite Christian in character, except that a new version of the New Testament was published to support the claims of the "Heavenly King," who declared that he was the third person of the Trinity. The true God was the Heavenly Father; Jesus Christ was the Divine Elder Brother; the T'ai P'ing leader was the Divine Younger Brother. A hymn book was also prepared, and the troops were required to abstain from vice and attend religious services.

Nanking Becomes Capital

As the rebels sailed down the Yangtze River they sacked the cities through which they passed. No town was able to withstand their attack. Their track was one of bloodshed, ruin and desolation. They reached Nanking on March 19, 1853, stormed and captured that ancient capital and put the Manchus among the inhabitants to the sword,—men, women and little children. It was much as Joshua, when invading Palestine, slew the inhabitants of Libnah and Lachish and Eglon and a hundred other towns, where "there was none left that breathed," for the spirit that animated the T'ien Wang was similar to that which inspired Joshua. And Nanking became the capital of this spurious "Kingdom of Heaven." They slaughtered the people and called it a "Great Peace." But when the "Heavenly King" had established his throne in Nanking, wielding great power and living in luxury, he forgot his lofty ideals, gave himself up to dissipation and left the further conquest of the empire to the King of the East and

the King of the West, the King of the North and the King of the South, and to the Righteous King and the Faithful King, and to the multitude of his followers whose numbers increased rapidly as victory perched upon his banners. For it happened to him, as to many another rebel, that "every one that was in distress and every one that was in debt and every one that was discontented gathered themselves unto him." As the years passed, it became more and more evident that the war had degenerated into a struggle for loot. There was no constructive policy, no attempt to replace the misgovernment of the Manchus with anything better.

The Attitude of Foreigners

The T'ai P'ing movement at first met with a great deal of sympathy among the foreign residents of China and was looked upon rather favorably by Western governments. The continued arrogance and hostility of Peking naturally drove the ill-treated alien to welcome those who sought the overthrow of the Manchus, and the T'ai P'ing profession of Christianity and marked hostility to idolatry led the missionaries to anticipate an early triumph of the religion of the Cross. Mr. McLane, the American Commissioner to China, had received instructions to recognize the new government, if it should seem to him expedient to do so. But this friendly attitude had to be abandoned as the real character of the rebellion became evident. Alexander Michie visited Nanking in 1861 and wrote to the British Minister at Peking, saying, among other things:

> I have no hope of any good ever coming of the rebel movement. No decent Chinaman will have anything to do with it. They do nothing but burn, murder and destroy. They hardly profess anything beyond that. They are detested by all the country people and even those in the city who are not of the "brethren" hate them. They have held Nanking eight years and there is not a symptom of rebuilding it. Trade and industry are prohibited. Their land taxes are three times heavier than those of the Imperialists.

The Rev. Issachar J. Roberts, who had been the religious teacher of Hung Hsiu-ch'üan, was invited to visit Nanking and did so. But he was not permitted to have audience with the "Heavenly King" and soon became so disgusted with what

he saw that he was glad to escape with his life. He wrote at the end of 1861, saying:.

> As to the religious opinions of Tien Wang, which he propagates with great zeal, I believe them in the main abominable in the sight of God. In fact, I believe he is crazy, especially in religious matters, nor do I believe him soundly rational about anything. . . . He calls his son the young saviour of the world, and himself the real brother of Jesus Christ. . . . Their political system is about as poor as their theology. I do not believe that they have any organized government, nor do they know enough about government to make one, in my opinion.

Frederick Townsend Ward

"The hour brings the man." Office-holding under the Manchus was no sinecure in the Yangtze Valley from 1853 to 1864. The cowards and grafters ran away; the inefficient were cashiered. But there was opportunity for able and courageous men, and such came to hand in the hour of need. Two of these were Tseng Kuo-fan of Hunan and Li Hung-chang of Anhui. The former in 1852, when the rebels invaded his native province, organized a volunteer force and rapidly recovered control of the central Yangtze region. Li, who was out of office at his home in northern Anhui, in 1853 did the same for his district. Both men acquired the confidence of the Peking government and were chiefly instrumental in putting down the rebellion. They had foreign assistance in this work, the most important of which was that given by an American, Frederick Townsend Ward, of Salem, Massachusetts, who was the organizer and, until his death, the commander of the famous "Ever Victorious Army."

General Ward was born in 1831. He came of a well-known family and had a number of distinguished progenitors. One had been a commissioned officer at the siege of Louisburg and had served with Wolfe in the attack on Quebec. Others had done their share in the War of the Revolution. His immediate forbears were followers of the sea. His father for a time was master of a ship, but later in New York became a ship broker; and it was through the services of the father that the imperial government of China obtained certain vessels and munitions needed in the struggle with the

T'ai P'ings. General Ward was a born soldier. He tried to obtain a cadetship at West Point, but failed. He then took up his father's profession and at sixteen years of age was second mate of the *Hamilton,* a clipper ship out of New York, bound for China. In the years immediately following he made voyages to many parts of the world, including other visits to China. He is believed to have been with Garibaldi in some of his revolutionary enterprises in South America, but in 1859 he arrived once more in China and at once became interested in the efforts of the imperial government to suppress the T'ai P'ing Rebellion.

A banking house whose name was Ta Chi (Ta Ki) was supporting Li Hung-chang in his efforts against the rebels. The head of the firm was Yang Tzu-t'ang, and to him Ward procured a letter of introduction. Ward proposed to raise a small force of foreigners and capture the city of Sungkiang some thirty miles from Shanghai, and make it a base from which to conduct further operations to clear the region around Shanghai of the marauding rebel bands. For the capture of Sungkiang Ward was to receive Tls. 30,000. The banker agreed. Ward enlisted a company of idle or deserting seamen who were eager for adventure, and made an attack on Sungkiang which failed. This was in 1860. He at once realized that he could not hope to accomplish much with such a motley band. He discharged them and enlisted about one hundred Filipinos. With these he succeeded in taking the city. His success at once brought volunteers from various quarters. Seamen deserted their ships to join Ward. A larger force was organized and an attack made upon Ch'ingp'u (Ts'ingp'u), an important town. This failed for want of artillery. A second attack also failed. On his return to Shanghai he was arrested by Admiral Hope of the British navy who was angered by the desertion of some of his seamen who had joined Ward. The foreign powers were still maintaining a neutral attitude and Ward was accused before the American Consul of violating the neutrality of his government. He defended himself with the plea that he was a naturalized Chinese. This was an impossibility in those days. Ward was confined on board the *Chesapeake,* but when allowed on deck for exercise, leaped overboard and swam ashore. He finally decided to drill a Chinese force. This he

did. The Chinese proved to be apt pupils and made excellent soldiers. It was this force that under Ward's command became known as the "Ever Victorious Army." It became the chief reliance of the imperial government in its struggle with the T'ai P'ings.

In 1861 Admiral Hope was more friendly. He went up to Sungkiang and reviewed Ward's army. He was much pleased with it and promised his support. In February, 1862, Ward was given this support not alone by the British but also by the French, in his efforts to clear the vicinity of Shanghai of rebels to the thirty mile limit. Again in May he received such support, and on the 6th of that month the French Admiral Protet was killed in the engagement. At last, on the 13th of the same month, Ward succeeded in capturing Ch'ingp'u (Tsingp'u). Later in the year it was recaptured by the rebels, and then taken again by Ward in August. On September 20, 1862 he led an assault against the town of Tzuchi (Tzeki) where he was mortally wounded. The town was taken, but Ward died that night.

His services were greatly appreciated by the Chinese government, which hastened to confer posthumous honors upon him. He was given the rank of Brigadier General, and an Imperial Edict directed that temples should be erected for the worship of his spirit at Sungkiang and at Ningpo. The temple at Sungkiang still stands in the southeastern part of the city just beside the drill ground where he organized his "Ever Victorious Army." There at stated intervals the representatives of the Manchu government made offerings to his valiant soul as long as that dynasty lasted. His loss was deplored by Li Hung-chang, who had charge of military operations in that region. Ward's lieutenant, Burgevine, proved unsatisfactory, and on March 25, 1863, Major Charles George Gordon was permitted by the British government to take the command. He retained the post for a little more than a year, but resigned in May 1864. He was much put out by the perfidy of Li, who put to death the T'ai P'ing leaders who had surrendered Soochow in December 1863 on Gordon's assurance that their lives would be spared. Gordon had been disposed to resign at that time, but thought better of it and continued to serve the Chinese Imperialists through the next five months, in which time further victories were

won. After his resignation the force was disbanded, but the Chinese continued the war for more than a year. In June 1865 the "Heavenly King" committed suicide when he saw that his cause was lost. The next month the city of Nanking was taken by Tseng Kuo-fan and the rebellion came to an end.

External Relations

During the long period of the T'ai P'ing Rebellion, when China was almost torn asunder by civil strife, her foreign relations were also greatly disturbed. The Treaties of 1842, 1843, and 1844 had failed to accomplish all that had been expected of them by Europeans and Americans. The Chinese had signed and ratified the treaties because they had been defeated in war and were unable to help themselves. You cannot make people love you by beating them, and the Chinese were just as hostile to Europeans after the war as they had been before. They ratified the treaties, but they did not exert themselves to execute them. There were a few wise statesmen in the government who realized that treaty obligations had to be discharged if future trouble was to be avoided, but most were bitterly hostile. Of the few wise men, Ch'i-ying (Ki-ying) was chief. He was one of the signers of the Nanking treaty and had negotiated also the Treaty of 1843 with Great Britain, and the Treaties of 1844 with the United States and with France. He showed a friendly disposition and was highly esteemed by the European and American representatives who had dealt with him. He became Viceroy at Canton and exerted himself with considerable skill to preserve good relations with the foreign residents and at the same time to satisfy the unruly populace of Canton. It was he who had induced the Emperor to agree to the Treaty of Nanking, and his imperial master now looked to him to save Peking from further annoyance by the "barbarian." In this delicate task he was continually obstructed by the antiforeign party whose members were always ready to fight with tongue and pen, although they were conspicuous by their absence when real danger came. The five ports had been opened to foreign residence and trade as provided in the treaties, and at all of them but Canton the foreign merchant had been given access to the walled cities served by these ports. The Cantonese

denied the right of the hated "barbarian" to enter within the walls of his city. All foreigners were restricted to the factory suburbs, just as before the war. The Cantonese declared that their city never had been taken by the "foreign devils" and vowed that they never would be allowed to enter its gates. It was quite true that the walled city had never been taken, for the officials had always yielded to foreign demands in time to save the city from capture; but the ignorant populace seemed to believe that it could not be taken. The right to enter the city of Canton became, therefore, a question of serious importance in the relations between Europeans and Chinese.

A Broken Promise

The High Commissioner, Ch'i-ying, (Ki-ying), admitted that the British had a right under the treaty to enter Canton; but he pleaded for delay on the ground that the people were turbulent and that time was needed to prepare them for the change. The dispute continued for four years, 1843-1846. In 1846 Ch'i-ying issued a proclamation declaring the right of the foreigners to enter the city and calling upon the people to abandon their opposition. The response was a riot that ended in the burning of the Prefect's yamen. Ch'i-ying then persuaded the British to postpone the exercise of the right a little longer. By an agreement of April 1847, the entry was postponed two years. It was a great mistake, for it confirmed the Cantonese in their belief in their prowess. Ch'i-ying was recalled to Peking in 1848 and his place given to a reactionary, Hsü Kuang-ying, who early in the next year memorialized the Throne, declaring that the entry of foreigners into the city of Canton must on no account be permitted. In this opinion he was supported by the Governor of the provinces and other high officials. They held that the promise "lightly given" by Ch'i-ying, if observed, might lead to serious trouble. They reported, too, that they had taken all needed precautions and strengthened the defences both on the coast and inland. The Emperor was much impressed by their statements and praised them for their patriotism, saying that if all the officials along the seaboard and in the various provinces were like these men, the army would be well supported and the Throne with-

out anxiety. A few days later he conferred titles of nobility upon the High Commissioner and the Governor, making Hsü a Viscount and Yeh, the Governor, a Baron. To both he gave the decoration of the Double-eyed Peacock Plume, and upon the leaders of the antiforeign gentry he conferred other honors.[1] In due time he learned that he had been deceived, and visited his wrath upon the foolish officers. The British government was not prepared to take up at once the challenge thus offered, and the High Commissioner was emboldened to report to the Throne that the British government was desirous of avoiding trouble in China.

Antiforeign Riots

While the dispute over the right to enter Canton was going on, a number of attacks were made upon foreign residents. They began, in fact, immediately after the signing of the Nanking treaty and they continued at intervals up to the time of the second war with Great Britain in 1858. For the most part they occurred in the vicinity of Canton, but there were a few at other ports. One of the disturbances was caused by the erection of a flagstaff in front of the office of the American Consul. At the top of the staff was a weather vane in the shape of an arrow. An epidemic of sickness that broke out about this time was charged to the arrow which was supposed to have injured the *feng-shui*. This is a term embracing all those occult influences that determine the luck of a locality and thus affect the welfare of the inhabitants. A number of Americans were attacked by a mob and, in defending themselves, killed a Chinese. This was in 1844, while Cushing was negotiating a treaty with Ch'i-ying. Cushing seized the opportunity to exercise jurisdiction over the accused Americans, and thus prepared the way for the insertion in the treaty of the article that so explicitly provides for extraterritoriality. Another outrage was the deliberate murder of six young Englishmen who had gone by boat into the country and then landed for a walk. In defending themselves they killed two of their assailants. Ch'i-ying was prompt in punishment. He took possession of the village in which the assault

[1] See the *Tung Hua Lu, Taokuang,* 59:3 and 4.

was committed and decapitated four of the guilty without any unnecessary delay. He argued that since two of the attackers had been slain by the Englishmen, four more lives were all that the law demanded—six lives for six. Ch'i-ying, however, was regarded with ill favor in Peking, and when he had been removed in disgrace it was not so easy to obtain justice from his antiforeign successor. Friction, indeed, was increased by the studied insolence of Commissioner Hsü and Governor Yeh, who adopted a policy of delay and nonintercourse.

Trouble with Portugal

Mention has been made in an earlier chapter of the manner in which the Portuguese obtained permission to settle at Macao. Attempt was made in 1844 to obtain for Macao a status similar to that of Hongkong, but China had refused, and had refused even to exempt the port from payment of ground rent. China maintained a customhouse there and exercised jurisdiction over the inhabitants through a magistrate stationed there. The establishment of Hongkong as a free port greatly injured Macao. In 1849, therefore, when China was busily occupied in resisting British demand for a right to enter Canton, the Portuguese representative at Macao, Joao Maria Ferreira do Amaral, ordered the Chinese Commissioner of Customs to close the customhouse and declared Macao a free port. The Chinese closed the customhouse but removed it to Whampoa; and Chinese merchants began at once to emigrate from Macao and settle at Whampoa. Macao's trade instead of increasing became less than ever. The Portuguese authorities thereupon forbade the Chinese residents to leave without a license on pain of having their property confiscated; but they continued to go. In August 1849 Governor Amaral was attacked and killed while out riding. The Viceroy at Canton reported the arrest and execution of the murderer, and stated that the guilty man in his confession had excused his conduct on the ground of a gross offence by Governor Amaral, who had constructed a carriage road outside the barrier and, in doing so, had leveled the graves of the murderer's ancestors. In the eyes of his ancestor-worshiping fellow countrymen his act was one of filial

piety.[2] Portugal seized the opportunity in reprisal to assert her sovereignty over Macao and has maintained it ever since, but it was not recognized by China until 1887.

Russian Encroachment

Matters grew worse from year to year. The Chinese became increasingly hostile and foreign residents more and more resentful. Great Britain took the lead in opposing the arrogance of China, but the outbreak of the Crimean War compelled the postponement of an appeal to arms. China, too, was fully occupied with the T'ai P'ing Rebellion. The Tsar of Russia had demanded of Turkey certain guarantees for the protection of Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Upon the Sultan's refusal to give them, war broke out in 1853, and Great Britain, France and Sardinia all joined Turkey in attacking Russia. Muravieff, a young military officer, was appointed Governor of Eastern Siberia and directed by the Tsar to make a study of the Amur region. It was feared that Great Britain and France might attack Russian possessions on the Pacific. Muravieff, with the approval of the Tsar, decided to use the Amur River for the transport of munitions, equipment and other supplies to Kamchatka and other places on the coast. Accordingly he merely notified the Chinese that as Russia was at war with Great Britain and France, he would be compelled to use this waterway. He added that such strengthening of Russian possessions on the Pacific would serve as a protection to Manchuria against the British and French. The Chinese, being incensed against Great Britain, made only a mild protest. The Russian Fur Trading Company had a number of vessels in that region which were requisitioned for the transport. The Amur Valley, as we have already seen, was recognized in the Treaty of 1689 as belonging to China, and, had Muravieff made a formal request of China for permission to employ the Amur River for military purposes, he would undoubtedly have been refused. The Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs very nearly prevented the success of Muravieff's plan by asking China to agree that the left bank of the Amur should be the

[2] See the *Tung Hua Lu, Taokuang,* 59:11.

boundary between Manchuria and Siberia. Fortunately, for Muravieff, the Chinese misunderstood and thought the correspondence related to the Gorbitza, which was part of the boundary, and thus Muravieff was left undisturbed.

The fear of an attack upon Russian Pacific possessions by the British and French was well-grounded. An allied fleet in September 1854 attacked Petropavlosk in Kamchatka, and was surprised to find it strongly fortified. The British and French were compelled to withdraw after suffering considerable loss. The next year, however, Muravieff withdrew the whole colony to a location just inside the mouth of the Amur, where a town was founded called Nikolaievsk after the then reigning Tsar. The allied fleet returned the following year, but failed to discover the Russians, and the war shortly afterward came to an end. The Russians continued to use the Amur as a channel of trade, and at Muravieff's request, the Chinese sent a deputation to the new settlement to talk about the boundary. He pointed out that the lofty mountains to the north made communication of Russia with her coast possessions all but impossible unless they could be permitted to use the Amur. The mandarins objected, but he suggested that they should refer the matter to Peking, which they did. This gave him time, which was utilized in the establishment of stations on the left bank of the river. To Chinese protests, reply was made that, without such stations, it was difficult to carry on the traffic; and again the Chinese officials were asked to refer matters to Peking. Thus tactfully Muravieff kept putting off the definite adjustment of the question.

In the meantime, China was rapidly drifting into war with Great Britain and France and could not afford to antagonize Russia. The opening of five ports in China to Western trade, as was done by the Treaties of 1842 and 1844, had caused a considerable decline in the trade that for centuries had been carried on over the land routes across Mongolia and Siberia; and Muravieff saw that it would be necessary for Russia to participate in any negotiations for further privileges in China. At his suggestion Admiral Putiatin was appointed plenipotentiary for this purpose and was directed to proceed to Peking by the overland route. When the Admiral reached Kiakhata in 1857, the Chinese authorities there refused per-

mission for him to go across Mongolia and declared that China had nothing to discuss with Russia. The belligerent Admiral wanted to fight, but Muravieff soothed his feelings and carried him on to Aigun, where the mandarins in charge again refused to permit him to go to Peking across Manchuria. Muravieff preserved patience and sent the Admiral by sea to Shanghai where he met the representatives of the United States, Great Britain and France.

Muravieff continued his colonization of the left bank of the Amur, and when the Chinese protested, he reminded them that there was a Russian plenipotentiary in China with whom they ought to confer. But they preferred to talk with Muravieff. At last, with feigned reluctance he consented, and proposed that the boundary between Siberia and Manchuria should be the left bank of the Amur as far as its junction with the Ussuri and that this river should be the boundary as far as its source. This would give all eastern Siberia as far south as Korea to Russia. The Chinese finally agreed to the Amur boundary and left the region east of the Ussuri to be discussed later. The treaty was signed on May 28, 1858, a month before the Russian Treaty of Tientsin was signed. During the second war with Great Britain the Russians proposed to use their good offices with the British and French, and made such a good impression on the Chinese government that in 1860 the region east of the Ussuri was also granted to Russia. Thus, without striking a blow, Russia by diplomacy alone secured the rich valley north of the Amur and the valuable port of Vladivostok.

Treaty Revision

The American Treaty of 1844 provided in Article XXXIV that at the expiration of twelve years from the date of the convention revision might be undertaken, should experience show it to be desirable. The French treaty had a similar clause. No such provision was included in the British treaties, but there was a favored nation clause that made it possible for the British also to ask for such revision; and since the Treaty of Nanking was dated 1842, revision became possible for them in 1854. Relations were so unsatisfactory that all

three nations were determined to obtain a revision of the treaties.

Yeh Ming-ch'en, the Governor of Kuangtung, who had been decorated for his antiforeign attitude, became Viceroy of the Two Kuang Provinces in 1852 and was also appointed High Commissioner of Foreign Affairs. As long as Ch'i-ying had represented the imperial government at Canton, it had been possible for the Commissioners of foreign states to discuss directly with him all matters that concerned their relations with China. His successor, Hsü Kuang-chin, was less amiable and showed himself reluctant to hold intercourse with foreign representatives, but he did receive them when important matters required it. Yeh was altogether hostile. He declined steadfastly to see any of the Commissioners, and, while nominally charged with the conduct of foreign relations, did all that he could to prevent intercourse. Humphrey Marshall was the American Commissioner in 1852. On his arrival, he asked to see the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs. Yeh replied that he was very busy, but that as soon as he had leisure he would appoint an auspicious day for the interview. The auspicious day never came. Marshall went north and called upon the Viceroy at Nanking. The Viceroy received him politely, but said he had no authority to treat of foreign affairs, and directed him to call upon Yeh. Marshall accordingly went back to Canton and tried again to see the only official authorized to treat with him; and again Yeh postponed the interview. When Marshall's term expired, he asked that he might pay his respects before quitting the country. Yeh was still too busy to receive him, but sent an insolent message to the effect that he hoped Marshall had been enjoying tranquillity.[3] McLane, who succeeded Marshall in 1854, was equally unsuccessful; Yeh was still busy. British and French representatives were treated in the same manner. McLane for the United States and Sir John Bowring for Great Britain, each provided with a ship of war, then went to Taku, accompanied by a Secretary of the French Legation. Peking was already informed of their desire for a revision of the treaties. After several days' delay, two subordinate officials received the envoys in a tent on the muddy bank of the river and communicated to them the government's refusal to grant their request.

[3] Jno. W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 213.

An Affront and an Apology

In this same year an incident that occurred at Shanghai illustrated the inability of the Chinese to observe the treaties. An American pilot boat, flying the American flag, was halted by a shot from a Chinese man-of-war. The pilot and six Chinese were arrested and carried off on the charge of smuggling. The pilot boat had as ballast a lot of cannon balls which the Chinese suspected were intended for the T'ai P'ing rebels. The American consul at once protested against the forcible removal of men from an American vessel and the hauling down of the American flag. He reminded the Chinese that the treaty required them to notify him of their suspicions as to the Chinese aboard and to ask for their delivery to the local authorities, and that as for the American pilot, he could be tried only in an American court. He demanded an apology and a salute for the flag. While the Chinese hesitated, an American man-of-war drew up alongside the Chinese vessel and cleared for action. The arrested men were at once released, an apology was made and the flag duly saluted.[4] A somewhat similar incident in 1856 at Canton led to the second war with Great Britain.

The Lorcha *Arrow*

In October, 1856, a lorcha, that is, a vessel partly foreign and partly Chinese in build, called the *Arrow,* on a voyage from Macao to Hongkong, and flying the British flag, was seized by the Chinese authorities, who pulled down her flag and carried off twelve of the crew, charging them with piracy.

The *Arrow* was registered at Hongkong, but her license had expired while on the voyage to Macao. It has been held by some that she had no right to fly the flag after the expiration of the license;[5] but it was the rule that if this happened while absent from port, the license would hold good until such vessel's return. In any case, the Chinese were ignorant of the fact that the license had expired, and their method of arrest was in direct violation of the provisions of the treaty.

[4] Morse, *op. cit.,* p. 421.

[5] See Justin McCarthy, *History of Our Own Times,* vol. ii, p. 10.

The British Consul at once demanded the release of the men. The Viceroy, Yeh, after delay, was willing to comply only in part with the British demands. After due warning, on October 23rd, 24th, and 25th, the forts guarding the approaches to Canton were attacked and captured by the British. October 26th was a Sunday and the British rested. On the 27th and 28th they fired on the Viceroy's yamen and on the 29th marched through it. But the stubborn Yeh still refused to yield. Other forts were taken and a desultory warfare was kept up for some weeks. The British had to wait for reinforcements which were delayed first by war between India and Persia and secondly by the Sepoy Rebellion that followed. Lord Elgin was on his way to China to assume charge of affairs there, but upon arrival at Singapore, at the request of the Indian Government, diverted his troops to India and thus delayed action in China.

During this period of delay the Americans also became involved in a quarrel with the Canton authorities. For some unknown reason, probably the failure of military officers to recognize the American flag, the troops in the Barrier Forts, in the river just below Canton, twice fired upon our boats. On November 15, 1856 they thus killed an American seaman. Commodore Armstrong ordered Captain Foote to demolish the forts. He did so, attacking on the 20th and 21st of the same month. The walls of the forts and one hundred and seventy-six guns were destroyed and the place was occupied. Commissioner Yeh took the matter very coolly and wrote to Dr. Parker, the American Commissioner: "There is no matter of strife between our respective nations. Henceforth let the design of the flag which American ships employ be clearly defined and inform me what it is beforehand. This will be the verification of the friendly relations which exist between the two countries." [6] The report of the incident by the military officer throws the blame upon Yeh, the Viceroy and High Commissioner, and casts a side light upon Yeh's policy of non-intercourse. An imperial rescript of January 1857 contains the following: "Some time ago Yeh Ming-ch'en reported that certain Americans had requested permission to open their hatches and trade. Yeh Ming-ch'en granted the request, an act that was much appreciated by the Americans. Now comes

[6] S. W. Williams, *Middle Kingdom,* vol. ii, p. 639, note.

Mu-ko-te-no with a report, saying that Americans had asked an interview with Yeh Ming-ch'en, which he had stubbornly refused. This in turn resulted in the capture of all the forts by the Americans." [7]

French Hostility

In the meantime, the French government had found a serious cause of complaint against China in the murder of Père Chapdelaine, a French missionary in the province of Kuangsi. After the signing of the Treaty of 1844 with France, the Emperor, Taokuang, had been induced to issue an edict proclaiming the toleration of Christianity. A later one in 1846 directed that property of the Roman Catholic Church that had been confiscated under the persecuting edicts of the preceding century, should be restored. Père Chapdelaine, relying upon these edicts, had gone far up into Kuangsi Province in 1853 to the county town of Hsilin (Silin). He had been well received by the people and also by the local magistrate. But a successor to the magistrate had shown himself very antiforeign. He had had the missionary arrested and then had tortured him in an effort to make him confess that he was connected with the rebellious movement at that time in progress in the province. After torture, the missionary in 1856 was beheaded and his body thrown to the dogs. Such a crime committed by the man charged with the preservation of peace and good order and responsible for the protection promised in the Imperial Edict, was one that could not be lightly passed over. Baron Gros was sent out by the French government to obtain satisfaction from China.

Capture of Canton

While Lord Elgin was awaiting reinforcements from India, he consulted with Baron Gros and together they decided that a settlement with Canton could be undertaken at once. There were several British and French men-of-war in the vicinity. With sailors from these fleets and the assistance of fifteen hundred marines that had arrived, making all together a force of more than five thousand men, they believed that they could enforce their demand for a more faithful execution of the

[7] *Tung Hua Lu: Hsienfeng* 48:6.

treaties, including the opening of the walled city of Canton to the entrance of foreigners. Baron Gros added a demand for an indemnity to the family of the murdered missionary, Chapdelaine. Yeh was as stubborn as ever and refused all the demands. On the 28th of December, 1857, Canton was bombarded and on the 29th the troops entered the city. On January 4, 1858, the Viceroy and High Commissioner, Yeh Ming-ch'en, was arrested and a few days later deported to Calcutta. Even there he maintained his studied attitude of contempt for foreigners and all their works. When asked if he did not find it interesting to travel abroad, he replied that a man "with the Thirteen Classics in his stomach" did not need to go abroad to learn anything. He died in exile in 1859.

After the capture of Canton, the British and French representatives organized a provisional government with the Chinese Governor as executive, but acting under the direction of a committee of Europeans. The British Consul, Mr., afterward Sir, Harry Parkers was a member of this committee, and since he spoke and read Chinese, the administration rested almost wholly in his hands. A search among the papers of the Viceroy seemed to furnish proof that the Court at Peking was really responsible for the irritating policy that was being followed at Canton. On the other hand, the records at Peking show that the attitude of the Court was determined in great measure by representations from Canton which were often misleading. The correspondence of the former High Commissioner, Ch'i-ying, was also read. Slighting references to the foreign representatives were thought to imply that his attitude of friendliness toward foreigners was merely assumed. This subsequently led to a tragic incident.

The Tientsin Treaties

The first American Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China was William B. Reed of Pennsylvania, who was appointed in April 1857. In February of the following year, Lord Elgin, Baron Gros, Count Putiatin and Mr. Reed consulted together as to the best course to pursue. The British and French were prepared to use military measures, but the American and Russian Commissioners were restricted to the use of peaceable means to carry out their

instructions. All were agreed that direct intercourse with Peking was essential to friendly relations. It was accordingly arranged that each should send a note to Peking to the Ministry charged with the conduct of foreign affairs.

The notes drawn were similar but not identical in their contents, and asked for the appointment of Commissioners to treat with the foreign representatives who would await reply at Shanghai. They were sent by the hands of Secretaries of Legation who delivered them on February 25, 1858 to the Governor of Kiangsu at Soochow. A reply was received, not from Peking but from the Nanking Viceroy on March 25, communicating the information received from Peking to the effect that the foreign representatives should return to Canton and treat with the new High Commissioner, Huang, who had just been appointed. Such an indirect reply to a formal note to the Peking government was a violation of the provisions of the treaties and was returned by the American, British and Russian representatives. The French envoy protested but kept the letter.[8]

It was plain that without pressure applied in the north no satisfaction could be had. The four envoys thereupon decided to go to Taku at the mouth of the Hai Ho[9] and make another request there for the appointment of duly authorized Commissioners to discuss treaty revision. The notes were sent on April 24th. A Commissioner was appointed, but he lacked necessary powers and absolutely refused to consider at all such demands as the residence of foreign envoys at Peking or the opening of rivers to trade or the payment of indemnities for losses already incurred through the military operations and antiforeign riots in the south.

The British and French envoys were accompanied by several men-of-war. On May 20th they notified the Chinese Commissioner of their intention to go up to Tientsin and await there a properly accredited officer with whom they would negotiate a revision of the treaties. On the same day a demand was made for the surrender of the forts at the mouth of the river. The demand was refused and the forts were taken. The arrival of the foreign envoys at Tientsin startled

[8] Cordier, *Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales.*

[9] Commonly referred to as the Pei Ho. The Pei Ho unites with other streams at Tientsin to form the Hai Ho.

the Court at Peking, and Commissioners with full powers were promptly sent down to treat with them.

Two Chinese plenipotentiaries arrived at Tientsin early in June, and after formal calls upon their foreign colleagues, were ready to negotiate, when on June 7th or 8th a third Chinese Commissioner put in an appearance. This was Ch'i-ying, the former High Commissioner at Canton, who had assisted in negotiating the Nanking Treaty and the Treaties of 1843 and 1844. After a long period in retirement he had just been restored to favor. The Emperor, no doubt, recalled the charges that had been preferred against him at Canton, that he was too friendly with the "foreign devils." Perhaps His Imperial Majesty was now hoping that Ch'i-ying's friendship with Europeans would enable him to obtain a reduction in the demands of the foreign envoys. When he made his call upon the British Mission, he came in with the air of an old friend but met with a very chilly reception. Mr. Lay, the British interpreter, presented him with the copy of the report that had been found in the Viceroy's yamen at Canton, in which the former High Commissioner had excused his supposed friendliness with Europeans on the ground that by such conduct he was trying to "soothe" and "bridle" and "deceive the barbarians and hold them at a distance." Mr. Lay's conduct in thus humiliating the old man in the presence of his Chinese associates seems inexcusably cruel. Perhaps Ch'i-ying's professions of friendship had been insincere; but, on the other hand, the report was sent at a time when he was being called to account for his association with the "barbarians" and was in danger of degradation and death. He was, in fact, removed from office and degraded in rank, but his life had been spared. Under the circumstances one would think that his offense might have been overlooked. The result of Mr. Lay's action was that Ch'i-ying, crushed in spirit, stole away to Peking, where he was presented by the Emperor with the silken cord. Obedient to the signal, he hanged himself.

Provisions of the Treaties

The four treaties were signed in June 1858, and since each contained a favored nation clause, the privileges obtained by any one of them were to be enjoyed by all. Following the

signature of the treaties a joint commission met at Shanghai to revise the tariff. This was a specific tariff, based upon a duty of five per cent *ad valorem*. Prices had greatly altered since 1843, and the specific duties had become a little more than five per cent *ad valorem* and were reduced to that amount.

In one respect the American envoy had violated his instructions. He had been told to make known to the Chinese government that the United States did not seek the legalization of the opium traffic. A provision of the Treaty of 1844 forbade Americans to engage in the trade. This provision it was intended to retain in the revised treaty, but Reed omitted it. Not only so, but he urged Lord Elgin to endeavor to have the ban upon the import of opium removed and have the drug put on the duty list. This Lord Elgin succeeded in doing. In the new tariff schedule, opium was removed from the contraband list and was admitted upon payment of a duty of thirty taels a picul.[10]

A remarkable provision of the American treaty was that in Article I which reads: "If any other nation should act unjustly or oppressively, the United States will exert their good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement of the question, thus showing their friendly feelings." The clause was inserted by the Chinese, not by the Americans, and illustrates a characteristic trait of Chinese diplomacy to prevent joint action of the Western Powers by detaching one or more from the whole body and using the separatists against the others. The clause has been appealed to on several occasions, the latest being at the Peace Conference at Paris in 1919 when Japanese demands relating to Shantung were under discussion.

Another stipulation of the American Treaty of Tientsin that deserves mention is that which grants religious toleration, enabling the missionaries to carry on their work without hindrance and protecting Chinese converts from persecution on account of their faith. Dr. S. Wells Williams, the interpreter attached to the American Legation, was responsible for the insertion of this Article.[11] One of the principal objects held in view in asking for a revision of the treaties was an extension of commercial intercourse by the opening of more

[10] A picul equals 133 1/3 lbs. avoirdupois.
[11] Article XXIX.

cities and towns to foreign residence and trade. It was especially desired to have access to the great cities on the Yangtze River. The American Commissioners had been urging for some years the grant of a right to navigate the rivers of China. Reed did not press the request, for he felt that Americans had less reason than others to ask for such a privilege since our laws do not permit foreign vessels to engage even in coast trade. But the British did take up the matter and secured the opening of several cities on the Yangtze. The additional ports on the coast and river that were opened were Newchuang in Manchuria, Tengchou in Shantung (later changed to Chefoo), Hankow, Kiukiang, Chinkiang, Nanking, Taiwan, Tamsui, Swatow and Kiungchow. The Supplementary Convention of 1860 opened Tientsin also. Taiwan and Tamsui are in Formosa, now belonging to Japan. Kiungchow is on the island of Hainan. The four Yangtze ports, Hankow, Kiukiang, Nanking and Chinkiang, could not be opened at once owing to the fact that the navigation of the river was prevented by the progress of the T'ai P'ing Rebellion. Nanking, in fact, was not opened until 1899.

The most important provision was that in the British treaty which stipulated that the British envoy should have the right to reside at Peking and deal directly with high ministers of state. The other envoys had also urged this demand but had yielded to Chinese representations, the American compromising on an agreement that a representative of the United States might visit Peking not oftener than once a year and never for any trivial matter of business. By the favored nation clause all four powers obtained the benefit of Lord Elgin's persistence.

Indemnities were demanded by the British and French, four million taels for the former and two millions for the latter. The American envoy took advantage of the opportunity to negotiate a separate convention for the payment by China of certain claims of American citizens who had suffered loss of property through the riots and military operations in the south. The sum agreed upon was $735,238. After all claims had been adjusted, there still remained to China's credit a considerable sum, which, with accrued interest, amounted in 1885 to $453,400. By Act of Congress in the year last named this sum was returned to China.

Renewal of Hostilities

One would think that the bitter experience of the Chinese in their vain struggle with Western Powers would convince them of the folly of insisting upon their own superiority and denying national equality to other countries. But the reactionary Manchus at Peking were unwilling to yield. It had been stipulated in the British, French and Russian treaties that ratifications should be exchanged at Peking, and the Americans enjoyed the same right through their favored nation clause. Yet, upon the arrival of the British and French Ministers at Shanghai in 1859, they found the Chinese Commissioners awaiting them there and assuming that the exchange would be made there instead of at Peking. Reed, the American Minister, had resigned in December 1858 and had been replaced by the appointment of John E. Ward of Georgia. Lord Elgin, the British High Commissioner, had returned to England and his brother, the Hon. Frederick W. A. Bruce, had been appointed first Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Great Britain to China. He had been associated with Lord Elgin as his secretary in the negotiations of the Tientsin Treaty, and was familiar with the situation. Baron Gros had also returned to Europe and M. Bourboulon had become the French Minister to China, having for some years preceding been the French representative at Canton. The three Ministers declined to enter into any negotiations at Shanghai and advised the Chinese Commissioners that they would repair to Peking to effect the exchanges as provided in the treaties. The Chinese raised many objections, but the foreign envoys were inflexible and sailed for the north, arriving at Taku at the mouth of the Hai Ho on June 20, 1859. The American Minister had a frigate and a chartered steamboat at his service. The French had a frigate and a gunboat. The British representative was accompanied by a respectable naval force,—one ship of the line, two frigates and thirteen gunboats. Upon arrival at Taku, the Ministers found that the Russian representative, General Ignatieff, had already effected the exchange of ratifications at Peking and was located at that capital. They discovered, too, that the forts at the mouth of the Hai Ho had been greatly strengthened and the river closed by a boom and a heavy chain. They were informed by the Chinese authori-

ties that they were expected to land at Peitang, about ten miles farther up the coast. The British and French Ministers refused to take the route suggested and insisted upon going up to Tientsin.

Now Tientsin was not among the ports opened by the Treaty of 1858, nor was there any treaty provision authorizing the navigation of the Hai Ho by ships of war. Neither was it necessary to pass through Tientsin to reach Peking. The route via Peitang, in fact, was one commonly used by missions to Peking. The memorials and edicts of this period do not betray any consciousness on the part of the Peking government of intention to give offence. On the contrary, the orders were explicit to avoid any pretext for a quarrel. Seng-ko-lin-ch'in, the Mongol commander of the Chinese forces in the north, reported the arrival of the foreign Ministers at Taku and stated that he had sent the card of the Viceroy, Hung-fu, and given directions as commanded to do. The Chinese Commissioners at Shanghai had sent word immediately to Peking of the sailing of the foreign representatives for Tientsin and had reported that they too were starting north but would necessarily be delayed, for they were traveling by land. Orders were given to ask the foreign vessels to change their anchorage to Peitang, and due preparation was made to provide the officers and crews with provisions. It was hoped, indeed, that the exchange of ratifications might be made at Peitang, but if the foreign Ministers insisted on going to Tientsin, they were to be escorted to that city by land. They were to be requested not to take a large military force with them lest the countryside should be alarmed.[12] It is usually explained that the objection of the British and French to taking the route via Peitang was that it was the route taken by tributaries. That was quite true; but the Earl of Macartney had gone up to Peking by river and yet had been announced as a bearer of tribute. The Chinese had no intention of paying any more honor to the Commissioners than was absolutely necessary, but it does not appear that they considered the strengthening of the defences of their capital as a cause of offence.

The British and French Ministers, however, considered the barring of the river as an insult to be avenged and gave orders

[12] See *Tung Hua Lu, Hsienfeng* 57:2.

to their naval forces to remove the obstructions. They made the attempt and were fired upon by the forts. An engagement followed, in which the Europeans were badly beaten. Out of the thirteen gunboats of the British, six were put out of commission. Over one-half of the landing force was either killed or wounded. Admiral Hope, himself, was seriously wounded. The two allied Ministers and their escorts had to retire and return to Shanghai to repair their losses and prepare for another attempt.

Seng-ko-lin-ch'in made a report of the affair which did not greatly differ from that given by British writers. He praised the courage of the Chinese defenders, and the Emperor, in response, directed that the names of those who had distinguished themselves should be reported to him for rewards.[13]

The American Attitude

While the British and French were engaged in these hostile operations, the Americans looked on with great interest. They were on a peaceful mission; it was their duty to maintain strict neutrality; but Commodore Tatnall, commanding the *Powhatan* which was carrying the American Minister, was unable to seem indifferent to the severe defeat that his British cousins were suffering. In obedience to his orders the chartered steamer that accompanied him was directed to tow into action some British launches that were carrying marines to the assistance of their comrades. The steamer also carried off a number of the British wounded. Commodore Tatnall himself, on learning that the British Admiral Hope had been wounded, crossed over in his gig under heavy fire to visit the Admiral. In doing so his gig narrowly escaped destruction and his coxswain was killed. When called to account for his unneutral conduct, he replied: "Blood is thicker than water." But however much one may respect the motive that prompted him, his action was a real embarrassment to the American minister, for the Chinese did not fail to bring the violation of neutrality to his attention.

Minister Ward saw no reason to refuse the Chinese request to land at Peitang. From that place his party was conveyed

[13] *Ibid.*, 57:3.

in carts to the Pei Ho some forty miles away. There they found boats waiting them in which they completed their journey. On reaching Peking, the Minister discovered that he could not deliver the President's letter to the Emperor unless he were willing to comply with the etiquette of the Court. The Ministers were authorized to permit him to kneel on one knee instead of making the kotow,[14] but Ward replied: "I kneel only to God and Woman." There was therefore nothing to be done but to return to Peitang. He left the President's letter with a high official and completed the exchange of ratifications at Peitang, on August 16, 1859. Ward remained in China until the autumn of 1860, when at the near approach of civil war in the United States he resigned, went home and entered the Confederate army.

A House Divided

A lack of national solidarity in China has always been, as it still is today, a source of weakness. When the British and French were defeated at Taku, there was great elation in Peking; but at the other end of the empire, in Canton, although that city was notoriously hostile, there was apparently very little notice taken of the event, and certainly no concerted effort to make trouble for the British authorities who were still holding the place. In Shanghai, the Chinese inhabitants not only failed to realize that the two countries were at war, but made appeal to the British and French to assist them in suppressing the T'ai P'ing rebels who had captured city after city, as we have seen, and who, at the time mentioned, were threatening Shanghai. When, in 1860, the allied forces resumed their attack upon the imperial troops in the north, other forces of the allies were aiding the Imperialists at Shanghai in repelling the T'ai P'ings. This disposition of the Chinese people to place local safety above national welfare has been shown in more recent times, notably during the China-Japan War of 1894 and during the Boxer rising of 1900. It was shown, too, in the advance of the British and French to Peking in 1860, when a corps of 2,500 Cantonese coolies

[14] Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, vol. ii, pp. 669, 670. Dr. S. Wells Williams was one of the interpreters who accompanied Ward and was a witness of the occurrence.

served the British troops in the transport of munitions and other supplies.

The Capture of Peking

Communications were slow between the East and West in those days, and a whole year had to pass after the defeat of the British and French at Taku before the needed reinforcements could arrive for the European allies. In the meantime, relations between the British and French had become somewhat strained over divergent policies regarding the war between Sardinia and Austria. Nevertheless, the two powers continued to coöperate in China, and in 1860 both sent back to China the special ambassadors, Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, who had negotiated the Treaties of 1858. The British continued to hold Canton, strengthened their garrisons at Hongkong and Shanghai and reoccupied the Chusan Archipelago. They reached Taku with 7 frigates, 143 transports, and 34 small vessels and a landing force of more than 10,000 troops. The French landed 6,300 men. Both the allied forces reached Peitang on July 30, 1860. The Imperial Court was duly informed and was in a panic. This is reflected in the official history of the period. The Mongol Prince in command of the Chinese army, Seng-ko-lin-ch'in, on August 13th reported to the Throne the defeat of his army the day before. On the 14th the town of Tangku was taken, and on the 16th the Emperor wrote a personal letter to Seng-ko-lin-ch'in, begging him to make the men in the forts at Taku realize that the government depended upon them. He expressed fear that the capital itself might be taken, in which he anticipated the event. He bade his general resist to the utmost and commanded him tremblingly to obey.[15]

The Taku forts were captured on August 21st and by September 5th the allies were in Tientsin. As early as the month of March preceding they had sent communications to the high officials at Peking making a demand for an apology for the attack of Taku, requiring the opening of the river to Tientsin for the national vessels of Great Britain and France, the exchange of ratifications at Peking and an increase of

[15] *Tung Hua Lu, Hsienfeng* 63:8.

the indemnities provided for in the Treaties of 1858. No reply to these letters had been received; but as soon as troops had landed at Peitang, a succession of High Commissioners, increasing in rank, appeared and tried by negotiation to stay the advance of the army. Offers were made to comply in part with the demands of March, but no apology was made for the victory at Taku. When Tientsin was taken, they agreed to every demand, but the Chinese Commissioners could not show plenary powers. Then the march to T'ungchou began.

Violation of Flag of Truce

Lord Elgin depended upon Harry Parkes, afterward Sir Harry Parkes, more than upon any other one man in his communications with the Chinese. Parkes had grown to manhood in China and was familiar with the language and customs of the Chinese. When therefore, after considerable unsatisfactory correspondence, the Chinese plenipotentiaries had signified their acceptance of all the demands of the allied Ministers, Parkes and a number of others were sent forward under a flag of truce on the 18th of September to adjust certain details. They found the Chinese Commissioners quite hostile. Objections were made by them to the taking of an armed escort to Peking by the Ministers, to the demand for an audience of the Emperor, and to the proposed date of the withdrawal of the troops. When Parkes and his party started back to camp they found a large body of Chinese troops stationed near the spot which the Chinese themselves had selected for the British camp. It seemed to be an ambuscade. Parkes and several others returned once more to T'ungchou to remonstrate with the Chinese Commissioners, but obtained no satisfaction. When they neared Chang Chia Wan (Changkiawan), as they were about to pass through the Chinese lines, they found that hostilities had already broken out and they were refused permission to go on. Seng-ko-linch'in himself refused to honor the flag of truce and treated Parkes with great harshness. The whole party with a number of Frenchmen, taken in the same manner, was sent to Peking and imprisoned in the Board of Punishments. There they were kept in close confinement until their enforced release

on October 8th. At that time it was discovered that thirteen out of the twenty-six British, and eight out of the thirteen French, had died of the cruel treatment received.

Flight of the Court

The allied commanders repeatedly demanded the return of the prisoners. The Chinese held them as hostages in the hope of securing better terms of peace. To this the response of the Europeans was a further advance toward Peking. On September 21st they inflicted another defeat upon the Chinese at Pa Li Ch'iao (Palikiao) or Eight Li Bridge. Peking was now at the mercy of the enemy. The Court was at the Summer Palace of Yüan Ming Yüan, a short distance northwest of the city, and panic-stricken. They fled the same day toward the Emperor's hunting lodge at Jehol, four days' journey northeast of the capital.

The Emperor had planned a hunting expedition for the Eighth Moon, intending to visit Mulan far up in the Amur region, and had ordered certain troops and hunters to be sent, some to Kirin and others to Heilung Kiang. These were now diverted to Jehol where they were to attend on the Court.[16] Prince Kung, brother of the Emperor, was left in Peking as plenipotentiary to deal with the foreigners. The day following the flight, the Prince was instructed by an imperial mandate to use his own discretion in making peace; but the next day, as the distance from the foe increased, His Majesty was more ready to give advice and suggested a plan of attack. The barbarians, he said, had better firearms than the Chinese; therefore the Chinese ought to rush in and attack at close quarters when the superiority in firearms would not avail the foe. And he proposed to have troops brought from faraway Hunan and Szechuen in time to save the capital. These troops had a reputation for bravery and were "agile as monkeys." [17] His next day's advice was equally sage: "If the capital is in danger of attack, let Seng-ko-lin-ch'in get around and strike the rear of the foe" so as to draw them off; but if the city has been taken, His Majesty urged that without delay a de-

[16] *Tung Hua Lu, Hsienfeng* 64:6.
[17] *Ibid.*

tachment be sent to guard Ku Pei K'ou, the pass through which he had just fled, for he believed in "safety first."

Destruction of the Summer Palace

When Prince Kung took charge of affairs, he at once removed the foreign prisoners from the foul prison of the Board of Punishments and gave them comfortable quarters in a little temple in the northwestern part of Peking. But he still refused to give them up. The British forces then passed around the city to the north and seized the village of Haitien, near the Summer Palace. The French occupied the palace itself. The palace grounds had a circuit of ten miles. The buildings were wonderfully beautiful and filled with works of art of great value. The troops looted the palace thoroughly. General Montauban, commander of the French contingent, wrote of it: "Nothing in our Europe can give any idea of such luxury, and it is impossible for me to describe its splendors in these few lines, bewildered as I am by the sight of such marvels." [18]

On October 18th these beautiful buildings were all given to the flames. This was intended as part punishment for the violation of the flag of truce and the torture and murder of the prisoners who had been taken under such circumstances. It was also the avenging of the insult to the British Crown, offered in this very spot, in the rude treatment of Lord Amherst in 1816. General Montauban declared the destruction of the Yüan Ming Yüan, as the Summer Palace was called, an act of vandalism, and refused to participate in it, but he did not prevent its being looted by his troops; and Baron Gros' chief objection to the burning of the Summer Palace was that it was not sufficiently severe punishment. He proposed, if negotiations should fail again, to destroy the Imperial Palace in Peking.[19] This would, however, have been an act of still greater vandalism, since the Imperial Palace was a place of greater historic importance and even more beautiful than the Yüan Ming Yüan. But General Montauban was right. The destruction of the Yüan Ming Yüan was an act of vandalism. The barbarism of the Chinese shown in the torture and

[18] Quoted by Morse, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 606. Cordier, *Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales*, p. 353.

[19] Cordier, *Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec les Puissances Occidentales.*

murder of prisoners taken in violation of the rules of war, was not properly avenged by the looting and burning of works of art.

To prevent the storming of the capital, Prince Kung yielded to the demands of the allies and returned the prisoners on October 8th and on the 13th the Anting Gate of Peking in the north wall was surrendered. On October 24th Lord Elgin entered the city in state, and the Convention of Peking was signed at the same time that the ratifications of the Treaty of 1858 were exchanged at the yamen of the Ministry of Rites. The French on the following day with equal ceremony signed their convention and made exchange of the ratification of their treaty.

Provisions of the Convention

In addition to the privilege obtained by the Treaties of 1858, the Convention of 1860 secured the opening of Tientsin as a port for foreign residence and trade. The British Minister was allowed to reside in Peking. The indemnities of 1858 were increased from four million taels to eight million for the British, and from two million to eight million for the French. Kowloon, a point of land opposite the island of Hongkong, was ceded to the British. The French Convention provided that Roman Catholic Christians were to be indemnified for the loss of churches, schools, cemeteries, and for all lands and buildings that had been taken from them. This was enforced even against the innocent owners of land and buildings that had been seized in the early part of the seventeenth century. The Chinese text of this Article contains a clause that is unknown to the French text. It makes it lawful for French missionaries in any of the provinces to lease or buy land and build houses. The clause seems to have been inserted by translators attached to the French Legation. The Chinese denied its validity, but they permitted Roman Catholic missionaries to enjoy the benefit of it, and Protestants claimed and were granted favored nation treatment. An important item of the Convention was the apology of the Emperor for the attack upon the British and French in 1859 by the forts at Taku.

The Treaties of 1858 with the supplementary Conventions of 1860 mark a turning point in the history of China's foreign

relations. The humiliation of the Manchu government was complete. The long struggle of China to enforce her claim to universal dominion was at an end; she had to admit the equality of other nations. She had refused the powers the right to send representatives to Peking; she had now to give them residence there. She had attempted to suppress the vice of opium smoking; now she must permit the drug to be brought in and sold to her people. These concessions wrung from her by defeat in war, added to those made in 1842-44, could not but lessen the respect of the Chinese for their rulers. The prestige of the Manchu was gone. This was the beginning of the end, although that end was to be delayed for half a century.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

Hsienfeng .....A.D. 1851-1861

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CHAPTER XII

THE OLD ORDER CHANGES

Manchu Dynasty, Fourth Period, 1860-1875

As structures once formed never retrace the steps through which they were created, they must either change organically and move on to higher stages or they must succumb to the pressure exerted by surrounding dynamic influences.

—LESTER F. WARD.

The primitive man is conservative in an extreme degree. Even on contrasting higher races with one another, and even on contrasting different classes in the same society, it is observable that the least developed are the most averse to change.

—HERBERT SPENCER.

DEATH OF HSIENFENG

THE Emperor, Hsienfeng, was a dissolute man. His health was already seriously impaired when he fled from the Yüan Ming Yüan in September 1860 and took refuge in his hunting park at Jehol. During his stay there he grew steadily worse in health and died on August 22, 1861, leaving the empire to his only son, a child of five years, whose reign is known as T'ungchih.

THE HOLY MOTHER

The mother of the child Emperor was a concubine who had been known in the palace as the Princess Yi. She belonged to the clan Na-la,[1] which had once given a wife to Nurhachu, the founder of the dynasty. The Princess Yi was the daughter of a Manchu named Hui-cheng, of the Bordered Blue Banner Corps, the lowest in rank of all the banners.[2] She was born in Peking and at the age of seventeen years was selected with a number of other Manchu girls for the harem

[1] *Tung Hua Lu, Hsienfeng* 38:4 b.

[2] There is no truth in the story circulated by the Chinese that she was a slave girl, who through the favor of the Emperor rose to high position. Her family is well-known in Peking.

of the young Emperor, Hsienfeng. Her father at that time was serving as Taot'ai, or Intendant of Circuit, in Anhui Province. He died the same year. The Princess Yi entered the palace as a concubine of the fourth rank, but, as she became a favorite with the Empress dowager, the widow of Taokuang, she was soon promoted to the second rank.

After the birth of her son, the only son of Hsienfeng, she was given the title of "Holy Mother," and at the accession of her son she became "Holy Mother, Empress Dowager." To distinguish her from the principal wife of the deceased Emperor, she was called "The Western Empress Dowager" because she lived in the Western Palace, the Eastern Palace being reserved for the lady of highest rank. Other designations of a flattering character were subsequently added to her title. These honorary appellations were granted in pairs of adjectives from time to time, as important events in her life called for such recognition. Altogether eight pairs were thus added to the original designation of "Holy Mother." The first pair was conferred in the autumn of 1861 shortly after the proclamation of her son's succession. The two words chosen were *Tzu-hsi,* meaning "Compassionate and Fortunate." For this reason she is frequently referred to as the Empress Dowager, Tzu-hsi.[3] The Eastern Empress Dowager, her superior in rank, was honored at the same time with the title *Tzu-an,* "Compassionate and Peaceful," and was generally known as the Empress Dowager, Tzu-an. The two women had been friends from childhood and entered the palace together in 1852. But they were very different in character. Tzu-an was a quiet lady of domestic tastes, who took but little interest in politics; Tzu-hsi was a woman of great natural ability and strong character. When in 1856 she became the mother of the heir to the throne, she acquired great influence at Court and did not hesitate to express her opinions in matters of government, if reports are to be believed, although such conduct was quite contrary to the traditions of the dynasty. Manchu women, however, have always enjoyed more freedom than their Chinese sisters. Tzu-hsi, while still known as the Princess Yi, is regarded by some as having been responsible for much of the antiforeign sentiment in the gov-

[3] Her full title was: Tzu-hsi, Tuan-yu, K'ang-i, Chao-yü, Chuang-ch'eng, Shou-kung, Ch'ing-hsien, Ch'ung-hsi, Sheng Mu, Huang T'ai Hou.

ernment and for the obstructive policy that brought on collision with the British.[4] Shut up in the palace since her marriage, she was ignorant of the outside world and formed her opinions upon the misinformation communicated by self-seeking ministers.

A Conspiracy

Her interference in affairs of state was much disliked by some of the courtiers, particularly the intimates of the Emperor. Three of these, who had been boon companions of His Majesty, determined to relegate her to the seclusion of the harem. They poisoned the mind of the Emperor against her and persuaded him to appoint them to be regents during the minority of his son and to take the child away from Tzu-hsi, the mother, and place him in the care of the wife of one of the conspirators. These three conspirators were Prince Yi, Prince Cheng and an Imperial Clansman, Su-shun. But Tzu-hsi, at the time of the flight from the Summer Palace, had taken possession of the Imperial Seal, and the alleged last will and testament of the dying monarch thus lacked necessary authentication.

Jehol is four days' journey by ordinary cart or palanquin from Peking, but for the funeral cortege of the Emperor a much longer time was needed. Tzu-hsi's plans were made. It was improper for the ladies to accompany the remains of His late Majesty; they would proceed at once and await the coming of the cortege in Peking. She had taken the precaution to have a guard sent to Jehol, drawn from her own clan and commanded by a young officer, Jung-lu, who had been her playmate in youth. This young officer has been accused by scandalmongers of improper relations with his old-time friend. There is probably no foundation for the charge. But he was a devoted friend and loyal adherent throughout his life. On the journey from Jehol to Peking he discovered that the two Empresses were to be assassinated at a lonely spot on the road. In the middle of the night he abandoned the coffin of the dead Emperor and by a hasty march overtook the women and escorted them until they were out of danger.[5]

[4] See Bland and Backhouse, *China under the Empress Dowager,* pp. 11, 12.

[5] For Chinese edicts dealing with the conspiracy, see *Tung Hua Hsü Lu, T'ungchih* i and ii, *Hsienfeng* 11, 9 and 10 Moons, pp. 15, 16, and 17. For accounts in English, see Williams, *Middle Kingdom,* vol. ii, pp. 690-693 and Bland and Backhouse, *op. cit.,* chap. iii; Morse, *op. cit.,* vol. ii, pp. 54-62.

Upon the arrival of the funeral procession in Peking, the three would-be regents were thanked for their services, arrested, tried and condemned to death by the Imperial Clan Court. As a mark of compassion, the two Princes because of their rank were permitted to commit suicide, but Su-shun was publicly executed. Prince Kung, brother of the late Emperor, and the two Empresses were made regents, but Tzu-hsi became the dominant personality in the government. The Eastern Empress, Tzu-an, took no interest in politics. Prince Kung was an able statesman, but when he presumed to act on his own responsibility, Tzu-hsi made him feel the weight of her hand. He fell into disgrace for a time, but, after a brief respite, was restored to favor. Thenceforth the Western Empress was supreme.

The Maritime Customs

The rules of trade adopted in pursuance of the Treaties of 1858 provided that a uniform system in the collection of duties on imports and exports should be enforced at every port.[6] This rule furthermore granted permission to the Superintendent of Foreign Trade to choose citizens or subjects of the treaty powers to assist him in the administration of the customs.[7] This was in effect an approval of an arrangement that had been operating for nearly five years in Shanghai. The Conventions of Peking, moreover, stipulated that the indemnities due the British and French governments were to be paid out of the customs revenues, one-fifth of the receipts to each of the representatives of these governments. As long as payments were to be made a report of the receipts was to be sent to these representatives. The reliability of these reports was assured by the foreign supervision of the customs. The establishment of a foreign inspectorate of customs at Shanghai was one of the important results of the T'ai P'ing Rebellion. On September 7, 1853, the walled city of Shanghai had been captured by rebels, who the same day invaded the foreign settlements and looted the customhouse. Foreign volunteers drove the rebels out of the settlements and thereafter the neutrality of the concessions was proclaimed and maintained.

[6] Rule X.

[7] Morse, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 31 and chap. vii.

Since the imperial government was unable to recover possession of the native city, its representatives could not be allowed to function in a suburb that declared itself neutral. Thus it became impossible for the Chinese Customs authorities to collect the duties on imports and exports at Shanghai. For a time the British and American Consuls required their nationals to give bonds for the future payment of the duties, but their superiors declared that such action was beyond the powers of Consuls. Then the imperial authorities established Customs stations on shipboard in the river, but many vessels of various nationalities loaded in the lower river and escaped payment of duties. This led to protests of unequal treatment. Later, the stations were located inland in the vicinity of Shanghai on two principal routes of commerce. Other protests were made against this measure as violating the treaties. At last an agreement was made for an inspectorate, consisting of representatives of the three principal foreign nations, the United States, Great Britain and France, and this arrangement gave way to the appointment of a single Inspector General, who was chosen from the British Consular Service, which alone could furnish men that could speak and write the Chinese language. Mr. H. N. Lay was the first appointee, but in 1863 he resigned and was succeeded by his assistant, Robert Hart, afterward Sir Robert Hart, under whose wise and efficient management the service continued to function until his death in 1911. In 1898 the British government asked China to agree that the Inspector General should be a British subject as long as British Commerce with China surpassed that of any other country. The request was granted and in 1911 Mr. Aglen, now Sir Francis Aglen, was appointed successor to Sir Robert Hart. The inspectorate was established at Shanghai in 1854. In 1859 foreign supervision of the customs was extended to Canton during the military occupation of that port. In 1860 the inspectorate extended its control to the newly opened port of Swatow, and in 1861 and 1862 the system was brought into operation in all the open ports, as required by the Rules of Trade appended to the Treaties of 1858, just mentioned. Since that time its jurisdiction has extended to all cities and towns where foreigners are allowed to reside and trade, and to certain other places, whose customs revenues are pledged for foreign debts.

Sir Robert Hart won the confidence of the Chinese and for half a century was the trusted adviser of the government on many matters. The Customs Service was organized upon a cosmopolitan basis and attracted to itself young men of all lands, who were carefully selected for their character and education and who were advanced from rank to rank according to their proved fitness. The customs is not merely an agency for the collection of duties on imports and exports, but undertakes many other functions. It has established a national Postal Service, a Public Health Service, surveyed, lighted and buoyed the coast and certain rivers opened to steam navigation, and collected valuable statistics not only upon matters connected with trade but on many other topics of public interest.

The Chinese Foreign Service

One of the chief causes of friction in the early intercourse of the West with China was the unwillingness of the Chinese government to permit the representatives of Western states to deal directly with the high ministers at Peking. The Treaties of 1858-60 obtained three important concessions: the right of foreign states to have representatives stationed at Peking, a pledge that these representatives would not be required to perform any ceremony derogatory to them as representatives of their governments, and the establishment of a responsible ministry to deal with foreign affairs. By the terms of the American Treaty of 1858 the American Minister was to correspond with the Ministry of Rites, which had supervision of Court ceremonial. This was an improvement on the earlier practice which, since all foreign states were regarded as tributaries, charged the Bureau of Dependencies with supervision of such matters. But after the capture of Peking, the Chinese government was forced to establish a Foreign Office. This Office, however, was not given the rank of a ministry until after the settlement of the Boxer troubles in 1901. Following the establishment of foreign legations in Peking, the office for the conduct of foreign relations was known as the Tsungli Yamen, a yamen being distinctly inferior in rank to a *pu* or "ministry." Among the proposals of the American government in 1856, relating to the revision of the treaties,

was one suggesting that China should send representatives abroad to reside in the capitals of the treaty powers. The suggestion was not adopted, however, when the Treaty of 1858 was negotiated.

In 1861 President Lincoln appointed Anson Burlingame of Massachusetts to be American Minister at Peking. He took up his residence in that capital in the summer of 1862 and at once won his way into the respect of the Chinese and the friendship of his colleagues of the diplomatic corps. While he was on leave in the United States in 1865 he was instructed by Secretary Seward to say to the Chinese government upon his return that the American government would be gratified to have a diplomatic representative of China in Washington. He reached Peking on his return in the autumn of 1866, but resigned his post in November 1867. It does not appear how or when he communicated Secretary Seward's suggestion to the officers of the Tsungli Yamen; but when it was known that he was about to retire, Prince Kung, the President of the Yamen, gave him a farewell dinner at which there were expressions of regret made that he was leaving China; and Burlingame was asked to inform the treaty powers of China's sincere desire to be friendly and progressive. During the conversation Wen-siang, one of the most capable ministers of the government, said: "Why will you not represent us officially?" Burlingame did not at first understand that the request was serious, but a few days later a formal proposition was made that he should accept a position as Ambassador to all the Treaty Powers.[8] After due consideration, he accepted the post, as he said, in the interest of his own country and of civilization.[9] Two high officials, one of them a Manchu and the other a Chinese, were associated with him; and two secretaries, one British, the other French, were attached to the Mission. In addition there were some thirty Chinese secretaries and *attachés*. They sailed from Shanghai on February 25, 1868, and some weeks later arrived in San Francisco. The Mission received an enthusiastic welcome in the United States, but there was a misunderstanding of its real purpose. That purpose was stated by Sir Robert Hart:

[8] F. W. Williams, *Anson Burlingame and the First Chinese Mission to Foreign Powers*, p. 89. For edict see *Tung Hua Hsü Lu, T'ungchih* 66, 6th year, 10th Moon, p. 39 b.

[9] Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*, p. 368.

The object with which the Yamen dispatched the Mission, as I understood it at the time, was to cultivate and conserve friendly relations by explaining to each of the Treaty Powers the many difficulties that China cannot fail to experience in attempting to change existing conditions or to introduce novelties; to bespeak forbearance, and to prevent, in so far as possible, any resort to hostile pressure to wring from China concessions for which the Government did not as yet feel itself ready, and to prepare the way generally for the day when China should not merely hear the words of foreign representatives in Peking, but should be able to address each Government in its own Capital through a resident Chinese medium.

So far as newspaper reports go, the object of the Mission has been misinterpreted, and the public have regarded it as promising on the part of China, the immediate performance of those very things which China sent the Mission to explain to the West are so difficult of performance.[10]

Professor F. W. Williams says of the enterprise that it "was misunderstood by Western people and that the expectations it aroused were greatly exaggerated." Yet he justifies the enthusiasm that fired Burlingame. He realized even more than the Chinese themselves the significance of the movement, for he saw to what it was bound to lead. He was an enthusiast, and his eloquence aroused hopes that were not to be realized in the immediate future, but he did not forget or neglect the instructions that the Mission had received. He stated China's difficulties fairly and pleaded for patience and justice. He could not rightly be held responsible for the misunderstanding of those whose ignorance of the Orient led them to anticipate a more rapid transformation than was possible at that time. Western merchants were impatient to enlarge the market for foreign goods. They wanted to displace the mediæval handicrafts of China with modern machinery and open up her vast territory with railways and telegraphs. They dreamed of enormous wealth to be created by the development of China's natural resources and by the exploitation of the cheap labor available there. China was not ready for such a program. The people were extremely conservative; they saw no reason to abandon the ways of their fathers. Defeat in war had not made them love the Western man, and superstition would but intensify their hostility to foreign inventions. The country had not yet recovered from the ravages of

[10] F. W. Williams, *op. cit.*, app. iii, p. 285.

the T'ai P'ing and Nienfei Rebellions; and two wars that had already cost myriads of lives were still in progress,—one in Yünnan, the other in the northwestern provinces. The Manchu government could not afford to stir up more trouble for itself and, in fact, was too weak to coerce the provinces, even if it had so desired.

Burlingame was well received at the capitals visited, but upon the understanding that the representatives of these powers would be received by the Emperor of China as soon as he should attain his majority. Promises were given by Great Britain, France and Germany not to force what is called "progress" upon China by a pressure that would endanger her safety.[11] The Mission was undoubtedly enlightening the Western world as to real conditions in China and would have accomplished more; but in February, 1870, Burlingame died of pneumonia in St. Petersburg, and the subordinate members of the embassy returned to China. It was not until four years later that progressive officials began to urge upon the Peking government the need of permanent legations abroad, and it was not until 1877 that the first Chinese Minister arrived in London and 1878 that one made his appearance in Washington.

The Treaty of 1868

While Burlingame was in Washington he entered into a treaty with the American government on behalf of China, in which he secured the assurance that he had been instructed to ask from each of the Western nations that undue pressure would not be employed to hasten the modernization of China by the introduction of railways and other Western inventions. In Article VIII of this treaty the United States "disclaim and disavow any intention or right to intervene in the domestic administration of China in regard to the construction of railways, telegraphs or other material internal improvements."

The Coolie Traffic

While negotiating the treaty, Burlingame seized the opportunity to introduce into it certain articles relating to the immi-

[11] Morse, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 197, 198; F. W. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 173, 194 and 247.

gration of Chinese laborers into the United States. These articles had a twofold purpose: to combat the infamous coolie traffic that had become a scandal in south China and to arrange for the voluntary migration of Chinese laborers, needed particularly on the west coast of the United States. The first emigration of Chinese coolies to an American country was in 1847. There had been great demand for plantation laborers in Peru, in Cuba and other West India islands. At first, coolies were induced to enter into contracts to go to these places by the roseate descriptions, given by agents, of the life on the plantations and the wages offered. Later, men of all classes were kidnapped and forced into an involuntary slavery. The crowded and unsanitary condition of the vessels engaged in the business caused sickness and great loss of life. It was estimated that about twenty-five per cent of the unfortunate men never reached the destination for which they were intended. Those who survived the voyage were put up at auction and their services sold to the proprietors of the plantations. Their wages were pitifully small, and when their terms of service were ended, they lacked sufficient money to pay their way home, were soon arrested as vagrants and sentenced to another term of servitude.

Sir Rutherford Alcock, the British Consul at Canton, had had his attention drawn to the shameful business in 1859, and had coöperated with the Chinese authorities in an effort to remove the evil. Subsequently Sir Rutherford became British Minister at Peking and was able to persuade Prince Kung for the regency to enter into a convention for the regulation of emigration and the suppression of man-stealing. The French Minister also signed the convention, but amendments proposed by the foreign offices at London and Paris delayed action and the agreement was never ratified. A convention with the Chinese government to permit the emigration of laborers was made necessary by the provisions of the Chinese Code which forbade Chinese subjects to leave the empire.[12] This permission was granted by Article V of Burlingame's treaty, which reads:

> The United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance, and also the mutual advantage of the free migration and

[12] *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li,* viii; *Hu Li; Hu Yi.*

emigration of their citizens and subjects respectively from the one country to the other for purposes of curiosity, of trade or as permanent residents. The High Contracting Powers, therefore, join in reprobating any other than an entirely voluntary emigration for these purposes. They consequently agreed to pass laws making it a penal offense for a citizen of the United States of America or Chinese subjects to take Chinese subjects either to the United States or to any other foreign country, or for a Chinese subject or citizen of the United States to take citizen of the United States of America or Chinese subject to take without their free and voluntary consent respectively.[13]

It is true, however, that even before the negotiation of this treaty, many Chinese had left their homes in violation of the law to seek their fortunes overseas, and in 1868 there were already in the United States not less than sixty thousand of them. To give further encouragement to the desired immigration of such laborers, Article VI of Burlingame's treaty provided that Chinese subjects visiting or residing in the United States should enjoy all the privileges, immunities and exemptions enjoyed by citizens or subjects of the most favored nation, naturalization alone being excepted. It will be seen that the attitude of the American people toward the incoming of Oriental immigrants was quite different from that taken a decade later.

During the early history of this Chinese immigration the coolies were very well treated in the United States, but their condition on the plantations of Peru and Cuba was pitiable. In 1871 in Peru they managed to get a petition to the American Minister to that country who forwarded it to the State Department at Washington. The Secretary of State communicated with the Chinese government at Peking, and that government, already aroused by the representations of Sir Rutherford Alcock, appointed a commission in 1874 to investigate the matter. This commission reported in 1875, setting forth in detail the sufferings of the unfortunate coolies in Cuba. It appeared that not less than eighty per cent of them had been decoyed or kidnapped; that all had been sold into slavery, and that they were treated with great brutality. They were driven to their tasks by whipping. Many had died from the wounds received, and others in large numbers had committed suicide. The world was shocked by the exposure and the traffic was suppressed.

[13] Such a law was enacted by Congress in 1862.

The Tientsin Massacre

Through the long centuries of Chinese history the government and people of China have generally enjoyed and deserved a reputation for religious tolerance. Confucianism has usually but not always been the established religion, but Taoism and Buddhism have at the same time received subsidies from the state, and Mohammedanism, Judaism and Christianity have all had its protection. It may seem strange, therefore, to some that there have been at times such violent outbursts of popular hatred for the propaganda of Christian missionaries. At the introduction of Christianity in the seventh century its foreign origin did not create any feeling against it. The Mongol Emperors, too, in the thirteenth century, were rather favorable to it. During the Ming Dynasty there were Christian converts in the imperial palace, and the early Manchu rulers gave employment to Christian scholars. But it was the religion of the Europeans, and the Europeans were the aggressors at Malacca and San Chuan. They were responsible for the outrages that led to the massacres at Ningpo and Ch'üanchou. Christianity of a bastard sort was professed by the T'ai P'ings who laid waste half of the empire. It was the religion of the British and French, by whom China had been defeated in war, and who had imposed upon China a treaty tariff, foreign consular courts and the legalization of the opium traffic. These things did not tend to make Christianity popular. Moreover, Christianity claimed to be the only true religion. It condemned all other faiths as false. It preached against idolatry as a great sin. Mohammedanism, it is true, also condemned idolatry, but in China it was not engaged in the work of making proselytes. Mohammedans were content to observe for themselves the faith of their fathers, but to allow their neighbors to follow idolatrous practices without rebuke. Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, despite occasional polemics, had become indifferent to questions of orthodoxy and heresy and dwelt together in good-natured peace. The same person, indeed, worshiped with equal zeal in the temples of all three religions. A common proverb said: "The three religions are one." When a great statesman died, he was buried with the rites of Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism. No one saw

any incongruity in the practice. It will readily be seen, then, that the claims of Christian missionaries, daily urged upon the streets and in the temples themselves, could not but arouse the anger of Confucian scholars and of Buddhist and Taoist monks. So the smoldering hatred for the foreign religion needed but slight excuse to burst into flame.

In June, 1869, a great Cathedral of the Roman Church was dedicated at Tientsin. It had been built upon the site of an ancient Chinese temple, which with the adjoining imperial palace had been occupied by British and French troops in 1858 and again from 1860 to 1863. After the troops had been withdrawn, the French had taken the palace for a consulate and given the temple to the Roman Catholic mission. The ceremonies of the Church were looked upon with suspicion by the people who were extremely superstitious and thought they saw magical performances in baptism and extreme unction. They distrusted, too, the attention given to little children, the great effort to gather waifs and orphans into the asylums of the mission, and the burial in the consecrated ground of the mission of those who died. Vile rumors were put into circulation by evil-minded persons who charged the priests and nuns with immorality. They were accused, too, of such horrible crimes as the killing of the little children in the orphanages for the sake of obtaining their hearts and eyes for magical purposes. It was easy for the Chinese to believe such charges, for Chinese witches were accused of that same offense, and a section of the penal code made a special provision for their punishment.[14] It was a common belief that the vigor of one human body could be transferred to another by the consumption of certain vital organs. Miracle-working images, too, it was asserted, could be made by application of the vital fluids. The Peking Gazette and the Court Reports gave detailed accounts of the practice of such witchcraft, and the arrest, trial and execution of the criminals.

Kidnapping children and their sale for immoral purposes was also a crime known to the Chinese courts. In May, 1870, a number of children, it was said, had disappeared in Tientsin, and rumor charged the orphanage with responsibility. In June there was a serious epidemic prevailing, causing the death of a number of children in the mission, whose little bodies

[14] *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li,* xxvi; *Hsing Li; Jen Ming; Ts'ai Sheng; Che Ko Jen.*

were buried in the mission cemetery. Men accused of kidnapping were arrested, tried and executed. One of them under torture admitted that he had sold the children to the orphanage. Investigation showed the report to be false. The Imperial Commissioner labored earnestly to prevent an outbreak. But the tinder was there and the spark was supplied by the conduct of the French Consul, who seems to have lost his mind. He rushed armed into the presence of the Commissioner and was reported to have fired into the crowd gathered outside the yamen gate. After that it was no longer possible to control the mob, who murdered every French man and woman who could be found, including the Consul and his secretary, ten sisters of mercy and two priests. The cathedral, the mission premises, the orphanage, and the French consulate were looted and burned, and four Protestant chapels were plundered.[15] Attempts to stir up similar outrages were made in other parts of the empire. It was, of course, difficult to discover the real murderers; but in the autumn twenty coolies, of whom seventeen under torture admitted their guilt, were decapitated, six others for robbery were sentenced to banishment for ten years and twenty-five for three years. Tls. 250,000 was paid for property destroyed and as compensation to the families of the murdered; and in November Chung-hou, the Imperial Commissioner, made apology in Paris. Over and over again, during three decades to follow, this tale of murder, mutilation and arson was to be repeated in various parts of the empire as evidence of the hatred of the Chinese for the white man's religion.

The Audience Question

During all antiquity and until recent years, the monarchs of most Asiatic countries had been accustomed to require from their subjects when received in audience the performance of some humiliating form of obeisance. Persia, India, China and Japan, all had established such court ceremonials. The Arabs formed a striking exception, refusing to any man a form of worship which they reserved for the deity. In China the highest officers of the court, even Princes of the blood,

[15] For a full account of the massacre and the settlement accepted see Morse, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. xii.

were admitted to the presence of the Son of Heaven only upon performance of the kotow.

Europeans have always detested such abasement in the presence of any human being, no matter how exalted his station, and have generally preferred their self-respect to the favor of an imperial audience. There have been some exceptions, however. A Dutch mission under de Goyer and de Keyser in 1655 kotowed not only to the Emperor, but to the empty throne and to documents bearing the Imperial Seal. A second Dutch embassy was equally servile in 1795. A Russian envoy, Ismayloff, in 1720 performed the kotow on condition that a Chinese envoy when sent to Russia would there conform to the requirements of the Russian Court. But the Tsars never demanded any humiliating form of salutation.

Mention has already been made of the controversy attending the audience to Macartney and the refusal of the American Minister, Ward, even to bend one knee in the presence of His Majesty. The question of the form of audience remained still unsettled after the Conventions of 1860. The Ministers of the four powers were allowed to reside in Peking, but the Manchu Court would not waive the demand for the kotow, despite the rather vague promise of the Convention of 1860. Fortunately the monarch was still a young child and the whole matter could be shelved for a considerable period. During this time of waiting the Peking government gave much thought to the question which the wise men among the ministers realized would have to be answered sooner or later in a manner satisfactory to the Western Powers. In 1867 the Tsungli Yamen, charged with the conduct of foreign affairs, sent a circular letter to the Viceroys and Governors, asking advice as to the granting of audiences and as to other matters that concerned foreign relations. Tseng Kuo-fan and Li Hung-chang, the two great statesmen who had suppressed the T'ai P'ing Rebellion, both replied favoring the grant of audience to the representatives of foreign governments with a ceremonial that would show a recognition of national equality.[16]

In April 1872 the young Emperor, T'ungchih, reached the age of sixteen years, and arrangements began to be made for his betrothal and marriage. In October of the same year he was married. His chief consort was the daughter of Ch'ung-

[16] Morse, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, chap. x.

ch'i, the imperial tutor, and belonged to the clan A-lu-te. In addition to a wife he was given three concubines. The marriage was celebrated with impressive ceremonies, and a few days later announcement was made that the regency was about to be brought to an end. In February 1873 this promise was fulfilled. The helm of the ship of state was put into the hands of the young ruler, but he could not free himself from the dictation of his strong-willed mother who still insisted on charting the course.

In accordance with the promises made to the Western Powers by Burlingame's Mission, the Emperor upon taking charge of the government was bound to receive the diplomatic corps in audience. The Tsungli Yamen was reminded of this by the Ministers of the Powers, but it was not until the 29th of June that the audience was granted.[17] The foreign representatives were received without the kotow. Simple bows replaced the degrading prostrations. But the ceremony had been held in the Pavilion of Purple Light, not in the Imperial Palace in the Forbidden City. The Pavilion is situated beside a lake in the Western Park included within the walls of the Purple or Imperial City, and was the place in which envoys from tributary states were received. For this reason the diplomatic representatives were not well pleased, for there was implied by their reception in such a place that they represented inferior states. Audiences continued to be held in this Pavilion until 1894 when, owing to the desire of China for the good offices of the Powers during the war with Japan, their representatives were received in a hall of the Imperial Palace. But there still remained some details of the ceremonial to be adjusted and the matter was not finally disposed of until after the Boxer troubles. In the Protocol of 1901 all these details were satisfactorily provided for in Annex No. 19. The hall in which the audiences were to be held was mentioned by name. The envoys were to be carried in their own sedan chairs to a specific gate, where they were to exchange them for palace chairs. At the gate of the court in which the audience hall is situated they were required to

[17] The edict will be found in the *Tung Hua Hsü Lu*, 96:12. It is very brief and merely directs that the foreign envoys, the name of each being given, should have audience in the Pavilion of Purple Light and present their letters of credence.

get out and proceed on foot. When a letter from the head of a state was to be presented, their chairs were to have yellow loops and tassels, they were to have an escort of troops and they were to enter all gates and doors by the central openings, which were closed to them on other occasions. The Emperor was required to receive directly into his hands these communications from foreign sovereigns and Presidents. If an imperial banquet should be given to the Ministers, His Majesty was required to be present in person.

Such were the details carefully prescribed, and since the diplomatic corps drew up the Protocol and imposed it upon China, they could have no more reason to complain. The writer was attached to the American Legation at the time and frequently had occasion in after years to note with what meticulous scrupulosity all these regulations were carried out. He also noted that since His Imperial Majesty was required to sit with the foreign representatives at table whenever he should invite them to a banquet, he was very careful never to invite them to a banquet and, consequently, he never felt obliged to sit down with them at the collations served after audiences or at the garden parties.

Trouble in Formosa

The Manchu government grew more and more decadent as the nineteenth century drew onward. Its inefficiency was shown in 1873 by its neglect of its ancient rights in the Liu Ch'iu Islands and its shirking of responsibility in Formosa. Such unwisdom could only lead in the end, as it did, to the loss to the empire of these two dependencies. The trouble in 1873 was due to the murder in 1871 of certain Liu Ch'iu seamen by the savages of the east coast of Formosa.

When the young Emperor, T'ungchih, in 1873 granted audience to the foreign representatives in Peking, Japan seized the opportunity to send a special ambassador who, since he outranked all the ministers, was given a separate audience at which he presented Japan's complaint on behalf of the Liu Ch'iu islanders and asked satisfaction from China. Now these islanders had paid tribute to China since 1372; but the Peking government, instead of asserting the priority of China's

suzerainty and her right to redress the wrongs of her vassals, weakly yielded to Japan this suzerain right, for the people of the Liu Ch'ius had also paid tribute to Japan since 1609. The Manchu Emperor, moreover, disclaimed responsibility for the actions of the savages on the east coast of Formosa, and Japan consequently sent an expedition to punish them. Subsequently Prince Kung realized the possible consequences of such a surrender and protested against Japan's action, saying that China had consented to an investigation of the affair but not to a military invasion of the island. Relations between the two countries immediately became strained and war was averted only by the good offices of Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister to China. The matter was settled in October 1874 by the withdrawal of the Japanese troops and the payment by China of an indemnity of Tls. 500,000.[18]

The Liu Ch'iu Islands

China thus asserted her jurisdiction over Formosa, but the treaty appeared to recognize the people of the Liu Ch'iu Islands as subjects of Japan. It must be remembered, however, that they regarded themselves as subject both to China and Japan. They continued for some years after this event to send tribute to China. But friction with Japan was the natural result. The "Letters and Despatches" of the Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, show that there was danger of war over the question in 1878. The Liu Ch'iu King paid a visit to Japan, but at the same time sent a tribute mission to Peking. The Japanese Minister at Peking protested. General Grant arrived the following year in China and was appealed to to use his good offices to effect a settlement; but the dispute continued until 1881, when China recognized the islands as being under the suzerainty of Japan. The people of the islands appear to have preferred China to Japan until after the war of 1894-5 over Korea. The sweeping victories of Japan in that struggle convinced them that their safety lay in dependence upon the stronger power and they have become thoroughly loyal to Japan.[19]

[18] Morse, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 274. For text of the treaty, see Leavenworth, *The Loochoo Islands*, pp. 28, 29.

[19] Leavenworth, *op. cit.*, p. 29, and for Li's *Letters and Despatches*, pp. 159 ff.

Rebellion in Yünnan

In the spring of 1873, while the inhabitants of Peking were rejoicing in the accession of their young Emperor, T'ungchih, and the diplomatic corps was insisting upon an audience, a great rebellion, which for sixteen years had devastated the province of Yünnan, was being brought to a close. The character of the warfare was shown by the awful tragedy of Menghua Hsien. The town was besieged by the Imperialists in March 1873. The people were reduced to extremity and were rendered desperate by the news that thirty thousand[20] Mohammedans in Tali Fu who had surrendered to the imperial army had been cruelly massacred after promise of amnesty. The Menghua people realized that they could not trust the enemy's promises. They therefore gathered their valuables into a few houses and burned them. Then they distributed poison to the women and children and the old men, who thus destroyed themselves. The able-bodied men set fire to the city, opened the gates and, for the most part, died fighting. There were a few who managed to escape.

The Mohammedans of Yünnan

These Mohammedans of Yünnan were a brave people, and seem to have been descendants of a body of troops sent by the Caliph in the eighth century to assist the Chinese in their war with the kingdom of Nan Chao which once occupied a large region in southwestern China. The mutineers of 757 at Canton, of whom mention has been made, were very likely a part of the same army. Left unpaid by the Chinese, they had apparently reimbursed themselves by looting Canton. The remainder of the force seems to have settled in Yünnan and intermarried with the natives. Their children had remained true to the religion of their warrior ancestors.

Cause of the Rebellion

Yünnan is rich in minerals,—copper, silver, lead, iron and tin. The mines have been worked in primitive fashion for many centuries. In 1856, in the prefecture of Ch'uhsiung in the upper valley of the Red River, certain argentiferous lead mines were being worked both by Mohammedans and by

[20] In reality between six and seven thousand were slain. *Vide infra.*

other Chinese. The former seem to have had the best locations. The non-Mohammedan Chinese workmen were jealous of their neighbors and the ill feeling was increased by religious prejudice. In a quarrel between some of the workmen a number of persons were killed. The trouble spread rapidly. The local magistrate lost control of the situation and ran away to the provincial capital where he reported the affair to the Governor, putting the blame on the Mohammedans. The Viceroy, who seems to have been a just man, tried to compose the quarrel and succeeded for a time in restoring peace and getting the men back to work. The Governor, however, and certain other provincial officials were not satisfied with the adjustment made and plotted with some of the gentry to destroy the Mohammedans, whom they detested. When the Viceroy found himself deserted by the Governor, the Treasurer and Provincial Judge, he made earnest protests, but, finding these unavailing, he and his wife committed suicide, the usual Chinese method of enforcing an appeal to the Emperor. But "Heaven is high," as the Chinese proverb says, "and Peking afar off," and the imperial government had troubles of its own. It must be remembered that at this time the T'ai P'ing Rebellion was at its height. A large part of the empire was in possession of the rebels, and trouble at Canton with the Europeans was bringing on a second war with Great Britain. Moreover, the channels of communication between Peking and the southwestern provinces were of a poor sort. News of the Mohammedan rising was a long time reaching Peking and was not well understood. The Chinese history under the date of the Fifth Moon of 1856 makes brief mention of trouble in Yünnan, and in the Eighth Moon states that a report by the high officers of the province gives a mining dispute as the origin of the rising. This report charged that some local authorities were shielding the Mohammedans. It admits, however, that there were some loyal subjects among the Mohammedans.

The Trouble Spreads

The officials who had planned the extermination of the Mohammedans had fixed upon the 19th of May, 1856, for the massacre. The Mohammedans had, of course, learned of

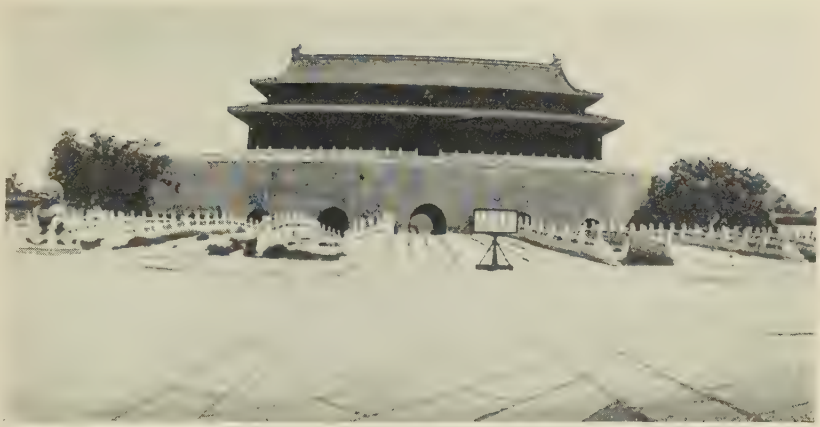
it. Their Chief Mollah, Ma Te-hsing, sixty-five years of age, took charge of the defence. He sent secret orders to the various Mohammedan communities as to the course to take. Many of the Mohammedans refused to believe that their Chinese neighbors, with whom they had lived in amity all their lives, would turn upon them in such a cruel attack. Thus they took no precautions. But their neighbors forgot their obligations. Spurred on by the official propaganda and by the hope of loot, they slaughtered their old-time friends without compunction. The massacre has rightly been called by Rocher "A New St. Bartholomew's Day." [21]

Although the Mohammedans were greatly outnumbered by the other Chinese and were badly armed, they were more courageous. They realized, too, that they were fighting for life, and they fought with desperation. Many had no weapon but an old pike or a pitchfork. Their leader was a young man named Ma Hsien, who followed the counsels of the Mollah, Ma Te-hsing. They soon had control of a number of places in central and southern Yünnan. In the western part of the province their coreligionists were saved by the energetic action of another young leader, Tu Wen-hsiu, who succeeded in driving the Imperialist Chinese out of Tali Fu. He opened up communication with Burmah and secured arms and ammunition from that quarter. Tali Fu became the capital of a Mohammedan state, and Tu Wen-hsiu was made Sultan with the Arab name Suleiman. When the news of the Viceroy's suicide reached Peking, there was considerable excitement. The Prefect who had run away from his post was cashiered in 1857, but that action came too late to be of any value. A new Viceroy was sent out but soon returned in disgust to Peking. The Governor died in 1858. The Provincial Judge was summoned to Peking to answer for his conduct, and the leader of the gentry who had assisted in plotting the massacre committed suicide. The Mohammedans continued their successful prosecution of the war and in 1860 forced the Imperialists to surrender the capital Yünnan Fu.

Betrayal of the Mohammedan Cause

After such a glorious record, it is painful to have to state that both the Chief Mollah and Ma Hsien sold out to the

[21] Emile Rocher, *La Province Chinoise du Yun-nan,* vol. ii, p. 38.



ONE OF THE FIVE GATES THAT GUARD THE APPROACH TO THE PALACE

IN THE IMPERIAL HUNTING PARK AT JEHOL

Imperialists. Perhaps they were sincere in believing that China with her vast resources would be sure to win in the end. Perhaps they thought that the best interests of their coreligionists would be served by reconciliation with their old-time neighbors. But whatever the motives that inspired them, in the negotiations for surrender of the capital, they consented to the proposals of the mandarins, who, to save their own heads, suggested to them that, if they would support the imperial cause, Ma Hsien should have the rank of Brigadier General in the Chinese army and the Mollah receive a pension of Tls. 200 a month. But Ma Hsien's commission would have to come from Peking, and it would never do to let Peking know that the provincial capital had been taken and that the rebel leader was to be rewarded with a commission in the Chinese army. So it became necessary to change the name of Ma Hsien. He was given the name of Ma Ju-lung and his commission was made out in this name. The Sultan, Suleiman, otherwise Tu Wen-hsiu, was not to be bribed in any such fashion, and so from 1860 to 1873 these two Mohammedans were opposed one to the other. Ma Hsien, or Ma Ju-lung as he must now be called, the Benedict Arnold of this rebellion, remained faithful to the imperial cause. He used all his influence to persuade his fellow Mohammedans to return to their former allegiance, and in the capture of cities taken under his operations he sought to spare the lives of the defenders and restore good feeling. But the Imperialist generals associated with him showed no such compassion. They carried on the war in most inhuman fashion and had no scruples about promising amnesty in case of surrender and then murdering their prisoners in cold blood.

End of the Rebellion

The war dragged on with varying success. The aborigines, such as the Miaotzu, the Lolos, the Lisus and the Minchia, having also their complaints against Chinese rule, for a time gave either open or secret assistance to the rebels. The whole province was devastated. Trade was ruined. The mines were abandoned. The population was decimated by the plague. In 1867 the two Mohammedan rulers met in battle. Ma Ju-lung was wounded and his troops routed. The next

year, 1868, the capital, Yünnan Fu, was besieged. Ma's troops began to show signs of disaffection. Many sympathized with their Mohammedan brethren in rebellion. Ma Ju-lung promptly suppressed the movement by beheading forty officers and a large number of men involved in the plot. The Sultan's forces, weakened by disease, abandoned the siege of Yünnan Fu in 1869, and this was the beginning of the end. The years 1871 and 1872 had poor harvests. The distress of the inhabitants was increased by lack of food. Tali Fu, the capital of the rebels, was forced to surrender in January 1873. The Sultan supplied his family with poison with which they committed suicide. He destroyed all valuables as far as that was possible; then, taking a dose of poison, he went out and surrendered. Before he reached the headquarters of the imperial army, he was already in a dying condition and was dead before the victorious enemy could punish him. But they decapitated his dead body and sent the head to Peking in a jar of honey.

The surrender of the Sultan's person, it was promised, should be a ransom for the lives of the citizens. But as soon as the city was occupied by the imperial army, soldiers were stationed in every home. The imperial commander invited seventeen of the leading citizens to celebrate the peace at a dinner. During the dinner seventeen heads fell upon the floor. Six shots in quick succession was a signal to the guards in the homes. Immediately the massacre began and the next morning showed between six and seven thousand victims of this treachery. A few escaped to the neighboring city of Menghua Hsien, where as stated above, after a three months' siege, these unhappy people, unable to endure any longer their wasting hunger, destroyed their families and died in battle with the foe. By September 1873 peace was re-established, but it was the peace of the graveyard. M. Emile Rocher, to whom we are indebted for the history of this sanguinary struggle, joined the imperial headquarters at Yünnan Fu at the beginning of 1871 and was witness of many of the events recorded. During the closing years of the rebellion, Rocher's fellow countrymen were busy studying the resources of Yünnan and possible trade routes across the province. Among these were Garnier, Lagree and Dupuis. The last-mentioned in 1873 entered into a contract with the

Viceroy to supply him with arms for which he was to receive pay in tin and copper. It was the refusal of the Annamese government to permit the use of the Red River for the transport of these arms that precipitated the trouble with France that later was to end in the annexation by France of Tongking.

First Treaty with Japan

We have already seen that during the eighth century of the Christian Era under the reign of the T'ang Emperors, Japanese embassies appeared at the Chinese capital. During the Ming period, too, there was considerable official intercourse; but after the expulsion of Christian missionaries early in the seventeenth century, Japan had kept herself in strict seclusion. The opening of her gates to Commodore Perry in 1854 had compelled her to adopt a new policy. The Mikado had been restored to actual control of the government in 1868, and by an Imperial Edict the feudal system was abolished on August 29, 1871. Japan had definitely broken with the past and was preparing to make a place for herself among the nations of the modern world. One of the first steps taken after this historic event was to establish treaty relations with China, her nearest neighbor. The treaty was signed on September 13, 1871. Unlike the treaties forced upon China by the Western Powers, this was based upon the equality of the two nations. Neither nation was given extraterritorial jurisdiction over its subjects, but in both countries offenders were to be tried before the territorial authorities who would allow the consular representative of the accused to be present and confer on the case. Civil cases were to be tried entirely by the local authorities. Commercial privileges were reciprocal, but in neither country could the subjects of the other conduct trade in the interior.

Death of T'ungchih

The young Emperor, T'ungchih, was a true son of his father, given to dissipation and fond of disreputable society. With boon companions and under an assumed name he would visits the haunts of vice in Peking. Upon one of these expeditions he contracted smallpox and died in January 1875 in

his nineteenth year. He left no children. His principal consort was known to be with child, but died in the following March. Without waiting for this event, the ambitious Tzu-hsi took steps to prolong her control of the government. She had a sufficient number of supporters in the Imperial Clan and among the high officers of state to enforce her will in the selection of a successor to her deceased son. She chose her sister's son, Tsai T'ien, a child of four years. Her sister's husband and the father of the chosen heir was Prince Ch'un, the seventh son of the Emperor, Taokuang. The new reign was given the title, Kuanghsü, meaning "Brilliant Succession." When the succession of Tsai T'ien became known, there was great dissatisfaction, not only in the Imperial Clan but throughout the empire. The objection made was not that he came from a younger branch of the imperial family, but that he was of the same generation as his predecessor.

Primogeniture was not a binding rule among the Manchus. It was, in fact, seldom observed. K'anghsi was the third son of Shunchih. Yungcheng was the fourth son of K'anghsi and Taokuang the second son of Chiach'ing. There was no irregularity, therefore, in selecting the heir from among the descendants of the seventh son of Taokuang; but there was a serious breach of custom in choosing as heir to the throne a child of the same generation as the dead monarch and one who could not on that account make the sacrifices to his predecessor. Members of the same generation among the descendants of the founder of the dynasty were distinguished by having as one syllable of their various personal names one and the same Chinese character. The character in this instance was that representing the syllable, *Tsai*. *Tsai* was the first syllable in the personal name of the Emperor, T'ungchih, as it was in those of all his cousins of the same generation. The heir should have been taken from those the first syllable of whose names was represented by the character, *P'u*. But Tzu-hsi was a masterful woman and had to have her way. Her sister's son was adopted as her own and the son of her dead husband. This made it necessary that she should be regent, and with a child of four years on the throne she could look forward to another long period of power. Thus her own son's sacrifices were withheld for a whole generation that she might gratify her ambition. The impression made upon an ancestor-

worshiping people was very painful, and many were the protests sent in to the government. One Confucian scholar, Wu Ko-tu, when four years had passed without the services due the memory of T'ungchih, wrote a severe criticism of the government and with it in his hands committed suicide at the grave of the deceased ruler.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	A.D.
T'ungchih	1862-1875
Regency of Tzu-an, Tzu-hsi, Prince Kung	1861-1873

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CHAPTER XIII

DECADENCE

Manchu Dynasty, Fifth Period, 1876-1896

That adaptation to environment is the necessary condition of evolution we do not question for a moment. It is quite evident that a species would disappear, should it fail to bend to the conditions of existence which are imposed upon it.

—HENRI BERGSON.

The older an institution is the more sacred and inviolate it is. The permanence of social structures from these causes thus becomes the chief obstacle to reform when this is demanded by a changing environment and internal growth.

—LESTER F. WARD.

MANCHU CONSERVATISM

THREE-QUARTERS of a century and more had passed since the glorious reign of Ch'ienlung. In that time the environment of China had greatly altered. Steam had displaced sail to a large extent in shipping. Communication with the Western World was easier and more rapid. The influx of foreigners had increased considerably. Trade had developed and with its development, as we have seen, friction between China and the West had become so serious as to cause two wars. In those wars China had learned that, despite her extensive territories, her vast resources and her numerous population, she was no match for the European. Although once in the forefront of civilization, she was now lagging behind the West. Her only hope of maintaining herself in the international struggle lay in a recognition of the changed conditions and in a speedy readjustment to meet these changes. Had the Manchus been willing to look facts in the face and undertaken the reforms demanded, they might today be reigning still in Peking. But the government was in the hands of men who, for the most part, were ultraconservative. The

throne had been occupied by two young children in succession within the short space of fifteen years. A willful and inexperienced woman held the reins of administration, and the more enlightened ministers were overruled by a powerful clique of obstructionists. Prince Kung, a wise statesman, was four times removed from office and degraded in rank for interfering with the schemes of Tzu-hsi's corrupt and extravagant favorites. The treaty with Japan, referred to at the close of the last chapter, was of itself an omen not to be ignored. The difference between the attitude of China and that of Japan in the struggle between Eastern and Western civilization was marked. Japan, a very young nation as compared with her neighbor, had taken her institutions almost wholly from China. She had less attachment to them than the Chinese and she was quick to note China's inability to withstand the West. Immediately after her neighbor's humiliation by Great Britain and France in the Treaties of Tientsin, Japan began to put her house in order and proceeded with such rapidity in the introduction of Western methods that in less than a score of years she was able to obtain from China a treaty in which her equality with her former teacher was fully recognized.

China, on the other hand, with her face to the past, dreamed of the days when she was mistress of the Orient, and was unwilling to acknowledge that those days were gone, unwilling to see that the upstart barbarians from the West could teach her anything. Her institutions were no longer plastic. They were hoary with age and sacred because hoary. Thus, as the last quarter of the nineteenth century passed over her, the weakness and inefficiency of her government became more and more evident. True, some efforts at reform were made. As we have seen, Ministers and Consuls were sent abroad and a grudging reception was given to diplomatic representatives in Peking. Several Viceroys were permitted to organize military forces on the Western model and to establish arsenals for the manufacture of arms; but, as yet, there was no attempt to form a national army. The equipment of the several provincial forces was not uniform and the forces were lacking in trained officers and corrupted by graft. In 1862 Mr. Lay had been authorized to buy a few gunboats in England for use against the T'ai P'ings and to engage officers to train Chinese seamen to handle them. Seven steamers were purchased by Lay

and a number of officers of the Royal Navy engaged under contracts that were not approved by the Chinese government. A misunderstanding arose and the vessels were sent back to Great Britain and sold. Cable communication with Shanghai was established in 1871 and the construction of telegraph lines was begun in 1880.

A number of students were sent to the United States with Burlingame in 1868, who have since risen to considerable prominence in the councils of the nation; but for a long period after their return to China they were kept in very inferior positions. Some Chinese merchants, aided by a few progressive officials, organized the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company in 1873, which still operates a fleet of twenty-four steamers along the coasts and rivers of China. In 1875 a number of British merchants attempted to build a railway from Shanghai to Woosung and trains were actually running over a part of this distance in 1876; but the project had never received the approval of the Chinese authorities and these officers, after a protest against the enterprise, bought the line and in 1877 tore up the track and shipped the rails and cars to Formosa where they were dumped on the beach to rust and decay.

A language school was opened at Peking in 1862 in connection with the Foreign Office, and various schools of an official character were established in the provinces, but they were isolated and had no perceptible influence upon educational methods. In short, progressive officials were few and timid, and they had their eyes fixed upon the path to promotion which was not smoothed by a knowledge of Western science. The last quarter of the nineteenth century was a time of less than half-hearted attempts at reform, halted by the bitter opposition of the reactionaries. It was a period of struggle between the new and the old, ending in the triumph of the old.

Murder of Margary

The Mohammedan rebellion in Yünnan had spread devastation throughout that province. Peace had been restored in September, 1873, as we have seen, but the people had been brutalized by twenty years of war and had scarcely returned to peaceful occupations when the British government in 1874 decided to send an expedition from Burmah to seek a new

trade route across the province. A similar mission had attempted this task as early as 1868, but had been turned back shortly after crossing the frontier. The French, too, had had their attention drawn to the region about the same time. They had obtained possession of three provinces in Cochin China in 1862, and in 1866 Garnier had tried to open up trade with Yünnan by way of the Mekong. This was found to be unfit for navigation. In 1871 Dupuis had crossed the province from north to south and in 1873, as the rebellion was approaching an end, he had entered into a contract to supply the Viceroy with arms. Thus the two great European powers were rivals in the attempt to gain a foothold in Yünnan. The British expedition of 1874 was under the command of Colonel Browne and numbered nearly two hundred persons, including the armed escort. Passports had been obtained from the Chinese government, but Sir Rutherford Alcock, in his review of the tragic termination of the enterprise, expressed doubt as to the acquaintance of the Chinese authorities with the real character and purpose of the expedition, which was to open up a trade route into southwestern China and the location of a British consular official at Tali Fu. The Chinese Foreign Office declared that the understanding was that the purpose was travel and nothing was said of any other subject.

To facilitate the journey a young British consular officer, Augustus Raymond Margary, was sent overland from Hankow to Burmah to acquaint the local officers of the Chinese provinces with the coming of the expedition and prepare the way for a friendly reception. Margary had lived six years in China and spoke Chinese fluently. He was well acquainted with the customs of the country and had a frank and amiable disposition which won for him many friends among the Chinese. He made the journey to Burmah without any untoward incident and met the expedition at Bhamo on the 17th of January 1875. The party started from Bhamo on February 18th. By this time there were rumors to the effect that certain tribes of Yünnan near the Burmese border were hostile to the expedition and were arming to oppose its progress. Margary, who had just been among these tribes, was unwilling to believe the rumors and offered to go in advance to learn the facts. He took with him a few Chinese servants and some Burmese muleteers and reëntered Yünnan on February 19th. On the

next day word was received of his safe arrival at Seray, and on February 21st the other members of the party followed him. The next day news of his murder at Manwyne was received and the whole party was attacked and had to fight its way back to Bhamo.

Responsibility for the Crime

The British were disposed to blame the Chinese for the murder and for the attack upon the mission, and, in accordance with the Chinese theory of government, they were disposed to hold the provincial authorities responsible. But it is not at all certain that the attack was made by the Chinese or instigated by them. It was known for some time before the mission crossed the frontier that the border tribes were agitated. The Chinese officials had shown themselves most friendly to Margary as he had passed on his way to Burmah, while, on the other hand, he had had to wait some days at Manwyne, before continuing his journey to Bhamo, in order to obtain an escort to protect himself among the border tribes.

Burmah, although subject to British rule, was still paying tribute to China, and the tributary mission to Peking had passed through the same district but a short time before. Although it carried valuable presents to the Chinese Court, it had not been disturbed by the aborigines. It could hardly have been a desire for plunder that had led to the attack. But the appearance of an armed band of two hundred men prepared to enter their country could not but excite the fear and hostility of the ignorant natives, especially when the invaders were of a strange race and one having a reputation for conquest and annexation of territory. Sir Rutherford Alcock put it very plainly when he wrote:

> We must not complain that our reputation in the East takes its complexion from our conquests and progress in India, the history of which, in broad outline at least, is perfectly well-known in China, if not over all Asia. How we began by asking for a privilege to trade, and ended by annexing provinces after disastrous wars is no secret. Whatever explanations or defence we may have to offer, as to the causes of this irrepressible advance from trading factories to Empire, we can scarcely expect any Eastern sovereign or people to attach much credit to them.[1]

[1] *Journey of Augustus R. Margary*, p. 345.

This statement by Sir Rutherford was meant to explain a possible hostility of the Chinese local authorities to the incoming expedition. As another cause of such supposed ill feeling it was also pointed out by Alcock that the British authorities in Burmah had had friendly relations with the Sultan of Tali Fu during the Mohammedan rebellion in Yünnan, and that British authorities in India were in friendly relations with Yakub Beg, head of a Mohammedan rebellion in Turkestan then in progress at the time of Margary's murder. But it is incredible that even so reactionary an official as the Viceroy, Tsen Yü-ying, could have been so foolish as to run the risk of provoking hostilities with Great Britain, by whose armies his country had been twice humiliated. The explanation given by Sir Rutherford for a possible attack by the Chinese serves just as well to account for an attack by the half-subdued tribes on the border, and the hostility of these tribes was the more to be expected since they had seen the lands of their cousins in Burmah annexed by the British.

The Treaty of Chefoo

But since China was responsible for the government of Yünnan, it had to accept responsibility for the conduct even of the barbarous tribes on the frontier. Sir Thomas Wade, who was British Minister at the time, made a demand upon China for a joint investigation of the crime and for compensation for the families of the murdered men, for Margary's Chinese and Burmese companions excepting one only had also been killed. The Chinese promptly arranged for the investigation, which led to the execution of some tribesmen of the frontier, evidence of the Chinese view of the crime. Sir Thomas endeavored for months to have the Viceroy of Yünnan brought to trial, but the Chinese government steadfastly refused to accede to this demand, and in the end Wade gave way and accepted in lieu thereof the grant of certain other demands relating to intercourse between Chinese and foreign officers and to certain unsettled questions connected with trade. The negotiations came to an end with the signing of the Treaty of Chefoo on September 13, 1876. China ratified the treaty promptly on September 17th, but such a storm of

criticism by Europeans arose over its terms that it was not ratified by Great Britain until 1885.

No criticism was made of the terms of settlement of the Margary murder. These terms provided for a payment by China of indemnity to the families bereaved, and for trade between Burmah and Yünnan with the stationing of a British official at Tali Fu or elsewhere in Yünnan. Objection was made to the attempt to settle other questions which concerned not only Great Britain but all the treaty powers. One of the most important of these was the stipulation that the likin-free area at each treaty port should be limited by the boundaries of the foreign settlement of the port. The American and certain other governments refused to be bound by any such arrangement, which they considered to be a violation of their treaties with China.

Rebellion in Turkestan

The advance of Russia across Siberia has already been mentioned. After the Treaty of 1689 which restored the Amur Valley to China, the Russians began pushing their way into central Asia. During the eighteenth century their progress was slow, but in the nineteenth it was more rapid. By 1865 they had conquered Tashkent. In 1866 they took Khojend and in 1868 Samarkand. In 1869 they revised their commercial treaties with China relating to the overland trade. That trade was conducted over two routes: the older and more important from Kiakhta through Urga and Kalgan to Tientsin; the second, regulated by the Convention of 1851, through Kuldja and Tarbagat'ai across Turkestan to Hankow or Tientsin. The revision of 1869 provided for a free-trade zone along the whole frontier, one hundred *li* (33 1/3 miles) wide on either side of the boundary. The duty on imports overland into China was reduced by one-third and that on exports through Kalgan into Russia by one-half.[2]

When Tashkent was taken by the Russians, there was living there a young political leader named Yakub afterwards better known as Yakub Beg. He fled from the city and passed over

[2] If the goods were reshipped from Tienstin to other ports the full import duty was paid, but the interport half duty was not collected. If exports were from other ports than Tientsin, full duty was charged but the half duty for inland transit was not demanded.

the Pamirs into Chinese Turkestan where the Mohammedans were engaged in a rebellion against China. This rebellion had broken out in 1864 while China was still engaged in suppressing the T'ai P'ings. Under the leadership of Yakub Beg the Mohammedans succeeded in taking Kashgaria and Yarkand in 1866. In that year another rebellion broke out in the valley of the Ili, north of the T'ien Shan, and a third among the Dunganis on the border of Kansu Province. The last-mentioned carried their conquests into Kansu and Shensi where the Mohammedans are very numerous, and in 1867 they were advancing into Hupei. Yakub Beg not only destroyed the Chinese forces in Turkestan but fought with the Dunganis and drove them eastward. By 1873 he had established a great central Asian kingdom which was recognized by Turkey. The Sultan, who was also the Caliph, conferred upon him the title of Emir. The Russians had already in 1871 occupied Kuldja to prevent its seizure by Yakub. In 1872 they entered into a treaty with him, thus giving him recognition.

When the Russians entered Kuldja they notified China that they were doing so merely in order to preserve order there, and promised that they would restore it to China as soon as she should reëstablish her authority in Turkestan. At that time no one anticipated that China would ever be able to recover control in that distant region, occupied by non-Chinese races. But the Chinese were already slowly advancing toward a reconquest. This rather remarkable exploit was the work of a celebrated general, Tso Tsung T'ang.

General Tso had distinguished himself during the T'ai P'ing Rebellion. He was a resourceful man, a strict disciplinarian, a commander trusted and beloved by his men, and an enemy to be feared because absolutely without compassion toward those in rebellion. He was sober and frugal, had very simple tastes. He was very fond of gardening. This passion proved to be of considerable service on this expedition which lasted eleven years. He had one other trait rather uncommon in military commanders; he wrote voluminous reports. These reports give many interesting details of his campaign. In their way they are as interesting as Cæsar's commentaries on the Gallic Wars. General Tso began his march to Turkestan in 1867 by the capture of Siangyang in Hupei from Dunganis. He then advanced into Shensi. The caravan trails cross Shensi

and Kansu were not suitable for the transport of artillery. It became necessary therefore to build a highway as he moved forward. The road was built by his troops, and shade trees were planted along its borders to please their commander. After three years, in 1870, the army reached Suchou in the panhandle of Kansu Province. This was a long way from any suitable base of supplies. The general now turned farmer. He had his soldiers plow and sow and reap a harvest that was to provide them with grain. For three years longer he maintained a siege of the city, supporting his troops by cultivation of the land while at the same time starving the city into submission. In 1873 the city was taken and its inhabitants, men, women and little children, massacred without mercy. Three years later he had fought his way across the desert to Hami and over the Tien Shan to Barkul and Manas, delayed at times by the need of planting and reaping. His advance was as irresistible as that of a glacier, and quite as destructive. No pity was shown at Manas, whose people were massacred with the same cruelty as those at Suchou. The Dunganis were suppressed and the kingdom of Yakub Beg was next attacked. Yakub was defeated and died in 1877. Peace was restored in 1878 and the Chinese reminded the Russians of their promise to restore Kuldja. The reconquest of this vast region in the manner described astonished the world. It was a demonstration of what the Chinese can do under proper leadership.

Negotiations With Russia

Whatever may have been Russia's original intention with respect to Kuldja, she had no desire to provoke a war with the veteran army of General Tso. She endeavored to achieve her ends by diplomacy rather than by arms. The Chinese sent to St. Petersburg a Manchou official, Chung-hou, who was an amiable gentleman, but not a diplomat. He was entirely ignorant of the location, condition or importance of Kuldja, and, after a flattering round of entertainments, he signed the Treaty of Livadia in September 1879, by whose terms China was to cede to Russia the western or richer part of Kuldja and pay five million roubles in addition as compensation for the expense of administration during the period of Russian occupation. Chung-hou also granted valuable trading privi-

leges to Russia, permitting her merchants to traffic in Turkestan without payment of duties and to send their caravans as far as Hankow free of all customs and likin charges.

Upon his return to Peking Chung-hou was arrested, tried and condemned to death for this inexcusable surrender. The diplomatic corps interceded for him and his life was spared. Marquis Tseng was representing China in London and Paris, and after some delay he was intrusted with the task of revising the unwelcome treaty. This he accomplished by the treaty of February 1881 in which he secured the restoration of the greater part of Kuldja and a restriction of the trading privileges to certain cities of Turkestan and to a period that was to terminate as soon as the trade should become of sufficient importance to justify the establishment of customhouses by China. Provision was made also for the appointment of consular representatives by Russia at certain cities. The Regulations for the Overland Trade and the Free Trade Zone were revised in a Supplementary Agreement. These arrangements were subject to change at the end of ten-year periods, six months' notice being required of intention to terminate them.

After the pacification of Turkestan and the recovery of Kuldja, the victorious General Tso Tsung T'ang was recalled to Peking and rewarded with the rank of a Marquis. According to an old and evil custom he should have paid a large cumshaw to the Court officials for the privilege of an audience of the Emperor. In some cases as much as forty thousand taels was paid for such a privilege. General Tso refused to comply with a demand for this fee. He said: "The Emperor sent for me; if he wants me, he must obtain free entry for me or pay the charge himself." After waiting five days he was admitted to the city and to the palace and had audience without paying for it.

The French in Tonking

The suppression of the T'ai Ping Rebellion in 1865, of the Nien Fei in certain central provinces in 1868, of the Mohammedans in Yünnan in 1873 and of the Turkestan Rebellion in 1878 indicated considerable recuperative power in the Manchu Dynasty despite its degeneracy. The truth is that these rebel-

lions were all due to bad government, but there were still a number of great leaders, for the most part Chinese rather than Manchu, who were loyal to the dynasty. The real test of the efficiency of the government was to be found, however, not in its ability to put down badly armed and poorly organized bands of peasants, but in its struggle with other sovereign powers. Twice China had measured strength with the West and been defeated. She had received much good advice and she had had much need of an efficient army for the suppression of rebellion, yet very little improvement was noticeable in the military condition of the country when trouble with France occurred over the Chinese tributary state of Annam.

French missionaries had been active in Annam in the eighteenth century and the French government had been disposed to avail itself of an opportunity given in 1787 to acquire a foothold there, but the Revolution in France had prevented. During the early part of the nineteenth century there had been considerable persecution of French missionaries by Annamese, and France found this a convenient pretext for an invasion of the country. After the Tientsin Treaties with China had been signed in 1858, France invited Spain to join in an expedition to punish Annam. The French forces withdrawn from Tientsin were found to be very useful for this purpose. The Annamese were duly punished and purchased peace by the cession to France of three provinces of Cochin China, the port of Saigon and the island of Pulo Condor. The treaty was signed in 1862. In the same year France obtained a treaty with Cambodia which acknowledged French protection. Five years later the remainder of Cochin China was annexed. The French were disappointed, however, in their hope of opening up trade with southwestern China by means of the Mekong or Mei Kiang, the river was found to be unsuitable for navigation.

During the long continuance of the Mohammedan rebellion in Yünnan, the British and the French were engaged in a friendly rivalry to find trade routes into that province; the one from Burmah, the other from Annam. We have already seen the result of British efforts. In 1873 a Frenchman named Dupuis visited the Viceroy of Yünnan and entered into a contract with him to supply arms and ammunition, in exchange for copper and tin. He attempted to ship the arms up the Red

THE EMPRESS DOWAGER TZUHSI

River, the natural channel of communication, but the Annamese authorities forbade. Dupuis then recruited a band of adventurers and seized the town of Hanoi. The King of Annam made complaint to the French Governor-General of Cochin China, who sent Francis Garnier with two vessels to Hanoi to adjust the difficulty. Garnier, failing to obtain from Annam a recognition of French right to navigate the Red River, boldly seized a number of cities in that region.

Annam appealed to her suzerain, the Chinese Emperor, for protection. Now it happened that, during the progress of the rebellion in Yünnan, when imperial authority was well-nigh extinguished, that province was afflicted with numerous bands of brigands. Among these was a resourceful leader named Liu Yung-fu, who recruited a considerable force which distinguished itself by a black banner bearing an inscription in red. These brigands, known as "Black Flags," ravaged the Yünnan-Tonking border for a time, but, in accordance with Chinese practice, were subdued by being taken into the pay of the Chinese government. When, therefore, the King of Annam asked protection, the Black Flags were ordered to give it. In December 1873 they met Garnier's force and in the action that followed Garnier was killed.

The French government did not approve of Garnier's course and returned to Annam all the towns taken by him. But in the negotiations that followed, France in the treaties of February and August 1874 obtained the right to navigate the Red River and forced upon Annam a dependence upon France instead of China as her suzerain. Religious tolerance was also secured and the right of foreign residents to the extraterritorial jurisdiction of France. All this, of course, was an invasion of Chinese rights and led to friction with that government. In spite of the treaties of 1874, the King of Annam continued to regard himself as a vassal of China and sent tribute to Peking in 1876 and again in 1880. The French demanded of China the right to trade in Yünnan and asked for the opening of a town in Yünnan for that purpose. They also insisted upon the recall of the Black Flags from Tongking. After much diplomatic correspondence, representatives of France and China in December 1882 signed a memorandum in which China agreed to the recall of Chinese troops from Tongking and the opening of Yünnan to trade. Both nations were to

recognize and guaranty the independence of Annam. This agreement was ratified by China but not by France. Hostilities were resumed in 1883 without a declaration of war. China, in accordance with the provision in our treaty of 1858, asked the good offices of the United States, but France rejected them. A number of places were captured by France in 1884, and on May 11th a protocol was signed at Tientsin in which China agreed to withdraw troops from Tongking, respect the treaties between France and Annam and provide for trade with places in Yünnan. The Chinese troops on the Kuangsi frontier were to be withdrawn within twenty days and those on the Yünnan border within forty days. But communication with those distant regions was difficult at that time, and when a French force reached Langson on the Kuangsi border, the Chinese commander there said he had not received orders to evacuate and requested delay and the good offices of the French authorities for the transmission of orders. The French commander impatiently refused, opened an attack upon the Chinese and was driven off. This was held by the French to be a breach of faith on the part of the Chinese and led to a continuance of useless fighting and increased demands by France. As these were not complied with immediately, the French attacked and destroyed the forts at Kelung in Formosa and the Chinese fleet and arsenal at Foochow. A peace protocol was signed on March 1, 1885 and the final treaty of peace on June 9th. The terms were substantially the same as in the Tientsin Protocol of 1884. Thus China was again humiliated and another dependency, Annam, cut off from the empire. Would China never heed the warning conveyed in these repeated defeats? Another decade was to pass, a decade of continued neglect and inefficiency, and then another and greater disaster was to befall her.

Revision of American Treaty

The Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which had been heralded as a triumph of diplomacy and which the Manchu government had reluctantly ratified, very quickly lost its popularity in the United States. American laborers on the Pacific Coast became very hostile to the immigration of Chinese workmen, whose lower standards of living made it possible for them

to accept much lower wages than Americans were demanding. Such hostility to the Chinese was shown in 1876 that in the following year Congress appointed a commission to investigate the conditions of which complaint was made. The report of this commission led in 1878 to the passage of a bill forbidding the immigration of Chinese laborers. The President promptly vetoed it as being a violation of our treaty with China; but to meet the demands of American labor, another commission was appointed to visit Peking and endeavor to obtain the consent of the Chinese to a modification of the terms of the treaty. The Chinese ministers must have been puzzled, not to say amused, to find the Americans, who a few years earlier were begging China to abandon her ancient hostility to the emigration of her subjects, now pleading to be permitted to restrict the incoming of Chinese into the United States. But President Angell of Michigan University, who headed the American delegation, was successful in his efforts. The new treaty, signed in 1880, provided that the American government might "regulate, limit or suspend" the coming or residence of Chinese laborers, but might not absolutely prohibit it. The restriction, moreover, was to be "reasonable." Following upon the ratification of the treaty, Congress in 1882 attempted to suspend the immigration of Chinese laborers for twenty years. President Arthur vetoed it on the ground that such suspension was not a reasonable one. The term was then reduced to ten years. But American labor was not satisfied, and in 1888 the American government attempted to negotiate another treaty permitting the United States to shut out certain classes of Chinese. But before the negotiations had proceeded very far, Congress passed an Act absolutely forbidding the incoming of Chinese laborers. Although this was a glaring violation of the treaty, President Cleveland allowed the bill to become a law. This was due to the fact that a national campaign was in progress for the election of a President and neither of the two great parties was willing to alienate the suffrages of the Pacific Coast states. The new treaty was not signed until 1894. This permitted the exclusion of Chinese laborers for ten years. Chinese self-respect was grievously wounded by this treaty, and in 1904 it was denounced by the Peking government. Thereupon Congress passed a bill that became a law, making the exclusion of

Chinese labor perpetual. It was unfortunate that the law was made to apply to the Chinese alone and was not based upon some general principle which would have accomplished the same result without offending Chinese feelings.

The Loss of Burmah

The exposure of China's weakness by the conflict with France over Annam led to further encroachments upon her territory. Great Britain had annexed Lower Burmah to British India as early as 1862, but the Burmese King continued to rule the remainder of his kingdom as a vassal of China until 1886, when a treaty with China allowed the annexation of Upper Burmah also, but with the provision that the tribute to China should continue to be paid. This arrangement continued until 1895 when the last Burmese tributary mission visited Peking. The humiliation of China by Japan in that year destroyed the last lingering remnant of Chinese influence over her neighbors. Following upon the loss of Burmah came the surrender of Chinese suzerainty over Nepaul and Sikkim by the treaty with Great Britain of 1890.

Internal Distress and Disorder

During the period covered by this chapter a number of natural calamities brought great distress to the people. In 1877 and 1878 the Yellow River Valley was visited by drought and famine followed by pestilence. It is estimated that not less than ten millions of people perished.[3] The rains that failed to visit the Yellow River Valley precipitated themselves in the southern provinces, which were devastated by floods. In 1886 it was the northern provinces that were visited by floods. The Yellow River broke through its dikes near K'aifeng Fu and swept across Honan to the headwaters of the Huai and found an exit into the sea through its own ancient mouth south of the Shantung Promontory. Myriads of people were driven from their homes. Many who escaped drowning died of starvation. The most fortunate made their way to the Yangtze Valley and were fed from the public

[3] For details of this famine see the *Biography of Timothy Richard,* who aided in the relief.

granaries at Nanking and elsewhere. A great refuge camp was established outside the West Gate of Nanking, where the wretched people were huddled together under rude mat shelters during the winter of 1887-88. The dole of cooked rice was barely sufficient to keep them alive. A visit by the District Magistrate to inspect their condition brought an attack upon him by the hungry multitude and his chair was torn to pieces.[4]

In times of such distress the peasants of China in considerable numbers seek relief in brigandage. The tendency to disorder was accentuated by the war with France over Annam, which had revived the latent hostility to foreigners. The feeling found expression in attacks upon missionaries. Added to the alien nationality of the missionary was his claim, equally offensive to the Chinese, that Christianity was the only true religion. This would seem to place Confucianism, which was the state religion, as well as Buddhism and Taoism, both subsidized by the state, in the category of false religions. As early as 1884 there were antimissionary risings in the province of Kuangtung. These were quickly suppressed. In 1886 trouble broke out in Szechuen. The authorities there were not so alert as they had been at Canton and the missions were too far removed from the coast to obtain the protection of their own governments. All mission property, Roman Catholic and Protestant, in the city of Chungking was entirely destroyed. The same year a riot occurred in Chinkiang. In 1890 and 1891 these attacks upon the missionaries occurred in widely separated localities and were accompanied by much violence. They were especially numerous in the Yangtze Valley in 1891. American and British Consuls in some places were driven from their homes and all foreigners became involved in the trouble. The number of these risings and their location seemed to show an organized movement. The fury of the people was aroused by the circulation of slanderous charges against the monks and nuns of the Catholic Church and by charges against all missionaries of establishing hospitals and orphanages with the object of securing the hearts and eyes of children for the manufacture of medicines. It appeared that

[4] The writer visited this camp, and also traveled across the country as far as the valley of the Huai River and was thus a witness of much of the suffering.

many of the foulest charges were put in circulation by a prominent member of the gentry in the province of Hunan, who published a pamphlet containing them. The flames of hatred were fanned, moreover, by the activities of a secret order, known as the *Ko Lao Hui* or "Elder Brother Society," an organization said to have had its origin among the veterans who had fought against the T'ai P'ings. This society had become revolutionary in its aims, and was not so much interested in annoying the missionaries or other foreigners as in getting the Manchu government involved in difficulties with the Western Powers so that the revolutionists might find opportunity to overthrow the Manchus. But order was restored and the rioters were punished. Hostility was not removed, however, and, as we shall see, the persecution of Christianity was to be renewed in a few years with more fury than ever.

Trade Conventions

The third section of the Treaty of Chefoo related to trade matters. It was provided therein that opium imported into China should be placed in bond and on being sold should pay import duty and likin, but the likin would vary according to the direction taken inland, and this was unsatisfactory. The treaty remained without ratification by Great Britain until 1885. There were many suggestions made as to the amount of the likin to be paid, but in the year just mentioned an additional article was signed providing that opium on being taken out of bond should pay thirty taels import duty and eighty taels likin per picul. The revenue to be derived from the traffic in opium was considerably diminished by smuggling, and it became necessary to make arrangements with the British authorities at Hongkong and with the Portuguese at Macao to assist in the prevention of smuggling from those colonies. The Convention with Great Britain was signed in the autumn of 1886, but its enforcement depended upon the negotiation of a similar arrangement with Portugal. This was agreed to by Portugal in the spring of 1887 on condition that China would recognize Portuguese sovereignty over Macao and its dependent islands. China consented and thus lost another moiety of her territory. In February of the same

year Great Britain evacuated Port Hamilton, an island port off the coast of Korea which she had seized in 1885 to check supposed Russian designs on Korea.

In April and June 1887, France and China signed agreements relating to the delimitation of the frontier between Tongking and Yünnan and providing for the opening of trade marts and a reduction of duties in this overland trade—three-tenths on imports into China and four-tenths on exports from China—following the precedent set in the Russian overland trade. Great Britain made a similar arrangement in 1894 for reduction of duties in the trade over the Burmese frontier. In the preceding year, in December, a convention was signed providing for trade between India and Tibet. Yatung was opened as a trade mart and all trade exempted from customs duties for five years.

In 1889 the young Emperor, Kuanghsü, was married to his cousin, a niece of the dowager, Tzu-hsi. At the same time he took the reins of government into his own hands, but he proved to be a weak and ill-starred monarch.

Relations with Korea

According to Chinese accounts, a Chinese colony was established on the Korean Peninsula in the twelfth century B.C., as we have already learned. This report is confirmed by Korean tradition. In later ages the peninsula was at times in whole or in part incorporated in the Chinese empire and at times was occupied by one or more states tributary to China. Possibly in the third century A.D., certainly not later than the fourth century, Buddhism was introduced there from China, and in the sixth century Korean missionaries carried Buddhism and civilization to Japan. The T'ang Dynasty annexed the peninsula and divided it into five provinces. During the Sung period it became a part of the kingdom of Cathay. After the Mongols had conquered China they subdued Korea, and Kublai Khan used it as a base for his ill-fated attack upon Japan. Near the close of the sixteenth century of the Christian Era the Japanese under Hideyoshi invaded Korea, and the King of Korea called upon the Chinese Emperor, his suzerain, for assistance. This was given, but it was a Korean admiral, as we have seen, who finally defeated

Hideyoshi and expelled his army. During the late Manchu regime Korea was a dependency of China and sent tribute to Peking once every four years. Nevertheless, Korea's relation to China was one that is not easily defined in the political terms of the West. Although it was undoubtedly that of a vassal, we cannot attach to that word exactly the meaning that it bears in Europe. The foreign relations of dependent states are determined in the Western world by the overlord. Korea, however, belonged to the Orient and was permitted to enter into treaty relations with Japan in 1876, with the United States in 1882, and subsequently with other powers. The Japanese treaty, however, was forced upon Korea after some Japanese seamen had been fired upon by Koreans. The treaty was made to declare that Korea was an independent state; but despite this declaration, the King of Korea continued to regard himself as China's vassal. The treaty with the United States was urged upon Korea by China which sought in this way to offset Japanese influence there.

American Relations with Korea

The attention of the American government was first drawn to Korea in 1845. A resolution introduced in the national House of Representatives that year recommended that commercial arrangements be made with that country, but nothing came of the effort.

In June 1866 the American vessel *Surprise* was wrecked on the coast of Korea. The seamen were rescued and treated very kindly by the Koreans who sent them to China. This suggested again the propriety of negotiating a treaty. The need was emphasized three months later when another American vessel, the *General Sherman* was burned in the Tadong River and her crew all massacred. In January 1867, Commander Shufeldt in the *Wachusetts* arrived off the coast of Korea to make investigation of this affair. He confirmed the report of the massacre, but his letter to the Korean government was left unanswered. In the spring of 1868 Commodore Febiger in the *Shenandoah* visited the Tadong River and attempted to make a survey, but was fired upon by one of the forts. He received a reply to Commander Shufeldt's letter, from which it appeared that the Captain of the *General*

Sherman was held responsible by Korea for the destruction of his vessel, since he had forced his way up the river in spite of warnings and threats.

In 1871 the American government decided to send an expedition to Korea to attempt to negotiate a treaty for the protection of seamen. For this purpose Admiral Rodgers with five vessels escorted the American Minister at Peking to the mouth of the Han River some thirty miles from Seoul. On June 1st some boats of the fleet attempted to survey the river and were fired upon. The fire was returned by the Americans and in the engagement that followed a number of Koreans were killed and wounded and two Americans were injured. When the admiral demanded an apology, the Koreans expressed regret that the Americans had violated the law in attempting to pass the barrier. This did not satisfy the admiral, who attacked again on June 10th and captured five forts and a number of prisoners and guns. This, of course, made the negotiation of a treaty impossible and the fleet returned to China. After the successful attempt of the Japanese to establish treaty relations with Korea, the American government decided to try again. In 1880 Commodore Shufeldt was sent once more. He tried to open negotiations through the Japanese, but the latter did not seem eager to give assistance and reported that the Koreans were unwilling to receive his letter. While in Japan, Commodore Shufeldt made the acquaintance of the Chinese Consul at Nagasaki, who reported to the Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, at Tientsin, the desire of the United States to establish treaty relations with Korea. This pleased the Viceroy, who invited Commodore Shufeldt to Tientsin. The result of this visit was that after returning to Washington to make report, Commodore Shufeldt was sent to Peking in the autumn of 1881 to arrange through the Legation there and with the assistance of Viceroy Li for the negotiation of a treaty with Korea.

The Chinese government showed great willingness to encourage the negotiations. Various drafts of the proposed treaty were made in Peking and in Tientsin and considered by Shufeldt and Li Hung-chang. It was Li who proposed the insertion of the clause promising the exercise of good offices in case other powers should "deal unjustly or oppressively with either government." This is the clause that, in her dis-

tress at a later date, Korea was to appeal to without avail. The treaty was signed on May 22, 1882, and duly ratified soon afterward. The relationship of Korea to China was indicated not only in the curious circumstance that this treaty was drawn up in Peking and Tientsin in consultation with Chinese officials and that the latter were permitted to insert one of the most important clauses, but also in the attitude of the Chinese government toward the appointment in 1887 of the first Korean Minister to the United States. China at first objected to the appointment of any Korean representative. Later, upon a formal request from the King of Korea to the Emperor of China, consent was given, but Korea was instructed by China that she should appoint, not Ministers Plenipotentiary, but Ministers Resident, that is to say, representatives of a lower rank than those of China, and that a request for audience of the President should be made through the Chinese Legation at Washington. The American government objected very emphatically to these instructions and they were ignored by Korea.[5] Perhaps the true relationship between Korea and China may be best expressed in modern language by saying that Korea was one of the "self-governing dominions" of the Chinese empire.

Japan and Korea

After the defeat and death of Hideyoshi in 1597, Japan made no further effort to invade Korea until 1894, almost three hundred years to a day. Japan was opened to modern intercourse with the West in 1854. In the four decades immediately following she made rapid strides in readjusting herself to a changed environment. Feudalism was abolished in 1871. Clan warfare being at an end, there was a disposition on the part of some of the leaders to indulge in an aggressive war abroad to give employment to the idle samurai and at the same time to extend the empire and add glory to the reign of the Mikado. Some outlet for the effervescing spirit of militarism was found in the expedition for the punishment of the head-hunters of Formosa, who had killed certain Japanese seamen in 1871. The expedition, as we have seen, was sent

[5] John W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 329.

in 1873. This, however, was scarcely sufficient to satisfy the jingoes, who had been planning much more important and extensive operations. At the very beginning of the Restoration Period a brilliant young teacher, Yoshida Shoin, the instructor of some of the greatest leaders of the Meiji period, —Ito, Kido, Inouye and Shinagawa,—had advocated a program of foreign conquest which embraced the seizure of Formosa, Korea, Manchuria, Saghalien, the Kuriles, Kamchatka and eastern Siberia. His biographer, Mr. Tokutomi, at the conclusion of the interesting story of Yoshida Shoin's career, published in 1914, said: "And now we see how after sixty years this program is almost completed."

Ito and some other statesmen were too wise to consent to the provocation of war with China in 1873. Ito had just returned from a visit to the principal countries of the Western World, and saw that before engaging in aggressive warfare it would be necessary to modernize the army and create a navy. He believed, moreover, that if Japan was to take the place desired in the family of nations, it would be necessary to adopt a constitution and create a parliament. He went abroad again in 1883 to study the working of various systems of government, and upon his return later in the same year, he began drafting the constitution, which was modeled upon that of Prussia. This greatly restricted the powers of the Diet and enabled the oligarchy, of which he was the leader, to retain control of the government. In 1885 the French military instructors in Japan were dismissed and Germans appointed in their stead. In 1889 the constitution was promulgated, and in 1890 the Diet held its first meeting. But at once the government was faced by a strong opposition which demanded the grant to the Diet of real legislative power and the subjection of the Cabinet to the approval of the House of Representatives. For three years the struggle went on, the feeling growing ever more and more bitter. In December 1893 the refractory Diet was dissolved and a new election ordered which took place in March 1894. The new Diet met on May 15th, but was no less hostile to the government than its predecessor. It was dissolved on June 2nd, and before another election could be held all opposition was silenced by a declaration of war against China.

The War with Japan

The Japanese excuse for a war with China was the condition of affairs in Korea. The Japanese-Korean Treaty of 1876, as we have seen, expressly declared that Korea was a sovereign, independent state. Yet Korea continued to regard herself as a vassal of China. This was offensive to Japan. Japanese in Korea at times were treated with a great deal of rudeness. Russia and Japan were both intriguing for control of Korea, and to prevent either from acquiring that control, China drew closer the bonds with herself. In 1883 Yüan Shih-k'ai was sent to Seoul as Minister Resident, and a customs service under European control was organized with men drawn from the service in China. Japan and China both maintained legation guards in Seoul. But there were two parties in Korea, one pro-Chinese, the other sympathetic with Japan's aim to bring about the modernization of the country. The latter was impatient, and in December 1884 the leaders of this party took possession of the palace and of the King and commanded the latter to send for various ministers belonging to the pro-Chinese party. As the men appeared they were cut down. The King was then compelled to ask for a Japanese guard, which was sent. The Chinese, knowing that the King was hostile to Japanese aims, were sure that he had not voluntarily sent for Japanese protection, and at once attacked the Japanese and drove them out of the city.

China was then in the midst of her trouble with France over Annam, and had no desire for a war with Japan. The quarrel was patched up in 1885 by an agreement in which both China and Japan assented to the immediate withdrawal of their troops from Korea and promised that neither would send an armed force there again without notifying the other power of intention to do so.

In the spring of 1894 the Tonghak Rebellion broke out in Korea. The Tonghak was a religio-political society, ostensibly aiming at the preservation of national culture. It was reported to be antiforeign in feeling, and fears of an attack upon the legations were expressed. The King of Korea appealed to the Emperor of China as his suzerain for assistance. China in accordance with the agreement of 1885 gave due

notice to Japan of her intention to send a small force.[6] About fifteen hundred men were sent early in June, and this body was increased during the month to three thousand. Japan responded to the Chinese movement without any request from Korea and by the end of June had some eighteen thousand troops in the peninsula. China, in her note to Japan giving information of her intention to send troops to Korea, spoke of that country as a tributary state. Japan replied, declaring that she did not recognize Korea as a tributary of China. Japan invited China to join with her in a reorganization of the Korean government. China declined, and pointed out that if Korea was independent, as claimed by Japan, then neither China nor Japan had any right to interfere. In the meantime, Korea had put down the Tonghak Rebellion without assistance from either of her neighbors.

Japan's real reason for declaring war seems to have been the political situation at home. Three aims are apparent in the prosecution of this war aside from its immediate object, which was to detach Korea definitely from any sort of dependence upon China. The three ulterior aims were (1) to unite the nation by means of a foreign war and stifle all demand for a more liberal constitution, (2) to impress the world with Japan's military and naval power and thus establish her fitness to take a place in the comity of nations as the equal of the Western Powers, that is, make effective her demand for the abolition of treaty tariffs and the extraterritorial jurisdiction of the West in Japan, and (3) to inaugurate the program of foreign conquest outlined by Yoshida Shoin and so long held in abeyance. Japanese action followed swiftly upon the resolution to make war. China was unprepared, and Japan's army swept through Korea and across southern Manchuria within a few months. At the outbreak of hostilities the Chinese in accordance with the provisions of our treaty of 1858 asked for the good offices of our government. The Secretary of State declined to intervene, but recommended the arbitration of the questions involved. Other powers also declined to intervene. In December the American

[6] The statement in McLaren's *Political History of Japan* that the "immediate cause of the war was China's breach of the Tientsin Treaty of 1885" has been shown to be incorrect. Morse, *International Relations*, vol. iii, p. 22, refers to the correspondence.

treaty was again appealed to, and the American government responded that it would be glad to use its good offices, provided Japan should be willing to have them exercised. Japan was willing that China should forward her request for peace through the American Legation, but was insistent that China herself should sue for peace. After various attempts to avoid this humiliation, finding the Japanese army and navy everywhere victorious and Peking itself placed in jeopardy, the Chinese government appointed its most distinguished statesman, Li Hung-chang, as plenipotentiary and asked for peace. Hon. John W. Foster, who had been Secretary of State of our government, was Adviser to the Chinese Legation in Washington, and at the request of China went to Japan to assist the Chinese Viceroy in negotiating terms of peace. The first conference of the representatives of the two governments was held at Shimonoseki, Japan, on March 20, 1895. An armistice was asked, but was refused except upon terms deemed impossible by the Chinese. On March 24th the Chinese Viceroy was shot in the face by a Japanese fanatic. This dastardly crime proved to be in the end of great benefit to China. It aroused universal indignation. The Emperor of Japan apologized, and the Japanese negotiators at once granted an armistice and greatly reduced their demands. The treaty of peace was signed on April 17, 1895, at Shimonoseki and ratified on May 8th of the same year at Chefoo. The treaty provided for the recognition by China and Japan of the independence and autonomy of Korea, for the cession to Japan of the island of Formosa and the Pescadores group, the cession also of southern Manchuria, and the payment by China of an indemnity of two hundred million taels. An important clause was that which provided for the opening of four new ports to foreign residence and trade. These were Hangchow in Chekiang, Soochow in Kiangsu, Shashih in Hupei and Chungking in Szechuen.

Russia had had her eyes fixed upon Manchuria for some time. She wanted a seaport that would be open all the year round and had hoped to find one in the Liaotung Peninsula. Before the treaty was signed she had approached France with a proposal to protest against the cession of any territory on the mainland. Germany, too, was induced to join in such a

protest,[7] and before the ratifications were exchanged the three powers advised Japan to restore the South Manchurian territory to China. Japan was not prepared to defend herself against three great European powers and had no option but to accede to their advice. Southern Manchuria was restored to China upon condition that China should pay an additional indemnity of thirty million taels. But Japan bided her time and, as we shall see, in due course obtained her revenge. The Convention for the return to China of the Liaotung Peninsula was signed on November 8, 1895, and ratifications exchanged on the 29th of that month.

Commercial Treaty

Japan's success in the war with her great neighbor enhanced her prestige throughout the world; but its most significant result was the rapid increase of Japanese influence in China and the enlargement of the commercial and industrial relations of the two nations. By the triumph of her arms Japan won a place alongside the Christian nations of the West. Her subjects resident in China were to enjoy the same extraterritorial status as the Europeans living there. This was provided for in the new Commercial Treaty, signed on July 21, 1896. This treaty was an improvement over earlier treaties made by China with European states in its provisions for the commutation of inland taxation on imports and exports. Still more important was the grant of the right of Japanese to "engage in all kinds of manufacturing industries in all the open cities, towns and ports of China," and "to import into China all kinds of machinery, paying only the stipulated duties thereon." Although foreign machinery had been introduced in some of the ports and some manufacturing had been done in a small way by foreign residents of China, the Chinese government had held that it had never granted to foreigners the right to do these things, and that goods so manufactured could not be sold in China. Japan, by her victory over China in war, had wrung from her this concession and in the Protocol of October, 1896, secured the further agreement that articles

[7] The recent publication of correspondence in the German archives intimates that the plan to force Japan out of Manchuria was suggested to Russia by Germany.

manufactured by Japanese in China were not to be taxed in any way or amount other than that payable by Chinese subjects. Since other powers enjoyed favored nation treatment, they were enabled to take advantage of the Japanese provisions. Thus began the establishment of the factory system in China which is gradually supplanting the mediæval handicrafts and cottage industries, and bringing in great social and economic changes.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

Kuanghsü .....A.D. 1876-1908
Regency of the Empresses, Tzu-an and Tzu-hsi, 1876-1881
Regency of Tzu-hsi alone, 1881-1889

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CHAPTER XIV

AGGRESSION AND REPRISAL

Manchu Dynasty, Sixth Period, 1897-1902

When the strong man, fully armed, guardeth his own court, his goods are in peace; but when a stronger than he shall come upon him and overcome him, he taketh from him his whole armour wherein he trusted, and divideth his spoils.

—JESUS.

The forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife.

—PROVERBS.

ABORTIVE REFORM

THE first reaction on the part of the better and more intelligent Chinese to defeat by Japan was a desire for reform. They saw their little neighbor Japan, made more powerful than the Chinese giant by the adoption of Western culture, particularly the Western military training and equipment. It seemed to be time for China, the ancient teacher of Japan, to learn from her former pupil. So it came to pass that in 1896 an enthusiastic movement was inaugurated for the introduction of Western education. The great Viceroy, Chang Chih-tung, then stationed at Nanking, published a volume called *Learn,* in which he pointed to the lesson taught by the war. "Learn," he said, "the shame of being like Turkey. Learn the need of being like Japan." He cautioned his readers, however, against the wholesale adoption of everything that had come out of the West. He saw no reason, for instance, for substituting a foreign religion for the ancestral faith. But Western science, particularly in its application to manufacture, transportation and defence,—this he thought worth having.

The progressive ideas of Chang Chih-tung attracted to his support a group of brilliant young men who banded themselves

together to promote the reforms that were projected. Among these were three whose names have become widely known: K'ang, Yu-wei, called the "Sage of Canton," Liang Chi-ch'ao who is still today the foremost scholar of China and one of her wisest statesmen, and T'an Tzu-t'ung, the son of the Governor of the province of Hupei at that time. The young Emperor read with delight the treatises of K'ang Yu-wei and invited him to Peking. Under this influence the monarch in 1898 began to issue a series of remarkable edicts, designed to bring about the modernization of the government. This action unfortunately was marked by undue haste and a tactless disregard of opposing interests. K'ang was inexperienced in statecraft, and the Emperor had the mind of a child. Even the liberal ministers in the government stood aghast at the list of drastic changes proposed in the short space of less than three months. Among them were such reforms as the abolition of obsolete offices, both at the capital and in the provinces, the modernization of the examinations for the civil and military services, the adoption of new equipment for the army, the creation of a navy, the establishment of a national university as well as of schools and colleges of lesser grade, the reform of the courts of law, the creation of new ministries, the promotion of railway building and the enactment of measures for the encouragement of agriculture and mining. Consideration was given, too, to proposals for the abandonment of the queue and the observance of a Sunday rest. But the whole project suddenly collapsed. The indignation of those who had been removed from office, the bitter hatred of the conservatives who saw the government weakly yielding, as they thought, to alien influences, and the distrust of nearly all the practical statesmen created an opposition too powerful to be withstood.

A Coup d'État

Prince Kung had died in May 1898, thus depriving the state of an experienced official whose good sense might have saved the government from the folly into which it was drifting. Li Hung-chang, another statesman to whom the imperial house was greatly indebted, was not opposed to progress, but

he was opposed to the pace that the Emperor was making and, moreover, he was a staunch supporter of the dowager Empress rather than the Emperor. He had been removed from office in September, 1898; otherwise he might have persuaded His Majesty to proceed more cautiously.

The conservatives during that same month had called the attention of the Empress Dowager, Tzu-hsi, to the mad career of the monarch and had urged her to check it. With her consent a palace revolution was planned, but, before taking action, she wanted to consult her lifelong friend, Jung-lu, who was Viceroy at Tientsin. A visit of the Empress Dowager and the Emperor to Tientsin was in fact already arranged for September.

No secrets are kept in China, and the plot of the conservatives soon became known to the group of reformers in Peking. It seemed to them necessary to inform the Emperor of the situation without delay. But, except for Ministers of the government, audiences of the Emperor were not easily obtained. His Majesty knew that plotting was going on, but did not know that he himself was in danger. He had warned K'ang Yu-wei that the conservatives were threatening his life and advised him to leave the capital. K'ang did so and was accompanied to Tientsin by Liang Chi-ch'ao. Among the reformers who remained in Peking, T'an Tzu-t'ung was chosen to try to get into communication with the monarch. But T'an held no official position; how could he get to the Emperor? The former military Governor of Peking, Hu Yü-fen, explained to the writer the method employed to secure the private audience that was wanted.

A troupe of celebrated actors was playing in the palace. These players had passes that permitted them to go in and out of the Forbidden City at such times as their engagement demanded. T'an persuaded the manager to allow him to visit the palace with them as one of the troupe. It was the custom of the Emperor to visit the greenroom to talk with the actors. There he met T'an, who told him of the conservative plot. The Emperor decided to forestall the action of his enemies by imprisoning the Empress Dowager. But to do this he would have to have military support, and the northern army was commanded by Jung-lu, the henchman of the dowager. The

second in command, however, was Yüan Shih-k'ai, who moreover was the organizer of a modern force of some five thousand men at Tientsin. Since it was well known that he held modern views, it was thought that he would support the Emperor's policy. The monarch, therefore, decided to send for Yüan, put him in command of the army, remove Jung-lu, bring a large force to Peking and place the Empress Dowager in seclusion. Yüan came in obedience to the imperial command and had audience of His Majesty on the night of September 19, 1898. He disguised his real sentiments and appeared to fall in with the plan of the Emperor. The monarch did not know, however, that some years earlier Yüan had entered into a blood covenant with Jung-lu and was bound by his oath to defend him even at the sacrifice of his own life.

Yüan was directed to remain in his quarters and await a warrant for the execution of Jung-lu, but he left the capital early on the morning of the 20th and returned to Tientsin. When the Emperor discovered this, he sent for T'an Tzu-t'ung, gave him the documents and sent him after Yüan. But the latter had already betrayed the scheme to Jung-lu, who hastened to Peking and laid the whole affair before the Empress Dowager. She was naturally infuriated. She sent for the Emperor, deprived him of his seals and had him imprisoned on an island in the Western Park, where he remained until the flight of the Court in 1900. When T'an Tzu-t'ung learned what Yüan had done, he gave warning to K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-ch'ao who were in hiding in Tientsin. They made their escape to the south. They had urged T'an to accompany them, but he felt that he was in honor bound to return to Peking to report, if possible, to the Emperor. Upon his arrival at the capital, he was promptly arrested and on the following day, in company with ten other young men, was beheaded in the market place. Thus ended the movement for reform that had awakened such high hopes in the breasts of China's friends. The conservatives were restored to power, and the edicts which had created consternation in Court circles were all rescinded. A few years later the Empress Dowager was herself duplicating many of these edicts. But before that could happen, it was necessary for China to pass through a great upheaval.

Weakness Invites Aggression

Although the treaty retroceding the Liaotung Peninsula to China was not signed until November 8, 1895, the proclamation of the Japanese government accepting the advice of Russia, Germany and France in the matter was published as early as May 10, 1895. Immediately thereafter the three intervening powers began to look to China for compensation for the exercise of their good offices. France in June, 1895, asked and obtained a rectification of the boundary between Annam and China and the opening of more towns in that region to foreign residence and trade. In July of the same year France and Russia had arranged through a syndicate of their bankers a four-per-cent gold loan to China of four hundred million francs. The loan was needed by China for part payment to Japan of the promised indemnity. Great Britain, which had not participated in the pressure put upon Japan, was not pleased by the favor thus shown by the Chinese government to France and Russia; but in March, 1896, she was appeased by a loan of sixteen million pounds sterling at five per cent negotiated through an Anglo-German syndicate.

Russo-Chinese Treaty of Alliance

More important in the international scheming of 1896 was a secret treaty of alliance between Russia and China, signed in May. It was brought about through China's fear of further attack by Japan and by Russia's eagerness to prevent possible Japanese occupation of territory that the Muscovite government had earmarked for itself. Any Japanese aggression upon Chinese or Korean territory or upon Asiatic Russia, the treaty stipulated, was to bring the treaty immediately into operation. To facilitate coöperation, Russia was permitted to build a railway across northern Manchuria, connecting the Trans-Siberian line with Vladivostok. During military operations Chinese ports were to be open to Russian warships. The treaty was to remain in force for fifteen years from the date of the confirmation by the Emperor of China of a contract for the construction of the railway just mentioned.

In the summer of 1896 special ambassadors from all the great nations of the world gathered at Moscow to attend

the coronation of the Tsar. Li Hung-chang represented China. While he was in St. Petersburg he signed on behalf of China a contract with the Russo-Chinese Bank for the building of the Chinese Eastern Railway from Chita to Vladivostok, the greater portion of which lies in Chinese territory. This was in fulfillment of the stipulation in the treaty of alliance. The contract was dated September 8, 1896, and provided, among other things, that the lands needed for the railway or for supplies of rock, sand and lime, should be given to the company free of charge if they belonged to the state and, if they were private property, should be sold or leased at current prices. The company was to have absolute and exclusive right to the administration of its lands and be permitted to construct on them whatever buildings they might require. All this property was to be free of taxes, as were all goods needed for construction, operation or repair of the line. Mines along the railway were to be subject to a special arrangement. Russia was to have the right to transport troops over the line from one Russian station to another. China was made responsible for the protection of the line and the persons in the service of the company. Eighty years after the completion of the railway, the line with its appurtenances was to become Chinese property, and at the expiration of thirty-six years from the date of the completion of the work China was to have the right to purchase the line upon payment of the capital involved together with interest on the same. An important provision was that requiring the gauge to correspond with the gauge of Russian railways, which is five feet. Shares in the company that was organized in accordance with the contract were to be held only by Russians or Chinese. Notwithstanding the provision which made the Chinese government responsible for the protection of the railway and its employees, the statutes adopted by the company interpreted this as referring only to "extraneous attacks," and declared that "the preservation of law and order on the lands assigned to the railway and its appurtenances shall be confided to police agents appointed by the Company." China made no objection to this interpretation, and under the statute the policing of the line was done by Russian troops and the police system became a municipal government at Harbin, a city built on railway lands at the crossing of the Sungari River.

The Burmese Frontier

France having obtained a rectification of the Annamese boundary, in derogation of the Convention of 1894 between China and Great Britain, the British government demanded and obtained a modification of the boundary between Burmah and Yünnan, together with the opening of additional ports in Kuangsi and Kuangtung. The agreement was signed on February 4, 1897.

Spheres of Interest

On March 15, 1897, France established a precedent that was to have far-reaching effects. On the 3rd of that month M. Gerard, Minister of France at Peking, addressed a note to the Chinese Foreign Office, stating that his government attached great importance to the island of Hainan lying so near to the coast of French Indo-China, and asking that it should never be ceded or leased to any other foreign power than France. On the 15th the Chinese Foreign Office replied that Hainan belonged to the territory of China over which it exercised the right of sovereignty, and asking how then it could cede it to any foreign power. It assured the French Minister that no lease of it had been made. It was rather an evasive reply, but it seemed to acknowledge France's deep interest in the non-alienation of the island.

In November of the same year, a band of brigands raided a little village in the prefecture of Ts'aochou, in the province of Shantung. It was not an anti-foreign movement, as some have said; it was just an ordinary case of brigandage, only too common in some parts of China. The bandits looted the village and killed a number of people, among them two German missionaries who happened to be there. A number of German warships had been cruising along the coast of China examining various ports which might be available for the German naval station that the German government hoped to establish in the Far East. The leasing of such a port would be a fair reward for German assistance in getting Japan out of Manchuria. But the murder of two German subjects in Shantung afforded opportunity for a more dramatic presentation of the demand. The warships were ordered at once to the Bay of Kiaochow,

and a force of bluejackets was landed at the little fishing village of Tsingtao. They drove the Chinese soldiers out of the rude forts there, and a series of demands for the redress of this and other antimissionary outrages was presented to the Chinese government. These demands included the removal of the Governor of the province, never to be employed again, because he had failed to preserve order in his jurisdiction. The families of the murdered missionaries were to be paid indemnities and an imperial tablet was to be erected to the memory of these martyrs. But most important of the demands was one for the lease of Kiaochow Bay for ninety-nine years for a German naval station. Connected with this was a demand for the right to build two railway lines from Tsingtao into the interior and to open mines along these proposed lines. These demands were presented on November 22, 1897.

While the negotiations were pending, in February, 1898, the British government seized the opportunity to follow the example of France by presenting a request to China for assurance that none of the provinces adjoining the Yangtze River would ever be alienated to any other power. The assurance was given in a note from the Chinese Foreign Office dated February 11, 1898, and two days later a further promise was given the British Minister at Peking that as long as British trade should exceed that of other powers, a British subject would be employed by China as Inspector General of the Maritime Customs. These notes seemed to establish a British sphere of interest in the Yangtze Valley and certainly did put the Chinese customs under British control for an indefinite period.

A few days later, March 1, 1898, British and German bankers united in making a second loan of sixteen million pounds to China at four and one-half per cent per annum. This loan, like that of 1896, was secured upon the Maritime Customs Revenue, subject to prior liens, but in addition was made a first charge free from all incumbrances upon certain likin collections.

On the 6th of the same month the lease of Kiaochow to Germany was signed. The Convention provided for the lease of the whole water area of the bay up to the highest water-mark, the peninsulas on either side of the bay, and islands in

the bay or lying off the approach. The lease was to run for ninety-nine years. In a zone of fifty kilometers surrounding the bay at high water, China, while reserving sovereignty, agreed to permit the free passage of German troops and to abstain from taking any measures without the previous consent of Germany. A Chinese-German Company was to be organized to construct two lines of railway along which mining rights were to be granted, and an option was given Germans on all public works in the province of Shantung that might require foreign assistance in persons, capital or material.

Now in the preceding winter, that of 1896-97, Russian war vessels had spent some weeks in Kiaochow Bay, and it was rumored that Russia had arranged to lease it. Whether the report had any real foundation or not, the lease of Kiaochow to Germany at once stirred Russia to further demands upon China. On the 27th of March, 1898, Russia obtained from China a lease for twenty-five years of the Kuantung Peninsula of southern Manchuria, including the two harbors of Port Arthur and Dalny, thus depriving China of the most important part of the region from which Japan had just been expelled. With the lease was granted the right to connect the two leased ports with the Chinese Eastern Railway by a branch line to be built south from some point on that railway.

Eight days later, April 4, 1898, Russia's ally, France, demanded from China assurance of the nonalienation to any other power of territory bordering on Tongking, and on the 9th of April added three other requests: one for the right to construct a railway from the Tongking frontier to Yünnanfu, the second for the lease of Kuangchou Bay in Kuangtung Province for a naval station for ninety-nine years, and the third for assurance that when China should organize a Postal Service, consideration would be given to the recommendations of the French government in the selection of the staff. The lease of Kuangchou Bay was signed on May 27, 1898, but was not ratified until February 19, 1900.

In the meantime, Japan was aroused to action and on April 26, 1898, obtained from China assurance of the nonalienation of territory in Fukien or along its coast to any other power than Japan. Fukien is the province opposite the island of Formosa, ceded to Japan, as we have seen, after the war with China.

All these events greatly disturbed the British. Admiral Sir Charles Beresford went out to China to study the situation and, after his return, published his observations in a volume entitled *The Breakup of China*. As early as 1885 Great Britain had occupied Port Hamilton lying off the coast of Korea with a view to checking the march of Russia southward. She had held the port for two years, but then had given it up. When, however, it was learned that in December, 1897, Russia had obtained from China permission to winter her fleet at Port Arthur, Great Britain at once sent a number of war vessels to Chemulpo in Korea and despatched two others to Port Arthur. It was a tactical mistake. Russia complained of the action as unfriendly, and a few days later the British vessels at Port Arthur sailed away. British explanations to the effect that they had visited Port Arthur in the ordinary course of a cruise did not restore the lost prestige. A few weeks later the lease of Port Arthur and Dalny to Russia was announced, and the dreaded appearance of Russia in Chinese waters was an accomplished fact. British diplomacy had somewhat suffered a setback and something had to be done. Accordingly, in June, 1898, the British government asked and obtained an extension of the crown colony of Hongkong by the lease of the hinterland of Kowloon, the waters of Mirs Bay and Deep Bay and a number of islands in the vicinity, which increased the land area of the colony from twenty-nine to four hundred and five square miles. The lease was to be for a period of ninety-nine years from July 1, 1898. But this improvement of the defenses of Hongkong did not answer the challenge of Russia in the north; and while the matter of extending the boundaries of Hongkong was still pending, negotiations were proceeding for the lease of Weihaiwei on the northern coast of Shantung, opposite Port Arthur. The lease of this port in a province where Germany had already secured a privileged position required that first of all an understanding should be had with that power. This was effected in March, 1898, by Britain's voluntary intimation to Germany that she had no intention of injuring or calling in question German interests in Shantung, and in particular that Great Britain had no intention of building railway connection between Weihaiwei and the interior. Accordingly, on July 1, 1898, a convention was signed leasing to Great Britain the island of Liukung and

other islands in the Bay of Weihaiwei, together with a strip of land ten miles wide along the shore of the bay, with the right to build fortifications, station troops or take any other measures necessary for defensive purposes; and the term of the lease was "for as long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia." Thus the Russian Bear and the British Lion, each with his portion of the prey, glowered at one another across the Gulf of Chihli.

These declarations as to nonalienation of territory, together with the lease of various ports, seemed to establish a number of spheres of interest in China,—for France, southwest China; for Great Britain, the Yangtze Valley; for Japan, the province of Fukien, opposite Formosa; for Germany, the province of Shantung (later concessions extended this sphere into Honan); and for Russia, Manchuria.

In February, 1899, Italy asked for the cession of a site on Sanmen Inlet in Chekiang Province for a naval station. Although Great Britain, France and Germany approved, China had the courage to refuse.

In April of the same year Great Britain and Russia entered into an agreement which tended to lessen possible friction between their subjects in China. Great Britain engaged not to ask for railway concessions north of the Great Wall, and Russia promised not to seek such concessions in the Yangtze Valley. This was followed in June, 1899, by an agreement between Russia and China in which China promised that if in the future she should desire to construct railways from Peking to the north or northeast and should need foreign assistance, no foreign government other than Russia, and no syndicate of any other nationality, would be consulted.

I have related in some detail these events that followed so closely upon the Chinese-Japanese War in order to account for the violent reaction in China. But it is necessary first to consider the effect of these aggressions upon American policy.

The Open Door

Two weeks before the lease of Kiaochow to Germany, on February 15, 1898, the American battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor of Havana. This precipitated war between the United States and Spain. While that contest was going

on, it was manifestly impossible for the American government to take any effective measures for the protection of its interests in China. Although the Department of State was not unaware of the aggressive action of European powers in China nor indifferent to the possible outcome of such action, it had no desire at the moment to antagonize those powers. The provocative action of the German fleet, moreover, when Manila was taken by Admiral Dewey, emphasized the wisdom of postponing the discussion of these aggressions. But soon after peace with Spain had been established, Secretary Hay gave his attention to the situation in the Far East. On September 6, 1899, instructions were sent to the American Ambassadors at London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg, and subsequently to our diplomatic representatives in Italy and Japan, to bring to the attention of the several governments to which they were accredited the desire of the United States to have from them an assurance that each

First. Will in no way interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its sphere on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

All the powers addressed gave satisfactory replies to the note of Secretary Hay, the last being that of Germany which was dated February 19, 1900. Each had agreed to the policy outlined on condition that the other interested powers should also agree. On March 20, 1900, therefore, Secretary Hay informed each of the governments concerned that the others had accepted his proposals. This policy became known as that of the "Open Door."

It will be noted that in all this correspondence, China, the nation chiefly interested, was not consulted by Secretary Hay, and that thus far the policy of the Open Door applied to spheres of interest and leased territories only. By limiting his correspondence regarding the matter to those powers that were disposed to establish spheres of interest, he gave a quasi recognition to their claims. He made no protest against the acts of aggression. It is true that he qualified the term, "spheres of interest," by the adjective, "so-called"; but during the negotiations attending this declaration of policy he gave very definite recognition of Japan's claim, when he proposed in December, 1899, to ask from China the lease of a port on the coasts of Fukien Province for use by the United States as a naval station. Before approaching China, he instructed the American Minister at Tokyo to enquire of the Japanese government whether it would make objection to such lease. The Japanese promptly replied that they would object, whereupon the matter was dropped.[1]

A few months later, in the summer of 1900, the policy of the Open Door was very much extended by a second series of notes concerning the settlement of the Boxer troubles. On July 3, 1900, the American government, having been consulted by other powers as to the best course to be pursued in China, expressed its views in a circular communication addressed to Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and Russia, stating that the policy of the United States was to seek a solution that would bring "permanent safety and peace to China, preserve Chinese territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights guaranteed to friendly powers by treaty and international law, and safeguard for the world the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." As thus stated, the policy no longer applied alone to spheres of interest and leased territories, but became a general guarantee of the territorial and administrative integrity of the whole Chinese empire and a pledge of equality of commercial opportunity for all nations in all parts of that empire. The governments consulted severally promised their adherence to this policy in the settlement to be made of the Boxer insurrection.

[1] Archives of the Department of State.

The Boxers

It now becomes necessary to explain the rise of this movement, miscalled the "Boxer" Rebellion. The Chinese government in the war with Japan had revealed itself as pitifully weak and inefficient. Instead of the terrifying dragon emblazoned on her banners, a more appropriate emblem would have been the patient water buffalo that plows her fields. Lying prostrate and wounded, she appeared to be helpless and the birds of prey gathered from all sides to feast upon her flesh.

We have seen that spheres of interest were established by certain foreign powers and leases of territory demanded by them without much ceremony. This mutilation of the empire went on in apparent indifference to the feelings of the people chiefly concerned. To the Chinese it resembled the stealing and slicing of a ripe melon. They so characterized it. The slicing of the melon under the very eyes of the owner was made more offensive by an insolent and mocking pretense of saying: "By your leave." The Chinese are a patient people and under ordinary conditions they are very peaceful; but the sense of injustice suffered will drive the most patient people to violent resistance.

For centuries the Chinese empire had been honeycombed by secret societies. Some were of a religious character; some were political and revolutionary; others partook of both characters. After the suppression of the reform movement by the *coup d'état* of September, 1898, a number of these secret societies coalesced in an organization called the *I Ho Ch'üan.* Sometimes it was known as the *I Ho T'uan.* The first name means "Patriotic Union of Fists," the second means "United Patriotic Trainband." Because in their religious exercises they employed certain bodily movements whose magic was supposed to make them proof against wounding by enemy weapons, they were supposed by foreign observers to be engaged in boxing and their name was mistranslated "Boxers."

The triumph of the reactionary forces at Peking had been followed by a bitter persecution of all who had been engaged in the cause of reform. The Emperor was a prisoner, and rival princely families in Peking were intriguing one against another in the struggle to name a successor after he should

be deposed. Some of the members of the Boxers, at that time a revolutionary society, saw in the situation an opportunity to accomplish the overthrow of the alien dynasty that was misruling China. The first placards put out by the Boxers were denunciations of the Manchus, and called upon the Chinese people to rise and drive out the inefficient rulers that had brought humiliation upon the country. Within a year their attitude had entirely changed. In September, 1899, the society was actively engaged in an antiforeign movement. Its leaders had evidently become convinced by some means that the foreign powers that were encroaching upon China's sovereignty and appropriating her territory were the proper objects of attack, rather than the Manchu government; and thenceforward the Boxers became one of the chief dependencies of the reactionary Court in its mad struggle with the West and with modern civilization.

But it was not alone the conservative faction at Peking with its Boxer aids that cherished bitter hatred of all foreigners. The whole empire had been stirred by the seizure of ports and the forced leasing of territories by Europeans. The actual facts were grossly exaggerated by the tea-house rumors that among an illiterate people took the place of the daily newspaper. Prominent leaders in the province of Hunan, a center of militant nationalism, added fuel to the flames by deliberate propaganda appealing to religious sentiment. Missionary attacks upon the idolatry of the Chinese were no more severe than those made by Manchu monarchs and Chinese writers; but one will endure from a member of his own household that which he will not tolerate when uttered by a stranger. Attacks upon ancestor worship were regarded as a more serious offence. The feeling of resentment against aliens who condemned the ancestor worship and the idolatry of the Chinese was intensified by the calumnies that issued from Hunan, charging gross immorality on the part of missionaries and their converts. Superstitious fears too were aroused by the revival of old lies of the kidnapping and murder of children whose eyes and viscera were to be used in the manufacture of medicine. Popular wrath was aroused to such a pitch that antimissionary riots broke out in the summer and autumn of 1898 in eight of the eighteen provinces, and antiforeign agitation caused fear of outbreaks in many other places. Men

and women of many nationalities were involved in these attacks; American, British, French, German and Swedish missionaries suffered persecution. Several were put to death.

In some places there were economic reasons for antiforeign feeling. The introduction of steam power for manufacture and transportation "upset the rice bowls" of many who had depended for their daily bread upon occupations that were being displaced. Popular discontent was further increased by the devastating floods in the Yellow River valley, which destroyed numerous villages and drove their inhabitants to a choice of banditry or starvation. A partial failure of crops in Chekiang so greatly increased the price of foodstuffs there that rice riots occurred in that province.

The demand of Italy in this same year for the lease of San Men Bay had caused the Chinese government to concentrate troops in that region, and other armies were summoned to the vicinity of Peking. Patriotic feeling was aroused by these movements, and the unconcealed hostility of the common soldier for the passing foreigner forboded trouble. The diplomatic corps at Peking, noting these symptoms, decided to bring guards for the legations before the approaching winter should close navigation and render communication with the capital very difficult. Guards were brought from several of the Asiatic fleets of the powers, and remained in Peking during the winter of 1898-99. In March, 1899, they returned to their vessels. The antiforeign feeling increased. The whole empire was infected with it. Nearly every province in 1899 furnished one or more outbreaks against the hated alien. The Germans in the leased territory of Kiachow took prompt measures to punish attacks upon their engineers engaged in railway and mining surveys. But the Governor of Shantung, Yü-hsien, who had taken office in March, 1899, was a Manchu who was notorious for his hostility to foreigners. He ignored the imperial edicts that commanded protection to be given to missionaries and other foreigners. He punished those officials who attempted to interfere with Boxer attacks upon these hated aliens. It was in this province and in the spring of 1899 that the *I Ho Ch'üan* first became known as an antiforeign organization. This hostility of the Governor of Shantung to foreigners made it impossible to preserve order in Shantung, and the situation there throughout the year 1899 became in-

creasingly threatening. A British missionary, Rev. Mr. Brooks, was killed in December. The danger to American missionaries in that province was so manifest that in the same month the American Minister, Mr. Conger, demanded from the Chinese government the removal of Yü-hsien. The edict recalling him to Peking was issued on December 6, 1899, but he did not arrive in Peking until January 16, 1900, when he was received with marked honor by the Empress Dowager, who evidently approved of his attitude. Not long afterward he was made Governor of Shansi, where we shall find him engaged in a more dastardly attack upon those who should have had his protection.

The Siege of the Legations

The successor to Yü-hsien as Governor of Shantung was Yüan Shih-k'ai. He was too experienced a man to be inveigled into a support of the Boxer folly, but he was also a partisan of the Empress Dowager's faction and had to maintain his standing with her. He put an end to Boxer disturbances in his province,[2] but apparently he made no effort to correct the blundering policy of Peking. The Court itself was divided into two factions. Prince Tuan, Prince Chuang and certain other members of the Imperial Clan were supporting the Boxers, while Prince Ch'ing and Jung-lu were opposing such a course. At times the Empress Dowager yielded to the influence of one faction, and at other times to that of their opponents.

The Court was disturbed also by the question of the succession to the throne. A strongly supported movement demanded the deposition of Kuanghsü. But the continuous inquiries from the foreign legations as to the health of His Majesty, and some plain intimations to the effect that the ministers of the diplomatic corps considered themselves accredited to him, caused the conspirators to pause. In January, 1900, the imprisoned monarch was compelled to issue a decree reflecting upon his own qualifications. He admitted that he

[2] The Boxers claimed to be invulnerable to rifle fire. Yüan is popularly credited with demonstrating the futility of their charms by having a file of them fired upon in his yamen. They were killed and Boxer claims accordingly discredited.

had been adopted as the son of Hsienfeng, which of course disqualified him for the heirship to T'ungchih. All this, however, had been pointed out at the time of his selection and strong protests had been made at that time. But then the Empress Dowager had shown herself determined to have her sister's son chosen as heir and had adopted him as her son, so that she might return to power as regent. Now that her adopted son had become a protagonist of Western culture, he had to be disowned. The sympathies of the Chinese people were with their monarch, but he was confined to a small palace on an island in the southern lake of the Western Park. An edict issued in his name on January 24, 1900, announced the selection of a young prince, Pu-chün, to be heir to the emperor, T'ungchih, who had died in 1875. Pu-chün, a lad of fourteen years, was the son of Prince Tuan, who was one of the most violent leaders of the antiforeign party. This choice of his son as heir to the throne placed that party in control of the government. During the spring of 1900 Prince Tuan became openly a supporter of the Boxers, and in June was made head of the Foreign Office.

Tung Fu-hsiang and his Mohammedan troops from Kansu were among the forces brought to Peking in 1898. They did not conceal their hostility to the foreign legations, and they had been removed at the request of the diplomatic corps to a distance from the capital. But in the spring of 1900 they were brought back again. At the same time the Boxers were extending their operations to the vicinity of Peking. At first their attacks were confined to those Chinese who were called "secondary devils," that is, to the native Christians and all who were found guilty of using articles of foreign manufacture. On May 25th an American mission sixty miles from Peking was destroyed. On the 28th of the same month the railway from Peking to Paotingfu was cut, and on the 30th the railway engineers and their families had to flee from Paotingfu and had to fight their way through hostile mobs for four days to Tientsin. It was on May 28th, too, that the railway shops at Fengt'ai were burned. This was but ten miles from Peking.

The situation became so critical that the diplomatic corps asked permission to bring up legation guards again. The

Chinese government refused consent, but after some negotiation agreed that 30 men for each legation might be brought. The legations, however, did not limit themselves to this number. The total number of armed men brought up was 457, but as several of the legations had no military or naval forces in Chinese waters, the average for each legation was but little more than the thirty each that was allowed.

On June 9, 1900, the railway line from Peking to Tientsin was broken and telegraphic communication between the legations and the outside world was prevented. It was the day following this that Prince Tuan took control of foreign affairs. On the 11th Mr. Sugiyama, the Chancellor of the Japanese Legation, was murdered by Chinese soldiers just outside one of the gates of Peking. Several missionaries and a large number of native Christians of the Roman Catholic Church were massacred on June 13th at the East Cathedral in Peking, and an attack made upon the South Cathedral. That night most of the mission premises in Peking, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, were looted and burned. But the North Cathedral of the Roman Catholics and the American Methodist Mission of the Protestants were saved by the guards stationed there to protect a large number of missionaries and their converts assembled in these two places.

The legations were all located in the southern part of the Tartar city, in the vicinity of the crossing of Legation St. and the Imperial Canal. Each compound was surrounded by a high brick wall and all were put in a state of defence. Most of these compounds were held throughout the siege, which lasted from June 20th to August 14, 1900. In addition to the Legation Quarter, the compound of the North Cathedral in the northwestern part of the imperial city was also held. This was defended by some forty or more French and Italian marines aided by the native Christians gathered there.

The Situation in the Provinces

In the meantime, the Boxer attacks became more and more frequent and violent upon native Christians and other suspects in the province of Chihli. Two more British missionaries were killed on June 1st at Yungching, about fifty miles from

Peking. The foreign governments represented at Peking became alarmed when all communication with the legations was interrupted, and on June 10th a relief expedition under command of Admiral Seymour of the British force left Tientsin for Peking. His force, an international one, numbered all told 2,066 men. It is evidence of the divided counsels that swayed the vacillating Court at Peking that this expedition was not molested on crossing the river at Yangts'un, although a Chinese force of 4,000 was stationed there. As the foreign troops advanced, they found the railway greatly damaged and much time had to be consumed in making repairs. By the time they reached Langfang, about thirty miles from Peking, they found their further progress made impossible by the large force of troops and Boxer auxiliaries that opposed them. It was the 16th of June when they were forced to turn back. They had a considerable number of wounded men to care for, and their retreat was hampered by continuous attacks from the enemy and by the necessity of repairing the railway which had been torn up behind them during their advance toward Peking.

On June 14th the Boxers began a course of pillage and murder in Tientsin and destroyed the foreign missions in that city. The commanders of the several naval contingents lying off Taku Bar, deprived of communication with Peking and with Seymour's expedition, held a conference to determine upon some more effective measures for the relief of the situation. It was decided to take the forts at the mouth of the Hai Ho, without which action it would be impossible to maintain communication with the additional force which it was proposed to land. Admiral Kempff of the American Navy opposed the action on the ground that the United States was not at war with China and that such an attack would endanger the lives of all foreign residents in the interior.

His prognostication was correct, but it is difficult to see what else could have been done under the circumstances. Foreign lives were already in danger. Seymour's column had suffered considerable loss, and the imperial government had shown its unwillingness or inability to check the operations of the Boxers who were openly hostile to all foreigners and who were rioting, pillaging and murdering in all directions. The forts were taken early on the morning of June 17th.

China Declares War

For a week the diplomatic representatives at Peking had been unable to communicate with their governments, but it was not because the telegraph wires were cut. The Chinese government was in constant communication with all parts of the empire. The imperial Court was simply denying the foreign representatives the use of the telegraph. When the admirals of the foreign fleets on June 16th presented their ultimatum to the commander of the Taku forts, that fact was promptly communicated to Peking. Likewise the capture of the forts was immediately made known to the Chinese government. The first result very naturally was the intensifying of the antiforeign feeling. The attacks upon Seymour's column became more violent. Although his force had been permitted to cross the river at Yangts'un without molestation on the march northward, he was compelled to fight every step of the way on his return to Tientsin. The seizure of the forts was, in fact, regarded by the Chinese as a declaration of war.

In Peking the news of the loss of the Taku forts led, of course, to a serious conference in the palace. Did the Empress Dowager recall that autumn morning in 1860 when the capture of the same forts and the approach of a foreign army had caused her, then a young mother, to flee with her child to Jehol? Perhaps. There was some hesitation. There were two or three voices that urged the folly of war and the sanctity of diplomatic representatives. But on the afternoon of June 19th, the foreign ministers each received a note dated four o'clock, informing them of the ultimatum of the admirals and ordering the representatives of the foreign powers with their subordinates, their families and the legation guards to leave Peking within twenty-four hours. The diplomatic body at once wrote a note to the Tsungli Yamen asking for a conference at nine o'clock the next morning. When the members of the corps met at eight o'clock that morning no reply had come from the foreign office, and it seemed evident that the Chinese government had no intention of discussing a modification of the order. All the ministers save one were of the opinion that it would be useless to visit the Yamen, since no one of authority would be there to receive them. The one dissenter was

Baron von Ketteler, the German Minister. He declared that he had an appointment at the Yamen for that morning and would go up and point out to the Minister for Foreign Affairs the folly of the course that was being taken by the Chinese government. He went, accompanied by his interpreter, Mr. Cordes. When they were within a block of the entrance to the Tsungli Yamen they were fired upon by Chinese soldiers. The German Minister was instantly killed; his interpreter, though wounded, fled down an alley and made his way to the compound of the American Methodist Mission. There could no longer be any doubt as to the intentions of the Peking government. The Protestant missionaries and their families were brought into the British Legation compound, and the Chinese Christians connected with these missions were given quarters in the palace of Prince Su. The Roman Catholic missionaries and their converts remained in the enclosure of the North Cathedral.

Just about four o'clock in the afternoon of June 20th, Professor James of the Peking University, a government institution, was returning to the British Legation from the palace of Prince Su, where he had been arranging for the housing of native Christians. As he approached the bridge over the canal just north of the legation, he was halted by Chinese soldiers. He was an old resident of China, spoke Chinese fluently and was a real friend of the Chinese. He apparently did not believe that the situation was as desperate as represented. He threw up his hand as if to deprecate any hostile action by the soldiers and continued to approach them. They fired and he sank to the ground wounded. They immediately seized him and carried him off as a prisoner. He was never seen again by his friends. Later it was discovered that he had been put to death by order of Prince Chuang, one of the Boxer leaders.

Promptly at four o'clock that afternoon of June 20, 1900, the attack upon the legations began. The North Cathedral was attacked at the same time. It was not merely the organized bands of Boxers that made the attacks, but the imperial troops also took part. The foreigners of various nationalities thus besieged in Peking numbered 924, of whom 451 were legation guards.

The next day China's declaration of war appeared. It reviewed sixty years of aggression by foreign powers and cited the seizure of the Taku forts as evidence of the existence still of the same unjust attitude toward China. Appeal was made by the Chinese to the spirits of their ancestors and to the gods, and resolution was expressed to die rather than suffer further humiliation.[3]

Barbarism and Heroism

In accordance with an ancient custom of the Chinese when at war, rewards were offered for heads of the enemy. Fifty taels would be paid for the head of a man, forty for that of a woman and thirty for that of a child. There is no reason whatever to doubt the report, as some have been disposed to do, that an edict was issued commanding the slaughter of foreigners wherever met. The proclamation by Prince Chuang of June 22nd offering rewards for heads, could hardly have been issued if the general massacre of all foreign residents had not been decided upon. The wicked decree brought speedy results. On June 20th ten missionaries of the Swedish Union were killed at Sopingfu in Shansi, and six China Inland missionaries at Tatungfu in the same province at about the same date. Fifteen missionaries of the American Board were murdered at Paotingfu in Chihli Province on the 30th of June and first of July, and forty-five Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries were massacred in the presence of the Governor of Shansi at T'aiyuanfu on July 9th. This Governor was Yü-hsien, the infamous official who had given protection and encouragement to the Boxers in Shantung, for which he had subsequently been honored by the Empress Dowager. Nemesis overtook him in the settlement of the Boxer rising in the Protocol of 1901, which required his execution. Altogether there were two hundred and thirty-three missionaries, including their families, who were put to death as a result of this proclamation. Some were shot and some were stabbed;

[3] Among the many works that deal with the siege and relief of the legations in 1900 the best are Smith's *China in Convulsion,* Morse's *International Relations of the Chinese Empire,* and Bland and Blackhouse's *China under the Empress Dowager.* Reference has been made also to the official reports of various legations.

others were beheaded and some were burned alive. Many more who escaped death had to flee from their homes and suffered great hardship before they reached places of safety. Those in northern Honan made the long journey to Hankow and those at Kalgan a still longer and more trying journey across the Mongolian desert to Kiakhta in Siberia. The native Christians suffered more than the missionaries. The heroism displayed by old and young, by men and women, was not surpassed even in the earliest history of Christian martyrdom. Neither was heroism confined to the Christians. It took considerable courage to brave the wrath of the Court, yet there were some who dared to disobey the cruel edict. Two ministers of the Foreign Office, Yüan-chang, a Manchu, and Hsü Ching-cheng, a Chinese, in transmitting the decree ordering the extermination of foreigners, substituted the word "protect" for "exterminate." When their action became known, they were promptly arrested and put to death. Three others were executed for opposing the declaration of war. These were Li-shan and Lien-yüan, Manchus, and Hsü Jung-i, a Chinese. There was one other who opposed the imperial will, but who was too powerful to be destroyed. This was Jung-lu, the childhood playmate and for many years the most trusted counselor of the Empress Dowager. Although she would not heed his advice as to the Boxers, she would not permit him to be punished. Moreover, he had a substantial body of troops under his command. He criticized the attack upon the legations not only as a gross violation of the rights of diplomatic representatives, but as downright foolishness. When the decree ordering the massacre of foreign residents was sent out, he followed it with private telegrams urging that it be ignored. Liu K'un-yi at Nanking, Chang Chih-tung at Wuch'ang, Li Hung-chang at Canton, Yüan Shih-k'ai, then Governor of Shantung, and Governors and Viceroys in other provinces heeded this warning and maintained order in their districts. Since the diplomatic representatives at Peking were cut off from communication with their governments, these provincial officers entered into communication with the consular representatives of the foreign powers located at Shanghai and arranged with them that, in return for the careful protection of foreign lives and property in their several provinces, the

Consuls would advise their governments not to send foreign troops into the interior of these provinces. The governments that were represented at Shanghai, agreed to this arrangement.

The Relief of the Legations

The allied force destined for the relief of the legations numbered about sixteen thousand men, and left Tientsin on the fourth of August 1900. On the sixth the Chinese army was met and routed at Yangts'un, some fifteen miles north of Tientsin. This opened the road to Peking. The Viceroy of Chihli, disgraced by this defeat, saved his face by committing suicide. The Court at Peking was thoroughly alarmed. The magical powers of the Boxers were seen to be entirely imaginary. Destruction seemed to threaten the dynasty, and the Empress Dowager in terror turned for aid to those whose advice she had previously scorned. She telegraphed to Li Hung-chang at Canton to hasten north at once and endeavor to enter into negotiation with the foreign powers and prevent the further advance of their force toward Peking. Li Hung-chang arrived a few days later at Shanghai and through the American Consul General there tried to induce the United States government to advocate an armistice, during which the Chinese government would escort the diplomatic representatives to Tientsin for the negotiation of peace. Li urged that the advance of the foreign troops to Peking would result in great disorder at the capital with possibly very serious consequences to the dynasty. Incidentally he tried to create the impression that Peking was a poverty-stricken city and that the troops would find very little loot there. Loot he seemed to regard as the only thing in which the troops were interested.[4]

The American government refused to enter into any negotiations in regard to these matters until there was free communication with the Minister at Peking. The relieving force reached T'ungchou, twelve miles from Peking, on August 12th, and on the 14th entered Peking. Seven nations had contributed troops to this force. The Japanese, being near at hand, had sent the largest number, 8,000. The Russians sup-

[4] The writer served as interpreter in one of the interviews with Li in which this statement as to loot and the poverty of Peking was made.

plied 4,800; the British, 3,000, mostly Indians; the Americans, 2,500; the French, 800; the Austrians 58 and the Italians, 53. There had been a lack of harmony and considerable jealousy among the commanders even before the departure from Tientsin. The want of agreement was still more marked after the arrival at T'ungchou. It became evident on August 12th that the Russians were planning some independent action. They opposed the proposal to move on to Peking from T'ungchou the next day and insisted that their troops needed rest; yet on the night of the 13th under cover of darkness they hurried on to the capital in advance of the time agreed upon. The whole allied force was divided into four columns. The Japanese were farthest north and were to take the highway leading to the Ch'ihua Gate on the east side of the Tartar city. The Russians were to follow the north bank of the canal that connects Peking with T'ungchou. The Americans took the south bank of the same canal and the British were still farther south, following the road to the east gate of the Chinese city.

During the night of the 13th heavy firing was heard on the west, and the Americans discovered that the Russians were not in position. General Chaffee hurried on to Peking and found them in the angle formed by the junction of the east wall of the Tartar city with the prolongation of the north wall of the Chinese city. Chinese sharpshooters in the tower at the southeast corner of the Tartar city had killed the Russian artillery horses, and a body of Russian soldiers were sheltering themselves behind the wall of the semilune that screened the little gate there into the Chinese city.

When the Americans came up, a Yankee drummer boy climbed up the weather-beaten wall of the Chinese city and with his drum straps aided several of his comrades to reach the top. They then clambered down on the inside and managed, notwithstanding the fire of the sharpshooters, to open the city gate. The Russian guns were dragged in, and a few shells fired into the tower drove away the Chinese riflemen. In the meantime, the British had entered the east gate of the Chinese city which was but poorly defended, and, guided by the son of an American missionary who had grown up in the city and who was serving the British force as interpreter, they found their way through the Water Gate under the wall be-

tween the Chinese and Tartar cities. This gate was held by the American Guard. The British thus entered first into the Tartar city and relieved the British Legation. The Americans were not long behind them. They drove the Chinese troops from the Ch'ien Men, the principal gate in the south wall of the Tartar city, and from that point began to fire upon the palace in the Forbidden City. While directing this fire Captain Riley was killed. The Americans took four more gates between them and the palace, but were kept from entering the Forbidden City at this time by the objections of the Russians and their French allies. A general march through the Forbidden City of representatives of all the various nations concerned was arranged for August 28th, but the Americans continued throughout the military occupation to hold the main gate of the Forbidden City, and entrance to the palaces was obtained by passes issued by them.

The Japanese had a hot fight at the Ch'ihua Men and did not enter the city until the 15th of August. It was not until two days after the relief of the legations that the heroic band of men and women at the North Cathedral was delivered, and it was the Japanese who led in the rescue. These Roman Catholic Christians had suffered severely. The orphanage had been blown up and forty children killed. Of the forty-three marines sent for their protection, eleven had been killed and twelve wounded. Of the thousands of Chinese Christians gathered there, some four hundred had been buried. Their slender stock of food had been exhausted two days before the relief came. At the legations forty-nine were killed during the siege and one hundred and sixty-nine were wounded. Two little children died of disease.

When the Court learned that the enemy was at the gate, terror and confusion took possession of the palace, and its inmates, for the most part, fled out the back gate of the Forbidden City and through the northwestern gate of the Tartar city to the Summer Palace, seven miles west of Peking in the hills. From that place they made their way to Kalgan and thence southwest across Shansi to the junction of the Wei and the Yellow Rivers and then up the valley of the Wei to Hsianfu, the capital of Shensi, the ancient capital of the empire.

The capture of Peking not only brought great joy to those who had been beleaguered there for two months, but great relief to thousands of anxious homes throughout the world.

During the military occupation, the city was divided for policing among the allied forces, and probably for the first time in its age-long history it was cleaned up. For a time there was much disorder. Looting began before its capture, for the deserted palaces of Manchu Princes and high officials were at the mercy of Boxers and Chinese soldiers. After the capture, looting, official and unofficial, continued for some days, but gradually good order was restored.

Germany took no part in the expedition for the relief of the legations; her troops had not yet arrived in China; but on October 17, 1900, Count von Waldersee reached Peking and, being a Field Marshal, became the ranking officer among the allies. It is not true, however, that he made his headquarters in the Imperial Palace in the Forbidden City, as has been stated.[5] He occupied an imperial palace, it is true, but a subordinate one situated in the Western Park.

The Peace Protocol

The Chinese government appointed as its peace plenipotentiaries Prince Ch'ing and the Viceroy, Li Hung-chang. The latter had failed in his efforts to have the advance on Peking stayed and failed, too, in his endeavor to have the legations and the peace negotiations transferred to Tientsin. His plans found support among the Russians and their allies, the French, but nowhere else, and consequently had to be abandoned. It was surmised that Russia supported Li in return for certain further privileges granted to them in Manchuria. Subsequent events seemed to support this suspicion. During the Boxer troubles they had taken possession of practically the whole of the three Manchurian provinces. This was the result of a foolish attack by the Chinese at Aigun upon a Russian steamer that was passing down the Amur River. When the infamous decree ordering the extermination of all foreigners in China was received in Aigun, Chinese soldiers there fired on the steamboat that was passing and killed one officer and wounded

[5] Morse, op. cit., vol. iii, p. 311.

several other men. The Russians retaliated with an attack upon Aigun and a frightful massacre of its inhabitants. The Muscovite forces swept swiftly down through Manchuria and by autumn of 1900 were in control of the dependency. Li Hung-chang was the Chinese representative who had negotiated the peace with Japan in 1895, and it was he who had recompensed Russia for her intervention to prevent the cession to Japan of southern Manchuria. It was but natural that he should be suspected of further secret arrangements with that power. Supported by Russia, Li attempted to get the allied forces to evacuate Peking. On August 28th the Russian government addressed a note to the other interested powers, stating that her troops would be withdrawn from Peking and the Russian Legation transferred to Tientsin to await the restoration of Chinese authority at the capital. In this move Russia was reluctantly supported by her ally, France. This, of course, delayed the peace negotiations. The Russian Legation left Peking on September 29th, but as no other followed, it returned to Peking on October 21st. A week later the whole diplomatic corps met to discuss terms of peace with China. The negotiations lasted nearly a year. The Protocol was finally signed on September 7, 1901. In accordance with its provisions, China was required to send an imperial Prince to Germany to apologize for the murder of Baron von Ketteler, and to erect a monument to his memory on the spot where he was shot. Prince Ch'un went to Berlin in the summer of 1901 and made the apology. The next year the marble gateway across Hatamen St. was dedicated. In Chinese, German and Latin an inscription on its entablature recorded the shameful fact that on the spot where it was erected a foreign envoy had been slain. Prince Ch'un, in dedicating it, burned incense to the spirit of the dead minister and poured a libation of wine. When China declared war on Germany in 1917 a mob destroyed this monument.

The Protocol also required China to apologize for the murder of Sugiyama, the Chancellor of the Japanese Legation. The Grand Secretary, Na-tung, was sent to Japan for this purpose.

Other stipulations demanded the punishment of nearly one hundred high officials for their participation in the Boxer out-

rages. Four of these were put to death. Honor was done to the memory of those five ministers, already named, who had dared to oppose the Boxer program, and their confiscated properties were restored to their families.

The civil service examinations were suspended for five years in all cities where foreigners had been ill treated during the Boxer insurrection. Expiatory monuments were set up in the foreign cemeteries that had been desecrated. The forts at Taku were destroyed, and the railway was to be kept open to the sea by stationing foreign troops at various places along the line. The import of arms and ammunition was forbidden for two years. The Legation Quarter at Peking was put under control of the diplomatic corps and was fortified, and a heavy indemnity of four hundred and fifty million taels was exacted. This was to be a gold debt, bearing interest at four per cent per annum, and payable according to a table of amortization at a fixed rate of exchange during a period of thirty-nine years.

The terms of the Protocol on the whole were just. The indemnity was a heavy one and resulted in great injury to the Chinese revenue and consequent disturbance of the fiscal and financial arrangements of the government.

There were provisions for the improvement of navigation on the Whangpoo at Shanghai and the Hai Ho at Tientsin that were of distinct benefit to China; and the suspension of public examinations led to important changes a few years later when the age-old system of education was entirely abandoned and a scheme for the establishment of modern public schools was adopted.

The sequence of events is now easily discerned. The corruption of the Manchu government and its neglect of ordinary measures of defense had made possible the defeat inflicted by Japan. That defeat revealed China's weakness to certain unscrupulous western powers whose unjustifiable aggressions had aroused the fury of the Chinese people and stirred an ignorant Court to the supreme madness of declaring war upon the rest of the world and trusting to magic for its defense. The sowing of this insanity brought as its harvest the terrible vengeance that was wreaked by the nations that had been wronged.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	A.D.
Kuanghsü	1876-1908
Third Regency of Tzu-hsi.	1898-1908

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CHAPTER XV

NEIGHBORS AND SPECIAL INTERESTS

Last Manchu Period, 1902-1912
Republican Period, 1912-1915

And Ahab spake unto Naboth, saying, Give me thy vineyard, that I may have it for a garden of herbs, because it is near unto my house.
—I. KINGS.

THE EXILED COURT RETURNS

THE imperial court remained at Hsianfu until the foreign troops had been withdrawn from Peking and the palaces handed back to the Chinese government. Then they returned by slow marches to the capital, traveling in palanquins and carts to Paotingfu, from which place they took the restored railway to Peking. It was the first time that Their Majesties had had the experience of a ride on a railway train.

The entrance into Peking on January 7, 1902, was a notable event. The grey walls of the ancient city with its enormous bastions and lofty towers were half-hidden by the clouds of yellow dust, swept by a fierce wind from the deserts of Mongolia. The gilded signboards hanging perpendicularly in front of the shop doors rattled and creaked in the gale.

In receiving the imperial party all the age-old customs were carefully observed. Doors and windows were closed along the line of march. All persons save the guards were ordered off the streets. All stalls and vehicles were cleared away. The soldiers stationed along both sides of the road knelt with their heads bowed toward the ground. Facing the biting wind and blinding dust, the Court hurried by. It was a rare spectacle. The cry of the herald, the wild galloping of shaggy ponies, the gaudy livery of the eunuchs, the fluttering banners and umbrellas of state, the beautiful yellow satin palanquins, the red carts, the Court dress of Princes and ministers, of bold

warriors and timid ladies of noble rank—the sable robes, the crimson tassels and peacock plumes and all the various insignia worn or carried, made a striking and colorful picture.

The procession paused for a moment at the city gate while the Emperor and the Empress Dowager made their thank offerings, one at the shrine of the God of War, the other at the altar of the Goddess of Mercy. Then they hastened through the five gateways that open the barriers to the Forbidden City, and thus at last they were home again. And they came chastened, if not penitent.

The Commercial Treaties

In order that China might be able to pay the heavy indemnity demanded from her, it was necessary that her revenue should be increased. The easiest method of doing this was to increase the duty on imports. But China did not enjoy tariff autonomy. Therefore the Protocol had provided that the schedule of specific duties should be revised to bring them up to an effective five per cent *ad valorem,* the rate established in the Treaties of 1843 and 1844. The Protocol, moreover, required an entire revision of the Commercial Treaties.

Since the British had the largest share of the foreign trade of China, their treaty was the first to be revised, but other powers also were consulted in the revision of the tariff schedule. The new British treaty was signed on September 5, 1902. The American and Japanese treaties were signed on October 8, 1903. These three treaties, although differing in some details one from another, were substantially alike in important provisions, and may be considered together.

The tariff rate of five per cent *ad valorem* is very low, but foreign merchants were unwilling to agree to an increase unless China would remove the obnoxious likin, a duty collected on goods in transit from one part of the country to another. The treaties therefore provided that China was to abolish likin, and that to compensate her for loss of revenue, the import duty was to be increased by a surtax equal to one and one-half times the duty, and the export duty by a surtax equal to one-half of that duty. It was stipulated, too, that the surtax on goods arriving over land frontiers should be the same as that on sea-borne imports. The article provided also for special treatment of manufactures of foreign type turned out by

machinery in China; but since the provisions of this article were not to become effective until all the treaty powers should agree to them, the treaties remained inoperative in respect to these matters for lack of such agreement.

The most important provision was one found in all three treaties, in which the American, British and Japanese governments agreed to a surrender of extraterritorial jurisdiction as soon as the state of Chinese laws and arrangements for their administration and other considerations should warrant them in so doing. China has prepared modern codes, organized new courts and built prisons whose sanitary condition and whose management seem to be satisfactory, but the phrase, "other considerations," is a vague and convenient one. China has repeatedly asked for the abolition of extraterritorial courts, but thus far has been denied such relief. An international commission in 1926 met in Peking to investigate the condition of Chinese codes and courts and the character of extraterritorial courts, but no arrangement has as yet been agreed upon for the surrender of jurisdiction by the foreign powers that possess it.

The ineffectiveness of some of the important provisions in these three treaties illustrates very clearly the difficulties that attend any attempt to readjust China's foreign relations. There are too many rival powers with conflicting interests that must all be placated before China can be unshackled. Despite her great extent of territory and her vast population, China has not been strong enough to denounce the unequal treaties and assert her sovereign rights. In 1902 and 1903 when these three treaties were made, she had been handicapped for sixty years by the earlier treaties in which she had surrendered tariff autonomy and territorial jurisdiction. Yet in all that time she had learned little and forgotten less. In stubborn and ignorant arrogance she had neglected every opportunity afforded her for introducing those reforms that would have enabled her to resist further aggression and recover her ancient standing among the nations. There are times when nations as well as individuals must be born again if they are to be saved. After the folly of the Boxer fiasco had been demonstrated, China's friends looked for a renaissance. Others had lost all faith in her ability to change. Some of her covetous neighbors were ready to fight with one another over her possessions,

much as the heirs of a sick man sometimes quarrel over his property even before he has passed away.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance

China did indeed inaugurate an ambitious program of reform in 1902, but before serious attention could be given to it, the situation in the Three Eastern Provinces, as Manchuria was known, became daily more critical and attention was drawn from questions of internal improvement to that of external security.

After the Boxer attack upon a Russian vessel on the Amur in the summer of 1900, Russia, as we have seen, had taken advantage of the situation to strengthen her hold on Manchuria by establishing a military occupation of the entire region. She assured the world that the occupation would be but temporary, but gave no sign of any intention to withdraw. She repeatedly denied that she was trying to coerce China into a grant of additional rights there, but the text of the proposed convention was obtained and published. She assured the interested powers that the rights of their citizens and subjects were in no danger, but the United States, Great Britain and Japan doubted the value of her assurances. The trade of the United States at that time predominated in Manchuria. Great Britain, whose commerce with China was greater than that of any other nation, feared the result of any movement threatening the integrity of the Chinese empire. Japan, already alarmed by Russian influence in Korea, was determined to stop the further advance of the Muscovite. China, the nation chiefly concerned, was unprepared for war and weakened by internal dissension. It was plain that the proximity of Japan placed upon her the chief responsibility in resisting the aggressions of Russia. Naturally she turned to Great Britain for political support, and in a large measure her financial assistance was to come from American bankers.

Japan had for some time considered the desirability of an alliance with Great Britain, but had hardly dared to hope for it. Now the two governments were driven into one another's arms. It must be noted, however, that Japanese statesmen were not united upon the question. One party thought a triple alliance with Russia and France would be the best guaranty

of peace, and these Japanese statesmen were willing to allow Russia a free hand in Manchuria in return for similar freedom for their country in Korea. Ito was sent to Russia to discuss such an agreement even while Hayashi was carrying on negotiations with Great Britain. The pro-British party succeeded in its endeavors and on January 30, 1902, shortly after the return of the Chinese Court to Peking, announcement was made of the conclusion of an Anglo-Japanese alliance. The professed aim of the treaty was the maintenance of the *status quo* and general peace in the Far East and especially the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea. It provided that if either of the high contracting parties should become involved in war in defence of its interests in the Far East, the other would maintain strict neutrality and use its influence to prevent other powers from joining in hostilities against its ally; and that, if other powers did join in the war upon its ally, the other high contracting party would come to its assistance, conduct the war in common with it, and make peace in agreement with it. The treaty was to remain in force for five years, and, unless twelve months before the expiration of that period notice should be given of intention to terminate it, it should continue in force until twelve months after any notice to terminate it should be given.

The effect of this alliance upon Russian policy was seen at once. The question of withdrawing her troops from Manchuria was taken up with China, and on April 8, 1902, a convention was signed in which it was provided that the evacuation should be accomplished in three periods. During the first six months after signature of the agreement all Russian forces west of the Liao River were to be withdrawn; during the next six months all troops in the remainder of the province of Shengking and those in Kirin were to be taken away, and in the third period of six months the evacuation was to be completed. The agreement was conditioned, however, by the proviso that no disturbance of the peace nor action by other powers should occur to prevent. This latter was a very convenient stipulation, for it is so easy to say that the attitude of other powers makes any stipulated action unwise.

During the first period of six months the agreement was faithfully observed; the Russian forces west of the Liao River were withdrawn and the railway there was returned to Chinese

control. During the second period, instead of withdrawing troops from Shengking and Kirin as agreed, Russia endeavored to impose additional conditions. Among these was one requiring China to promise not to open any more places in Manchuria to foreign residence or trade and not to allow consular representatives to be sent there. Another condition was that no foreigner other than Russian should be employed by the Chinese government in north China. Russia demanded, too, that the receipts from the Chinese customs at Newchwang should be deposited in the Russian bank at that port and that China should promise not to alienate any territory in Manchuria to any other power. The United States, Great Britain and Japan all protested against one or more of these demands. Russia denied that such demands were being made, but China made known the text of the demands. The United States and Japan were both engaged at this time in revising their commercial treaties with China, and both were asking for the opening of certain towns in Manchuria and the right to station Consuls there. After much hesitation, China finally granted the requests of the United States and Japan and the two treaties were signed on October 8, 1903. Immediately thereafter the American government appointed Consuls to Mukden and Antung.

The Russo-Japanese War

We have already learned that the war of 1894-95 between China and Japan had resulted in the nominal establishment of Korean independence, but Korea was not able to make that independence a reality. Russian aggression threatened her on the north and an invasion by Japan on the south. There was but one possible way of escape from ruin, and that Korea would not take. A nation of patriotic freemen, such as the Swiss mountaineers, by union, by rigid self-discipline, by economy and ceaseless vigilance, by universal military service and by employment of wise counselors, may make itself too strong to be overthrown by covetous neighbors. Such patriotism is the best defense. But Korea was not united; her people were divided between two rival factions. The Koreans were neither free nor patriotic, and their government was weak and corrupt. The Russians flattered them and the Japanese bullied

them. Immediately after the close of the war with China, the Japanese government sought to influence the King of Korea to introduce certain much needed reforms. Having freed Korea from the yoke of China, Japan expected gratitude. But Korea had not asked for freedom, and, like Troy of old, she feared the enemy that came with gifts. The King was but a puppet. His father was a friend of Japan. His wife disliked her father-in-law and his Japanese friends, and the Queen was no puppet.

The Japanese sent Viscount Miura as Minister to Seoul, and Miura urged reform. The Queen may not have been an enemy to reform, but she would not have reform thrust upon her from without. Besides, had not Japan declared Korea to be independent? Thus there was a deadlock, and the Queen's foes decided that she must be removed. "A plot was then formed to take the palace by force, murder the Queen, hold the person of the King, and thus control the situation. This plot was definitely sanctioned and urged by Viscount Miura and his secretary." [1]

On the 8th of October, 1895, a group of Japanese and Koreans surrounded the palace of Her Majesty at night, killed the guards and forced an entrance. Having discovered the Queen, they murdered her, wrapped her body in a blanket, saturated it with kerosene, and burned it at the edge of a grove near the palace. The Japanese took possession of the King and compelled him to sign documents reorganizing the government. Miura denied all knowledge of the plot, but when the facts could no longer be concealed, he was called to Japan and placed on trial. The court decided that Viscount Miura was an accomplice before the fact and that he had issued orders to the commander of the Japanese battalion to facilitate the entrance of the assassins into the palace, but that there was no proof that he had actually taken part in the murder. Subsequently when the horror-stricken world had forgotten the crime, Viscount Miura was made a Privy Councillor, a post of power and influence which he held until his death in 1924.[2]

The United States had promised in its treaty of 1882 with

[1] Hulbert, *The Passing of Korea*, p. 137.

[2] See *Japan Year Book* for 1922. For account of Miura's trial see McKenzie's *The Tragedy of Korea*, p. 263.

Korea that, if any nation should deal unjustly with that country, the American government would use its good offices to bring about an amicable adjustment of the difficulty. The King of Korea asked for American good offices, but did not obtain them. After some months in the hands of the Japanese and their Korean agents, His Majesty in February 1896 managed to escape to the Russian Legation. For a time Japan lost prestige and Russian became dominant. In February 1897, the King removed to a new palace built alongside the American Legation. There he felt safe. The Russians continued to be the recipients of his favor. Their activities in Korea and their strong position in Manchuria after 1900 boded ill for Japan. The Russian representative at Port Arthur, Admiral Alexieff, was given the high-sounding title of Viceroy of the Far East. A Russian Resident was stationed at Mukden. By 1902 the South Manchuria Railway was practically completed. The Chinese Eastern still lacked some bridges and tunnels, and the Trans-Siberian line was interrupted at Lake Baikal, but the work on that line, too, was being rapidly pushed to completion. Japan grew more and more alarmed. As a last desperate effort to stop the Russian advance without war, she proposed that a line be drawn across northern Korea, and that Russian influence should be halted at that line and Japan have a free hand to the south of it. Russia temporized and failed to realize that Japan was in deadly earnest and would fight rather than yield further. When the Japanese Commercial Treaty with China was hurriedly signed on October 8, 1903, it was evident to well-informed observers in the Far East that war was inevitable.

Poor Korea, as some one has said, was like "a shrimp between two whales." To increase his prestige, the King of Korea in 1897 had taken the title of Emperor, and a monument was set up to mark the new era. But titles, robes and crowns and marble monuments are no proof of valor. Neither do they confer power; and without strength and courage, independence is but a fiction.

On January 21, 1904, the Emperor of Korea sought to protect himself and his country by declaring that the strictest neutrality would be observed by his government in any conflict that might occur between Russia and Japan. Japan and her

friends declared that the proclamation was made at the suggestion of Russia who sought in this way to prevent the use of the Korean Railway for the transportation of Japanese troops. No doubt this was true, for Russian influence was strong at the Korean Court. A little later the Japanese captured a boat bearing a Korean messenger to Port Arthur with a request for Russian troops to protect Seoul. In any case Korea was but a pawn in the Russo-Japanese game, and Japan promptly called check on the Russian move. Paying no attention to the declaration of neutrality, Japan continued during January 1904 to build barracks along the railway from Fusan to Seoul and filled them with her troops. Once resolved to act, she allowed no delay. Every preparation had been made months in advance, and when the hour struck, the army and navy moved like clockwork to their appointed places. On February 6th the American Legation in Peking learned that the Japanese fleet had already mobilized, and when war was declared on the 8th the fleet was at the mouth of the harbor at Chemulpo.

Russia had two war vessels there that might have escaped, had their officers realized the truth of the rumors in circulation. These two vessels, the *Koreatz* and the *Variag,* attempted to get away on the 8th, but found the Japanese at the mouth of the bay. The next day they were warned by the Japanese that they would have to surrender or leave the harbor and that if they did not leave, they would be attacked in the harbor. This, of course, was ignoring Korea's declaration of neutrality, but Japan had good reason to doubt the sincerity of that declaration and had already repeatedly ignored it. The commanders of neutral vessels in the harbor advised the Russians to remain at anchor where they were, as the harbor was presumed to be neutral; but the Russian commanders felt that the honor of their country was at stake and determined to go out and fight. So they went to a hopeless contest. They fought valiantly and, when they could do no more, blew up their vessels. The wounded were sent ashore to the Red Cross hospital. The dead went down with their vessels. The surviving Russians who were unwounded were taken by British and French vessels to a neutral port where their parole was guaranteed.

When the Japanese sent word to the Russian commanders

that they must surrender or leave the harbor, the commanders of other national vessels there were also notified except the American; and, except the American, these commanders all protested against the proposed violation of Korean neutral waters. No notice was taken of the protest. The same day, February 8th, some forty thousand Japanese troops were landed. On February 18th the American Minister at Seoul telegraphed to the Department of State that the Japanese had occupied Korean barracks and disarmed Korean forces. The American government made no protest. On February 21st the Emperor of Korea informed the American Minister that the Japanese were pressing for an alliance, and His Majesty expressed a desire for American assistance. Presumably this was suggested by the clause, already mentioned, in our treaty of 1882. The American Minister reported to the Secretary of State, saying: "I have pacified him without any promises and refused asylum." On the 23rd of the month the Emperor reluctantly signed a protocol establishing the alliance with Japan, in return for which Japan agreed to maintain the independence and integrity of Korea.

The Japanese advanced rapidly northward and crossed the Yalu on May 1st. The easy-going Russians were not prepared for this swift pace. They fought doggedly and retired slowly, but they were far from their base and their main reliance for communication with it was an unfinished, single-track railway. Chinchou (Kinchow) on the isthmus just north of Port Arthur was captured on May 26th, and the fortress was thus cut off from all assistance by land. Liaoyang fell on September 4th. Port Arthur, after a heroic attack by Nogi's Japanese on 203 Meter Hill, was taken on January 1, 1905. The battle of Mukden, after three and a half months' preparation, was fought along a hundred-mile front during the two weeks from February 23 to March 9, 1905. This ended in the rout of the Russians and practically brought the war to a close. The Russians retired to Ch'angch'un, about two hundred miles north of Mukden.

Japan now had a long line of communications to keep up. She had fully avenged the wrong done to her by Russia in 1895. War is not only cruel, but expensive. American and British bankers had given financial assistance, but the burden of debt must not be made too heavy. At the suggestion of

some of Japan's friends, President Roosevelt on June 8th sent identical notes to the two belligerent powers, proposing that the lamentable conflict be brought to an end in the interest of all mankind. On the 10th, Japan agreed to appoint plenipotentiaries to discuss terms of peace, and on the 12th, Russia replied that she had no objection provided Japan would agree.

China, in whose dooryard the war had been waged, gave notice in July that she would recognize no agreement between Russia and Japan to which she had not given her consent.

Portsmouth Treaty

The plenipotentiaries met early in August, and the treaty of peace was signed at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on September 5, 1905. The principal provisions were as follows:

Russia recognized Japan's paramount political, military and economic interests in Korea, and engaged not to obstruct any measures that Japanese might find necessary to take for the guidance, protection and control of Korea.

Both parties promised to evacuate and return to China all portions of Manchuria occupied by them except the territory that had been leased to Russia, and which was now with China's consent to be transferred to Japan. Russia was also to transfer to Japan the railway between Port Arthur and Ch'angch'un with all its branches, provided China should give her consent. Both powers promised to use their railways in Manchuria for commercial and industrial purposes only, not for strategic purposes. The southern half of the island of Saghalien was ceded to Japan, and Japanese subjects were granted fishery rights along the coast of Siberia.

China's consent to the transfer of the lease to the Kuantung Peninsula and of that to the South Manchuria railway was given in a convention signed at Peking on December 22nd.

The treaty met with a very hostile reception in Japan. There was great dissatisfaction with Komura who had signed it because no money indemnity had been obtained, and Japan's expenditure had been very heavy. Meantime Harriman, the American railway magnate, was in Japan and had initialed an agreement with Ito and Katsura by which financial assistance was to be furnished by Americans in return for an interest in the operation of the South Manchuria Railway and the mines

connected therewith. About the same time or a little later, the Russians who were interested in the Chinese Eastern Railway, unduly pessimistic over the result of the war, proposed the sale of that line to the Harriman interests. But when Komura returned to Japan, he opposed strongly the arrangement between Ito and Harriman and the project collapsed, as did that proposed with the Russians. The two projects, however, were in part responsible for Secretary Knox's program in 1909 for the internationalization of all the railways in Manchuria.

The Japanese offered an interest in the railway to the Chinese, but they refused it. The Japanese also obtained from China permission to convert a military line, which they had built from Antung on the Yalu to Mukden, into a standard gauge railway. The Korean Railway was subsequently extended to the Yalu and the two lines were connected by a bridge over the river, thus forming an important link in railway traffic between Japan and Europe.

Secret Treaties

The gauge of the Russian railways is five feet. The Japanese, in taking over their portion of the South Manchuria Railway, altered it to the standard gauge. The two lines met at Ch'angch'un (or Kuangch'engtzu). Article VIII of the Treaty of Portsmouth provided for a convention to regulate the interchange of traffic between the two. This convention was not made until July 8, 1907. A few days later, July 30th, another agreement was signed by the high contracting parties, which provided for respect by each of the actual territorial integrity of the other. It also declared that both recognized the independence and territorial integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity there for the commerce and industry of all nations. The two parties moreover engaged to sustain and defend this principle by all pacific means within their reach.

This seemed to be a very praiseworthy declaration, but in view of commitments already made, somewhat unnecessary. The real result of these conferences in the summer of 1907 was contained in a secret treaty which delimited the regions within which each might seek for railway and telegraph con-

cessions. The line dividing their respective spheres of interest in Manchuria is described as follows:[3]

> Beginning at the northwest point of the Russian-Korean frontier and forming a succession of straight lines, the line runs by Hun-ch'un and thence by the northern extremity of the lake of Porteng (Chinese *Nan Hu*) to Hsiushinchan. Thence it follows the Sungari to the mouth of the Nunkiang (Nonni). From there it ascends the course of this river to the mouth of the Tolaho, and thence follows the course of this river to its intersection with the 122d meridian east of Greenwich.

Russia, however, reserved her rights along her portion of the railway south of this line of delimitation. In the second article Russia recognized Japan's relations of solidarity with Korea and engaged to respect their future development. In the third article Japan recognized Russia's special interests in Outer Mongolia and promised to abstain from anything prejudicial to them.

After an Anglo-American syndicate in 1909 had secured from China a concession for a railway from Chinchou to Aigun, to which Japanese and Russians both objected, and after the American Secretary of State, Philander Knox, had proposed to internationalize all railways in Manchuria, much ill feeling on the part of Russia and Japan was aroused, and these two powers emphasized their hostility to the two projects by selecting July 4, 1910, for the signature of another convention in which they agreed to respect and maintain the *status quo* in Manchuria, and, in case any event should menace the *status quo,* to communicate with each other and determine the measures to be taken. But a more important agreement was contained in secret articles, which recognized the line delimited in 1907 as marking the boundary between their spheres of *special* interest, that is to say, no longer merely railway and telegraph interests. This treaty recognized the right of each to take in its own sphere any measures necessary for the protection of its interests. Each agreed not to engage in any political activity in the sphere of the other, and in case their interests should be threatened by the activities of a third party, the two contracting parties would communicate with each other and consult as to the measures to be taken for their protection. Thus the spheres of commercial and industrial

[3] Translation from the French text.

interest were now to become spheres of political activity as well.

An extension of these spheres was made in 1912 by another secret treaty.[4]

As will appear later, this convention was made at a time when Russia was engaged in an intrigue in Outer Mongolia. Japan had in 1907 acknowledged Russia's special interests in Outer Mongolia; this extension of the line delimiting their respective spheres brings Inner Mongolia also into the Russian sphere, except a portion east of the meridian of Peking which is to be reserved for Japan's activities.

Revision of Treaty Alliance

Returning now to the close of the Russo-Japanese War, it is necessary to note the very important effect of that war upon the alliance between Great Britain and Japan. During August 1905, before the signature of the Portsmouth Treaty, Great Britain and Japan on the 12th of the month entered into a new agreement replacing that of January 30, 1902. Instead of the "independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea," we find the aim of alliance to be "insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire" and "the maintenance of the territorial rights of the High Contracting Parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India." Korea is no longer an object of solicitude. India takes her place. Great Britain recognizes Japan's "paramount political, military and economic interests in Korea" and Japan's right to take such measures as she may deem proper to safeguard and advance those interests. Still more important was the change made in the article providing for military assistance. In the first treaty it was provided

[4] This extended the line of 1907 as follows:—

From the point of intersection of the Tolaho with the 122d meridian east of Greenwich the line of demarkation follows the course of the river Oulountchourh (Wu-lun-chu-erh) and the river Moushisha as far as the watershed of the Moushisha and the river Haldatai. From there it follows the boundary of Heilungkiang Province to its junction with the boundary between Outer and Inner Mongolia (and follows this boundary to its intersection with the Meridian of Peking). Inner Mongolia is divided into two parts by the meridian of Peking, 116° 27′ east of Greenwich. Russia recognizes the special interests of Japan in Inner Mongolia east of this meridian and Japan reciprocally the special interests of Russia west of that meridian.

that if either party should become involved in war in defense of the interests defined, the other was to maintain neutrality unless its ally should be attacked by more than one power, when it was bound to come to the assistance of the ally. In the Treaty of 1905 it was required that either of the high contracting powers should come at once to the assistance of its ally if that ally should by reason of unprovoked or aggressive action of any other power or powers become involved in war in defense of the special interests mentioned in the preamble.

These provisions created some irritation in the United States, especially after the school incident of 1906 in California. Race prejudice in San Francisco had led to the segregation of Oriental children in the public schools. Much ill feeling was thereby occasioned in Japan. The question of Japanese immigration into the United States was also becoming acute, and not a few Americans felt that if unfortunately this mutual ill feeling should result in war, Great Britain would be compelled to join in an attack on the United States, because when nations go to war, each party to the hostilities always insists that the war was due to the unprovoked and aggressive action of the other party.

It probably was the irritation felt in the United States that caused Great Britain in 1911 to propose another revision of the Treaty of Alliance. An additional Article was adopted which contains the following provision:

> Should either High Contracting Party conclude a treaty of general arbitration with a third power, it is agreed that nothing in this Agreement shall entail upon such Contracting Party an obligation to go to war with the Power with whom such treaty of arbitration is in force.

Following the signature of this revised treaty, Great Britain sought to have a treaty of general arbitration made with the United States, but the Senate of the United States refused to ratify it. It was this situation of affairs that in December, 1921, led the United States and Great Britain to persuade France and Japan to join with them in a Four-Power Treaty relating to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean. Article IV of this treaty provides that upon its ratification the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of 1911 should terminate.

Annexation of Korea

Russia and Great Britain having recognized the paramount political, military and economic interests of Japan in Korea, there was nothing to prevent the annexation of that empire by Japan except the Japanese promise to maintain the independence and integrity of Korea. In October, 1905, shortly after the signature of the Portsmouth Treaty of Peace, Japan began to urge the Emperor of Korea to place his country under the protection of Japan. The Emperor made several attempts to obtain American good offices, as provided for in the Treaty of 1882 with our country, but failed to secure any help. He sent a commission to the United States to ask for friendly assistance, but the commission was refused a hearing until after the Korean Emperor had been coerced into the acceptance of Japanese protection. The American government was the first to withdraw its legation from Seoul and recognize Japanese authority there.

In 1909 Prince Ito went to Harbin to meet Count Kokovtzov, the Russian Minister of Finance, to negotiate a commercial treaty. As he stepped from the train, he was shot and killed by a Korean. This hastened the end; on August 22, 1910, the Emperor of Korea was compelled to cede his rights of sovereignty to Japan, and the peninsula thus became an integral part of the Japanese Empire.

The Root-Takahira Notes

In the year preceding Ito's fateful visit to Harbin, Hsü Shih-ch'ang being Viceroy of Manchuria and Tong Shao-yi, Governor of Shengking, the latter who had been educated in the United States and had many American friendships, discussed with the American Consul General at Mukden the possibility of obtaining American capital for the organization of a Bank of Manchuria and for the development of the resources of that vast region. Among other projects was one for the construction of a railway from Tsitsihar on the Chinese Eastern Railway to Aigun on the Amur River which would open up to colonization and development a portion of the Amur Province that is rich in natural resources.

It was decided that Tong Shao-yi should visit New York

to discuss these proposals with American bankers, and at the same time carry a commission that would enable him to negotiate with the American government for the support of these projects and also, it would seem, for such a declaration of policy as would encourage China in her plans for "the development of the commerce and industry of Manchuria," which the Russian and Japanese governments in the Treaty of Portsmouth had engaged not to obstruct.

Now it happened that in the same year, 1908, the Congress of the United States had voted to return to China a large part of the Boxer indemnity. On receipt of information to this effect, the Chinese government had expressed its appreciation of this generous action and notified the American Legation that the returned portion of the indemnity would be used for the education of Chinese students in the United States. It was quite evident that it would be eminently proper for China to send to the United States a special Ambassador to convey to the American government in a more formal manner these sentiments of appreciation. Tong-Shao-yi was chosen for this mission, and this gave him the official status necessary for the negotiations that he had in mind.

It should be remembered that up to this time China had not been asked to join in any of the numerous engagements made among the powers for the preservation of the territorial integrity and administrative entity of the empire or for the maintenance there of the Open Door and equality of commercial opportunity for all nations. Except in the notes extorted from her promising nonalienation of certain territories, China had been entirely ignored in all these agreements, although she was the party chiefly interested. This was humiliating to thoughtful Chinese, and a friendly exchange of notes between the American and Chinese governments in which China herself would become a supporter of the Open Door policy would be gratifying to China and desirable in the interests of all.

But no secrets are kept in China. Japan was soon acquainted with the whole scheme, which was objectionable to the Tokyo government, because it proposed to employ American capital in enterprises that would compete with important Japanese interests in Manchuria. Moreover, Japan was proud of her ascendancy in Far Eastern affairs and had no

intention of allowing that position to be threatened by increase of Chinese prestige in international relations.

Before Tong Shao-yi could reach the United States, the Japanese government instructed its Ambassador at Washington to negotiate an exchange of notes respecting American and Japanese policies in China and in the region of the Pacific. Tong's mission was delayed, too, by the sudden and unexpected death both of the Emperor of China and his foster mother, the real ruler of China, the Empress Dowager, Tzu-hsi, one on the 14th, the other on the 15th of November. When Tong reached Washington, the Root-Takahira notes had already been agreed upon. They affirmed a common policy for the two governments of the United States and Japan in the Pacific, which was directed to the maintenance of the *status quo* there and the defense of the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China. The notes expressed also a determination "to preserve the common interest of all powers in China by supporting by all pacific means . . . the independence and integrity of China and the principle of equal opportunity for commerce and industry of all nations in that Empire." The notes, moreover, pledged the two powers to communicate with one another in order to arrive at an understanding as to the measures to be taken in case any event should threaten the *status quo*.

But the proposed establishment of a Bank of Manchuria with American capital, to be employed in the development of Manchurian resources, most certainly would disturb the *status quo*. These notes, signed on November 30, 1908, the day when Tong arrived in Washington, effectually blocked all his plans. Incidentally, American enterprise was also checked, but that Japan may have been deemed desirable. The American government had been duly informed of Tong's coming and of his plans. Was the choice of Japanese friendship in preference to that of China an intentional choice? Or are we to believe that American diplomacy had been outwitted? At any rate, Japan scored a notable triumph.

The Knox Neutralization Scheme

In November, 1907, the Manchurian government had entered into an agreement with a firm of British engineers for

the construction of a railway from the then existing eastern terminus of the Peking-Mukden line to Fakumen, a town on the old Mongolia-Manchuria frontier. This was opposed by the Japanese government on the ground that it would parallel the South Manchuria Railway and injure that line. A secret clause of the Peking Treaty of December 22, 1905, pledged China not to construct any line parallel to the South Manchuria Railway, as long as the latter was still in the possession of Japan and operated by her.

In 1908 the British engineers concerned combined their project with that of the Americans for the Tsitsihar-Aigun line, but moved the starting point from Tsinmin to Chinchou, a long distance to the west, so that the Japanese objections might possibly be overcome. In the autumn of 1909 the Chinese government by an imperial edict approved the project. Secretary Knox at once brought the matter to the attention of the British government and stated that he favored the participation of such other powers as might be agreeable to China and which were supporters of the policy of equality of commercial opportunity and the maintenance of the territorial integrity of China. It was apparently unknown to Secretary Knox, and Sir Edward Grey seems to have forgotten it also, that the seeking by British subjects of railway concessions outside the Great Wall was a violation of the Anglo-Russian agreement of 1899.

Secretary Knox suggested to Sir Edward Grey that, before undertaking the construction of this railway, it might be well to consider the possibility of preserving China's political rights in Manchuria and making a practical application of the Open Door policy, by having the interested powers all participate in a loan to enable China, in advance of the dates mentioned in the original contracts with Russia (as allowing the purchase of the Chinese Eastern and South Manchuria Railways), to obtain possession of all the Manchurian lines. During the period of the loan the nationals of the interested powers should supervise the operation of these railways and enjoy the usual preference as to the employment of persons and materials.

Sir Edward Grey replied, saying that the general principle commended itself to the British government as fitted to preserve the policy of the Open Door and as adapted to secure for China full control in Manchuria. He suggested, however,

that the consideration of the building of the Chinchou-Aigun line ought to be postponed until the negotiations then pending for the Hukuang Railways loan should have been completed.

Secretary Knox, encouraged by Sir Edward's approval of the general principle, then sought the coöperation of Russia, Japan, Germany and France in the plan to remove all international friction in Manchuria by an international loan to purchase the railways there for China. He had been led to propose the scheme in the first place by the knowledge of the negotiations of Harriman with Japan and with Russia for the purchase of the railways under consideration, negotiations that had obtained the initialing of a contract by Japan and that had been well received in Russia. But when the proposal to bring these lines under international management was broached to the two governments, Russian and Japanese, it was met with an emphatic rejection by both, as already said, and on the fourth of July following, a date undoubtedly chosen deliberately, the two powers entered into the treaty mentioned, engaging to maintain the *status quo* there. The notice to the American government was sufficiently plain and the Knox scheme was abandoned, as was also the contract for the Chinchou-Aigun Railway contract, which was opposed with equal emphasis by both Russia and Japan.

British Relations with Tibet

Russian preoccupation in the war with Japan in 1904 and 1905 had made it possible for Great Britain to bring about better relations between India and Tibet. In 1890 Great Britain and China, without consulting Tibet, had entered into a treaty in which Sikkim was recognized as a British protectorate and the boundary between Sikkim and Tibet was defined. In 1893 the two powers entered into another agreement by which Yatung in Tibet had been opened to trade. The Tibetans had refused to recognize these treaties, had thrown down the boundary stones, and had built a wall across the only road to Yatung. Moreover, they had placed a customs station fifteen miles south of Yatung on the Indian side of the frontier. This unsatisfactory condition of affairs had continued for some years.

Russian Intrigue

About the year 1880 a Russian subject named Dordjieff, a Buriat and a lama from the region of Lake Baikal, made a visit to Tibet. Being a lama, he entered the "Forbidden Land" without difficulty and remained at Lhasa for some years. In 1898 the Dalai Lama sent him to Russia to solicit contributions from the Buddhists there for the support of the Lamaist religion. The Russian government, becoming aware of this, persuaded him to serve as Russian Agent at Lhasa. On his return to Tibet he convinced the Dalai Lama that he ought to seek the protection of Russia. The Dalai Lama prepared to make a visit to the Tsar, but the Grand Council objected. The Council also protested against the plan to ask protection of any foreign state. The Dalai Lama, nevertheless, sent Dordjieff back to Russia to continue negotiations. He arrived at Odessa on June 25, 1901, and was received with flattering attentions. The same year he carried to Tibet the draft of a proposed treaty, providing for the stationing at Lhasa of a Russian Resident who was to be a member of the Russian imperial family. This move also was checked by the protests both of the Grand Council and of the Chinese Amban.

Dordjieff then set to work deliberately to alarm India in the hope that Great Britain would invade Tibet and be driven out by Russia. Russian arms began to arrive in Tibet and Dordjieff gave out a prediction that Russian troops would be in Tibet by 1905.

We have seen that in 1900 Russian troops had occupied all of Manchuria. This had excited comment all through the Far East. Tibet might well believe that Russia was irresistible and would prove more than a match for the British, whose encroachments had aroused hostile feelings at Lhasa.

But in 1902 Great Britain and Japan had formed an alliance directed chiefly against Russian aggression, and in 1903 the allied powers, aided by the moral support of the United States, were pressing Russia to evacuate Manchuria.

British Invasion of Tibet

The British Indian government had been duly alarmed, as Dordjieff had planned, and Lord Curzon, Governor-General

of India, had asked the imperial government for 1200 rifles, and permission to advance to Lhasa. This request had been denied and permission had been given merely to send a small escort with Major Younghusband to Kamba Jong, some fifteen miles north of the frontier, where China had promised to send an officer, together with a representative of Tibet, to discuss the situation. Major Younghusband went, but the Chinese officer did not appear. It was learned later that the Tibetans had prevented his leaving Lhasa. The Tibetan representative would not discuss anything with Younghusband unless he would first retire with his force to Giaogong, on his own side of the frontier. This seemed to be a reasonable request, and Younghusband himself admitted that crossing the boundary in the face of protests seemed highhanded, but since China, the suzerain of Tibet, had so arranged, he could not well withdraw.

The British remained at Kamba Jong until November, 1903, and cultivated friendly relations with the people. In November Younghusband received permission to advance to Gyantse, about one hundred miles north of the frontier. This at once brought protests from China and from Russia. The British received reinforcements and began to advance. Russia was drifting into war with Japan and could do nothing. The Tibetans at first made no armed resistance. The British moved slowly. On March 31, 1904, at Tuna, on the road to Gyantse, they found the way blocked. A careless shot from the Tibetans brought a volley from the British and in a moment the ground was covered with Tibetans dead and dying. These ignorant, untrained and poorly armed peasants were no match for the disciplined troops from India. The British did not stop at Gyantse and by August they were in Lhasa. The Dalai Lama had fled. He made his way to Mongolia and found refuge with the Hutukhtu of Urga. The Grand Council of Tibet, the National Assembly and the heads of the three principal monasteries signed a treaty of peace with Great Britain on September 7, 1904. China was no party to the treaty. Tibet agreed to pay five hundred thousand pounds indemnity to Great Britain, but this was subsequently reduced to twenty-five lakhs of rupees, about one-third of the original amount. The most important provisions

of the treaty were contained in Article IX, in which Tibet engaged that, without the previous consent of Great Britain,

> (a) no portion of Tibetan territory was to be ceded, sold, leased, mortgaged or otherwise given for occupation to any foreign powers;
> (b) no such power was to intervene in Tibetan affairs;
> (c) no representative or agent of any foreign power was to be admitted to Tibet;
> (d) no concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining or other rights were to be granted to any foreign power or the subjects of any foreign power, and, in the event of such consent being given, similar or equivalent concessions were to be given to the British; and
> (e) no Tibetan revenues in kind or in cash were to be pledged or assigned to any foreign power or the subject of any foreign power.

China very naturally objected to the negotiation of a treaty with one of her vassal states without her consent. Accordingly, in 1906 Great Britain entered into a treaty with China in which the provisions of the agreement with Tibet were embodied but with an important modification of Article IX (d), which was made to forbid, without the previous consent of Great Britain, all concessions for railways, telegraphs, mining or other rights to any foreign nation or the subject of any foreign nation other than China. In this treaty, moreover, Great Britain promised not to annex Tibetan territory nor to interfere in the administration of Tibet.

This was followed on August 31, 1907 by a treaty between Great Britain and Russia in which these two powers agreed to recognize China's suzerain rights in Tibet, to respect the territorial integrity of Tibet, to abstain from all interference in its internal administration and to enter into no negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government.

Return of the Dalai Lama

Meantime, the Dalai Lama was an exile in Urga. China had tried to depose him, but the Tibetans paid no attention to the deposition. In November 1907 he arrived in Sining on the

border of Kokonor, intending to return to Lhasa. The Emperor invited him to visit Peking. Reluctantly he accepted the invitation. He traveled so slowly that he did not reach Peking until September 28, 1908. There was much difficulty in arranging an audience. The Chinese insisted that the Dalai Lama should kotow to Their Imperial Majesties. The Tibetans urged that the head of the church could not kotow to any earthly authority. But in the end the Court had its way. According to the Chinese newspapers published in Peking, the Dalai Lama was received in audience on October 14, 1908, kneeling and kotowing before the Emperor and Empress Dowager.

During the stay of the Dalai Lama in Peking, the Ministry of Dependencies consulted with him with regard to the reform of the administration in Tibet. The Chinese authorities proposed the division of Tibet into provinces and the introduction of the Chinese system of local government. They desired, too, to set bounds to the authority of the Dalai Lama, who was to be concerned with religious affairs only. Proposals were made looking to the establishment of schools, the improvement of agriculture and the organization of a military force to preserve order. It was evident that China planned to strengthen her hold on the dependency and remove all excuse for foreign interference. All this, however, was displeasing to the Dalai Lama, and the matter of dividing the dependency into provinces was postponed for a time. The imperial government, while ostensibly paying great honor to His Holiness, was, in fact, endeavoring to make it plain to him and to all observers that the Dalai Lama was a vassal of China. A new title was conferred upon him. It was one which made clear that he was subordinate to the Emperor. The Chinese might have won his hearty allegiance had they shown more real consideration, abandoned the demand for the kotow, and been more tactful in their conferences with him. Instead of strengthening their hold upon the dependency, they sent him away with bitterness in his heart and a disposition to break away entirely from Chinese control. He arrived in Lhasa on December 23, 1909. By that time the Emperor and Empress Dowager who had received him in audience were both dead. A child of five years was seated upon the throne, and the government was in the hands of a regent, Prince Ch'un, a

man of narrow views and stubborn disposition. The arrival of the Dalai Lama in Lhasa synchronized with the appointment of Chao Erh-feng as Chinese Resident in Tibet. He was a forceful administrator, but cruel. Late in 1909 he reached Chamdo on his way to Lhasa. In Chamdo his progress was checked by the opposition of the people. This was due to his conduct during the years immediately preceding. In 1906 in the suppression of a rising in Chamdo he had destroyed a lamasery that had been used as headquarters by the rebels. As guardian of the marches of eastern Tibet he had assisted in 1908 in organizing counties and prefectures along the border which were placed under the provincial administration of Szechuen.

Chao overcame the opposition and reached Lhasa, where in January 1910 a fight took place in which a number of Tibetans were killed. China was preparing to send a force of some 2,000 troops to Lhasa to maintain order. The Tibetans appealed to Great Britain for her good offices. The British government in February 1910 sent a note to China, in which, while disclaiming any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet, they stated that they could not be indifferent to the disturbance of the peace and complained that China had not informed them of her intentions. China replied that she had done no more than was her right to do; that she had from of old exercised the right to send troops into Tibet. On February 12th the Dalai Lama fled again, but this time he went to India. The Chinese government again declared that he was deposed, but Tibetans paid no attention to the proclamation. The Viceroy of India telegraphed to his government that the position of the Dalai Lama as a spiritual leader was not affected by the edict of deposition and that the Indian government was accordingly sending a representative to Darjeeling to welcome His Holiness. He was received with high honors and spent some two years and more in India. On June 24th, 1912, he returned to Tibet. Chao Erh-hsün in the meantime had greatly strengthened China's position in Lhasa, but in 1911 he had left the dependency to take up the post of Viceroy of Szechuen. There the severity of his measures in opposing the demands of the Szechuen Railway Company precipitated the revolution that overthrew the Manchu

Dynasty. In the midst of the disorders that accompanied the revolution Chao was murdered.

The Republic and Tibet

When the Republic was established, all races in China were declared to be on an equality, and a new national banner was designed, consisting of five stripes, representing the five principal races, Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Turkis and Tibetans. Due provision was made for the representation of Tibet in parliament. This did not please the Tibetans. On the 29th of December, 1912, the Dalai Lama entered into a treaty with the Hutukhtu of Urga. Outer Mongolia had already declared its independence of China. The two Lamaist hierarchs agreed to assist one another to maintain their independence and entire separation from China.

A few months earlier, during the summer of 1912, the Chinese Resident at Lhasa was being besieged by the Tibetans and had appealed to his government for protection. The provisional government of the Republic at Peking prepared to send an expedition to rescue the Resident. This came to the knowledge of the British Minister at Peking who protested, stating that while his government recognized China's suzerainty in Tibet, it did not recognize that China was sovereign there. He warned China that she must not interfere in the internal affairs of Tibet without first consulting Great Britain. The British Minister, moreover, objected to the representation of Tibet in the parliament at Peking, and to the proposal to send troops to Lhasa. He notified the Chinese government that until these demands were acceded to by China, the British government would not recognize the Republic. China could not but agree. Peace between China and Tibet was made in August 1912, and the Chinese troops at Lhasa, except the ordinary guard of the Resident, were sent out of Tibet by way of India.

Matters have remained in an unsatisfactory condition ever since. But an effort to adjust them was made in 1913 when a tripartite conference was held at Simla and the representatives of Great Britain, China and Tibet initialed a convention that aimed to clarify the relation between China and Tibet and define Great Britain's interest in the latter country. China

refused to ratify the action of its representative in initialing the convention and has consistently declined to be bound by its provisions.

This convention provided for a division of Tibet into two parts: Outer and Inner Tibet. Inner Tibet was to include that portion nearest to China. Outer Tibet was to be autonomous under Chinese suzerainty, but Inner Tibet was to be directly administered by China. Both Great Britain and China were to agree to abstain from all interference in the administration of Outer Tibet. China was to agree not to convert it into a province of the Republic and not to have it represented in parliament. China was not to station troops in outer Tibet or appoint any civil or military officials to serve there except the Resident. He was to be allowed a guard of not more than three hundred men. The British government was to be permitted to send an agent to Lhasa if occasion should require, and he was to be accompanied by an escort. The provision of the Treaty of 1906 which reserved to China alone the right to obtain concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining and other rights, was canceled. A very important provision was that in case of difficulties arising between China and Tibet they were to be referred to Great Britain for adjustment.

China felt that she could not with self-respect agree to these terms. She declared that she could never agree that "Tibet was not to be represented in the parliament or any other similar body." China made serious objection also to the proposed boundaries of Inner and Outer Tibet; they were willing to yield autonomy to Outer Tibet, but it should not include a large territory which the Chinese held was inhabited by tribes different from those of Outer Tibet and tribes that had a political organization independent of Lhasa. Despite the unwillingness of China to ratify the convention, it was ratified by Great Britain and Tibet. India and Tibet have thus been drawn into much more friendly relations than ever before.

Russia and Outer Mongolia

Reference has been made already to the action of Outer Mongolia in attempting to declare itself independent of China. This action was due in part to the encroachments of China

upon the autonomy of Outer Mongolia and in part to the intrigues of Russians at Urga.

Russia, having been forced out of southern Manchuria by Japan, had entered into an agreement with Japan, as we have seen, to define their respective spheres of interest in Manchuria and Mongolia. Russia was to be allowed to consolidate and develop her special interests without interference from Japan, and her sphere was made to include northern Manchuria, all of Outer Mongolia, and that part of Inner Mongolia lying west of the meridian of Peking. China was no party to the agreement and for some years was entirely ignorant of its existence.

In 1911 the opportunity was given Russia to acquire a position of great influence at Urga, the capital of Outer Mongolia. Chinese colonists were going into that region in considerable numbers. The Mongols complained that this was in violation of the agreement made when Chinese suzerainty was first established in 1691. They were thus being deprived of lands that they needed for their flocks and herds. The Chinese, moreover, were shrewd traders and took advantage of the childlike Mongols, making them loans upon the security of their lands, and thus, when the borrowers were unable to repay, coming into possession of the lands. San To, the Chinese Resident, was also making himself obnoxious by introducing new administrative methods calculated to strengthen China's authority and by bringing in Chinese troops to overawe the natives. The Mongols were irritated and were encouraged in their opposition by the resident Russians. In July, 1911, a number of the Mongol Princes held a conference at Urga and decided to appeal to the Tsar. A deputation was sent to St. Petersburg with this object. In response to the Mongol appeal, the Russian Minister at Peking was instructed in August, 1911, to represent to the Chinese Foreign Office that the measures being taken at Urga by San To were likely to affect the peace of the border. The Chinese replied that the reforms being undertaken were in the real interest of the Mongols, but that the Resident would be instructed to proceed with tact.

The next month the province of Szechuen was in revolt, and affairs in Mongolia had to be put aside. The opportunity was seized by the Mongols who held another conference and, hav-

ing made a declaration of independence, elected the Hutukhtu of Urga Emperor of Outer Mongolia. He was crowned on the 28th of December, 1911. The situation was affected, too, to a degree by the dispute between Russia and China over the provisions of the Treaty of 1881 which was due for renewal in August, 1911. That treaty, as we have seen, gave Russia the right to trade in Turkestan free of customs duties as far as the Great Wall, to station Consuls in certain cities of Turkestan and Mongolia, and, when conditions should make it desirable, to appoint Consuls to other towns. It was stipulated, too, that a zone should be established along the whole frontier, fifty versts wide on each side of the boundary between China and Russia, within which all imports and exports to and from either country should be free of duty, and that beyond this zone imports into China by certain land routes and exports to Russia by the same routes were to be granted a reduction in the duties. But the treaty also provided that if commercial conditions in Turkestan should make it worth while, China should have the right to establish customhouses in Turkestan and collect duties, which would restrict the free trade area there to the fifty-verst zone. China held that the right to station additional Consuls was to be exercised only when commercial conditions were such as to justify the establishment of customs stations. Russia, on the other hand, complained of the exaction of duties as a violation of the treaty. China was disposed to abrogate the treaty, but neglected to give the six months' notice required. Russia at last, on September 17, 1912, announced that, although the treaty had been automatically renewed, nevertheless to meet China's wishes she would abolish the free trade zone on the Russian side of the boundary. It was abolished from January 1, 1913. China abolished it on her side from June 1, 1914. China's delay was due to her preoccupation with the revolution that overthrew the Manchu Dynasty.

While Chinese and Manchus were thus engaged in a death struggle, Russia seized the opportunity to enter into a treaty with Outer Mongolia on November 3, 1912, in which Russia pledged her assistance to maintain Mongolia's autonomy. In return for this, Mongolia gave Russia certain rights and privileges, among which were the rights to free trade in Mongol territory, to lease and own real property there, to engage in

mining, fishing and lumbering, and to establish postal facilities. The Provisional President of China, Yüan Shih-k'ai, had made a very earnest effort in 1912 to induce the Hutukhtu to return to his allegiance, but received no reply to his message until the treaty between Mongolia and Russia had been signed, when the Hutukhtu declined to accede to the request of Yüan saying that the customs of the two peoples were so diverse that it was better that they should not try to live together in the same house.

The next year China turned to Russia and on November 5, 1913, the two powers signed a convention, in the first article of which Russia acknowledges Chinese suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, and China acknowledges the autonomy of that dependency. China agreed to all the stipulations of the Russian-Mongolian Treaty of 1912 regarding the commercial privileges granted to Russia. The Treaty of 1913 bound the two contracting parties to hold a conference in which Outer Mongolia should participate to settle questions of a political and territorial nature. Before that conference met, Russia made another agreement with Outer Mongolia, dated September 30, 1914, which gave the Russians control of the railway policy of the dependency. On June 7, 1915, the three states, Russia, China and Outer Mongolia, entered into a tripartite agreement in which Mongolia was made to agree to the Sino-Russian Convention of 1913 establishing Chinese suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, while both China and Russia were bound not to interfere in the internal administration of Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia was not to negotiate treaties with foreign states respecting political and territorial matters, but might enter into agreements concerning commercial and industrial matters. The most significant article is the third, one paragraph of which binds China to consult Russia and Outer Mongolia in regard to all questions of a political or territorial nature. Thus, while China was nominally the suzerain, the treaty practically placed Outer Mongolia under the joint protection of China and Russia.

But in 1915 Russia was already involved in the World War, during which the Russian empire was itself to be overthrown. That awful revolution was to bring about strange happenings in Outer Mongolia, but those events belong to another chapter. We must now return to the period immediately following

the settlement of the Boxer troubles and trace the internal development of China which ended in the downfall of the Manchus.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	A.D.
Kuanghsü	1876-1908
Third Regency of Tzu-hsi	1898-1908
Hsüant'ung	1909-1912
Regency of Prince Ch'un	1908-1911
Regency of Empress Lungyü	1911-1912

REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Provisional President Yüan Shih-k'ai	1912-1913
President Yüan Shih-k'ai	1913-1916

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CHAPTER XVI

BELATED REPENTANCE

Last Manchu Period, 1902-1912
Republican Period, 1912-1926

Illusion is brief, but repentance is long.
—SCHILLER.

We must take the current when it serves or lose our venture.
—SHAKESPEARE, "Julius Caesar."

Fruits Meet for Repentance

EVEN before the Court left Hsianfu the Empress Dowager began her program of reform. The very measures which she had spurned in 1898 when they were introduced by the Emperor, she now enthusiastically adopted, although she did not admit that they were the same. Chang Chih-tung in his treatise, *Learn,* had pointed out the importance of an acquaintance with political science and international law. The Dowager Empress did not realize how much time nor what preparation would be needed for the attainment of that knowledge, else she would not have issued an edict, as she did in 1901, directing the officials of the empire to make themselves acquainted with these branches within six months.

Military Reorganization

A more practical decree issued the same year was one providing for a thorough reorganization of the army. The early Manchu military organization has been described already.[1] The twenty-four banners were retained down to the close of the dynasty. The provincial forces, though worthless for serious warfare, were still drawing pay in 1900; but they had been supplanted to a good degree by more modern troops, drilled by Europeans and equipped with Western arms. These

[1] See chapter ix.

new provincial armies were, however, lacking in uniformity of equipment. Each viceroy had followed his own bent in selecting the foreign model for his army, and sometimes the old forces with antiquated armament of long spears and muzzle-loading muskets were kept in service alongside the new. The result was seen during the war with Japan. These miscellaneous armies with many sorts of equipment were unable to coöperate with one another, and the confusion was worse confounded when, as sometimes happened, the ammunition intended for one kind of rifle was sent to men who were armed with an entirely different weapon.

The decree of 1901 and others that followed were intended to correct this unfortunate condition of affairs. The aim was to create a national army that should take the place of provincial forces and one that was to be under the control of a single staff and uniformly equipped. The plan proposed divided the military forces into three bodies: the active army, the reserve and a gendarmerie. The last was eventually separated from the army and placed under the control of a new department of government known as the Department of the Interior or, as sometimes translated, the Home Office.

A significant change to be noted was that in the attitude of the government and the people toward the military profession. One would have expected that the Manchus, who owed their possession of the empire to their military organization and prowess, would be careful to preserve that character; but, on the contrary, they fell under the influence of the pacifist teachings of their Chinese subjects. While the bannermen still drew their pensions and enjoyed special privileges, they lost their martial bearing and became indolent and worthless parasites. Throughout the country the military profession was despised. Military examinations were a farce. Among the bannermen the bow and arrow were still in use, and horsemanship and archery were the only accomplishments that deserved praise. The rank and file of the provincial forces were composed of the idle and profligate. Inspection was perfunctory. The chief occupation of the officers appeared to be that of drawing their pay and pocketing the pay of a good part of their men, whose names were listed on paper but who, in fact, were nonexistent.

Defeat by Japan had aroused the nation to the need of

military reform. Some improvement had been made even before the Boxer rising, but it was not until after that event that efficient measures were taken to create an army worthy of respect. This could not be done unless young men of the better sort could be made to take an interest in the soldier's profession. One of the requirements of the new army was that all men enlisting should furnish credentials showing that their families had been respectable for three generations, that is to say, that the families had not been found during that period among the proscribed classes that were refused admission to the public examinations, such as barbers, chair-bearers, butchers or beggars. The private soldiers, moreover, had to be able to read and write. They were dressed in Western uniforms and armed with modern weapons. They were placed under strict discipline in comfortable encampments and required to observe daily drill and take other physical exercise in the gymnasium. They had to attend lectures at night and take notes of what they heard and be examined on the subjects taught.

To provide officers for this new army, a system of military schools in four grades was established in 1905, in addition to which military training was made compulsory in all public schools.

The improvement was quite noticeable in a few years, and foreign officers who attended the annual maneuvers spoke highly of the character of the training. When the Revolution of 1911 occurred these well-drilled troops were found on both sides, but the Northern Army, as being more directly under the observation of the government, was probably the more efficient. Since the revolution there has been almost constant warfare. The several armies maintained by regional chiefs have become a curse to the country. The best-equipped of these forces are supplied with machine guns, tanks, bombing planes and every destructive device of Western armies except the poison gas.

Manchu-Chinese Relations

After the conquest of China by the Manchus in the seventeenth century, the conquerors sought to preserve the distinction between themselves and their Chinese subjects by for-

bidding marriage between the two peoples and by exempting their own people from trial by Chinese judges or by Chinese law. There were three codes of law,—one for the Manchus, one for the free Chinese subjects and one for slaves. The creation of the new army did not break up the Banner organization, but it was evident that such a force with its antiquated equipment and the new life of ease and indulgence to which for several generations it had given itself was wholly unfitted to be any longer a source of strength to the dynasty. Moreover, the anti-Manchu feeling among the Chinese had been growing for half a century, and the defection of two-thirds of the provinces in the Boxer war upon the Western powers gave the government reason for serious thought.

Shortly after the return of the Court to Peking an imperial edict appeared abolishing the restriction upon intermarriage. Subsequently, as we shall see, when the revision of the penal code took place, the Manchus were placed under the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts and the new code. Their ancient privileges were abolished. In 1907 plans were proposed for the further removal of distinction between the two peoples by permitting the bannermen to engage in business and by suppressing the Manchu pension system in exchange for a small bonus, in cash, to each Bannerman. It was intended, too, to enforce strictly the law against foot-binding which was practiced only among the Chinese, and thus make Chinese women indistinguishable from Manchu. The Manchus, moreover, were to be required to take surnames, which was not a custom among them. Thus it was hoped that in ten years the two peoples would be so closely identified as to make racial strife impossible. The proposals were conceived in wisdom, but, as was true in the case of some other projected reforms, they came too late, and were never carried completely into execution.

Educational Reforms

For two other important reforms that were inaugurated in 1902 immediately after the return of the Court to Peking the Manchus deserve great credit. These were the establishment of a new educational system and the creation of new courts of law with a new penal code.

We have seen that from very ancient times the Chinese have been interested in education; but until the reform inaugurated in 1902, there was no national system of public schools. Pupils either studied at home under the direction of a tutor or attended the village schools maintained by subscription. The chief concern of the state was the selection of the most accomplished students for the civil service. This was done by a series of examinations. Students who thought themselves qualified to take the examinations, no matter from what school they may have come, were permitted to compete in the annual test provided by the County Magistrate. He selected a limited number of the brightest students and sent them to the prefectural capital where an examination was held once in two years by the Provincial Chancellor. The degree of *Hsiu Ts'ai* was conferred by him upon a small number, who were then qualified to attend the provincial examinations which were held once every three years as a rule. Out of the many thousands who thus assembled every third year at the provincial capital the examiners were permitted to choose a fixed number upon whom the degree of *Chü Jen* was conferred. Of this number a certain quota was required to be Manchu. These *Chü Jen* the following spring were admitted to the metropolitan examination at Peking. By a series of tests there, out of some five or six thousand, about one hundred were selected for the degree of *Chin Shih*. These were subjected to another examination by the Court, through which the best were set aside for work in the National Academy or at the Court, and the remainder were assigned to duty either in the departments of the central government or in the provinces.

Concurrent with this series of examinations there was another by which students were selected for military commissions; but there was very little scholarship required for these commissions. The tests were in physical exercises, swordmanship, riding and archery.

Japan by her study of various branches of Western learning had made herself stronger than her ancient teacher, and China's defeat had stirred many of her most thoughtful statesmen to the belief that her educational system needed to be modernized. The folly of the Boxers and of their superstition had been made plain and this emphasized the need of educa-

tional reform. The peace protocol provided for the suspension of the public examinations for five years in all those cities where foreigners had been ill-treated during the Boxer troubles. This deprived forty-six places of their ancient privileges so highly prized. It seemed a good time to attempt the reform in education that was needed.

It is true that even before the Boxer troubles some modern schools had been established by progressive Viceroys for the study of foreign languages, mathematics and science, and a few schools to train officers for the new army and the navy, but these were unrelated to each other and there was no system of elementary education to prepare students for entrance. Those who secured appointments to these academies were paid a small stipend to cover their expenses, but, these schools did not attract the best students and the learning acquired was in most cases a mere smattering of the subjects taught.

The old examination system provided tests in essay-writing and poetical composition. For these a knowledge of the ancient classics was required and an acquaintance with Chinese history and literature. There was no knowledge needed of the history of other countries, nor any acquaintance with mathematics, the physical sciences, politics or law. It is true that the tests did obtain for the service of the government the most cultured men, men who knew their own language and literature, who understood the history of their country and the basic principles of Chinese civilization; but there was lacking a knowledge of many things that are essential to efficient public service in the modern world.

If, then, this lack was to be supplied, it was evident that the government would have to furnish the teachers. So a decree was issued in 1902, appointing two of the foremost scholars of the empire to prepare a plan for the establishment of a system of graded public schools. These two men were Chang Chih-tung, the Viceroy at Wuchang, already mentioned, and Chang Po-hsi, the Chancellor of the Imperial University. After two years' collaboration they submitted their report, which filled eight volumes and outlined a complete system, including kindergarten and university together with schools for manual training and professional courses. A national Ministry of Education was created, and the office

of Provincial Chancellor, whose duties were confined to the supervision of examinations, was supplanted by that of Commissioner of Education, who had the more important duty of organizing and controlling the public schools of his province. The old system of examinations was finally abolished on September 1, 1905.

Textbooks for the new schools were supplied in part by those which had been prepared by missionaries for Christian schools, but many more were compiled or translated by scholars engaged for that purpose.

Graduates of mission schools were in demand for positions as teachers, and not a few Japanese were employed for the same purpose. To provide a larger number of teachers, students were sent abroad to Japan, to the United States and to Europe to acquire the needed education. This movement was greatly accelerated by the return to China of a large part of the Boxer indemnity being paid year by year to the United States. With these funds support was provided for students in the United States and a preparatory school was established at Peking where young men are fitted to enter American colleges and universities. Since 1925, arrangement has been made for the return by the American government of the entire amounts due from year to year on account of the Boxer indemnity and a joint committee of Chinese and Americans supervises the expenditure of the money.

Mass Education

One of the chief hindrances to literacy is the cumbrous method of writing. There is no alphabet. Each word has its own sign. Originally these were pictures of material objects. Out of these there was gradually developed a system of ideograms. Two hundred and fourteen categories were arranged, each of which had a sign called a radical. To the radical other strokes were added, forming a phonetic intended to give a clue to the pronunciation, but pronunciation has varied greatly from age to age and from one part of the country to another. An added difficulty has been the use of tones to distinguish words of similar sound from one another. But here, too, there is great confusion. In Peking there are but four tones; in Nanking there are five; in Canton,

eight. It is therefore manifestly impossible by any alphabet or syllabary to represent a sign so that it will be understood in all parts of the country. An alphabet was invented recently which can be used to represent the Peking dialect, and if that should become universal in its use, the alphabet might prove to be of value; but even then there would be from a half dozen to a score of characters represented by exactly the same syllable in the same tone. Moreover, such a script would give one no clue to the mountain mass of literature which from ancient times has been preserved in ideographic writing. There can be no escape from the necessity of learning twelve to fourteen thousand signs, if these ancient writings are to be read.

During the World War the Chinese labor battalion in France was composed for the most part of illiterate men. Mr. Yen, one of their officers, found himself burdened by requests to write letters home for these men. It occurred to him that he could save himself much trouble and do a good turn to the men by teaching them a thousand simple characters by which they could communicate to their friends such messages as they usually sent. This has brought about a general movement throughout China for the learning of these characters. Newspapers are being printed in them which will give the common people the essential facts of the news of the day. The first thousand characters has now been followed by a second which adds greatly to the ease of communication. Since the characters appeal to the eye and not to the ear, the variations in pronunciation do not affect intelligibility.

Education of Girls

One defect in the plan as submitted by the two commissioners in 1904 was that no provision was made for the education of girls. This has since been remedied. China, indeed, deserves credit as the first oriental country to provide for the higher education of women by coeducation in the national university. Since the establishment of the Republic, civil war has hindered the development of the educational system, and late statistics show that probably not more than one in twenty of children of school age are provided for in the public schools.

Worship of Confucius

One provision of the school law of 1904 received some adverse comment from Americans and Europeans. This was a requirement that Confucius should be worshiped in the schools. It was not strange, however, that such a rule should be made, for Confucius had been worshiped in the schools of China for many centuries. Confucianism was the state religion of the empire. Every county had a temple erected to the sage where offerings were made at stated times to his spirit and to the spirits of his greatest disciples. These offerings consisted of bloody sacrifices, the burning of incense and the presentation of fruits and baked meats. The scholars and officials of the district were accustomed to assemble in the temple courts particularly at the equinoxes to engage in this worship. In unison they chanted a pæan in praise of their teacher and bowed together before his shrine. The worship was led by the highest civil officer of the district and was accompanied by orchestral music.

In the report submitted by the two commissioners in 1904 the sciences of the West were given a prominent place in the curriculum, but great stress was laid upon the need of supplementing this instruction with a thorough course in the Confucian classics, the sacred books of the Confucian religion. In 1906, in order to provide still more carefully against any neglect of these classics and any abandonment of the state religion, an edict was issued establishing at Chüfu, the burial place of Confucius, a college for the study of the classics, so that there might always be scholars able to interpret these writings and properly equipped to give ethical and religious instruction to the young. At the same time another edict was issued, raising the rank of Confucius in the pantheon, transferring his spirit from among divine beings of the second grade to an equality with *Shang Ti,* the Most High, and ordering the same sacrifices to be made and the same ritual observed as in the worship of the Supreme God. This decree may have been suggested by the teaching of the Christian missionaries with respect to their Teacher, who was held to be one with God.

Not long after the appearance of these two edicts Duke Yen, the lineal descendant of Confucius in the seventy-sixth

generation, made a visit to Peking and had audience of the Empress Dowager, to whom he expressed his gratitude for the honor done to his ancestor. He begged, however, that the school at Chüfu should be converted into a school for the teaching of foreign languages, the sciences, international law and political economy. His request was denied, for the college had been designed to be a counterpoise to those in which the learning of the Western World was given predominance. The death of the Empress Dowager and the advent of the revolution prevented the establishment of the proposed classical school. With the disappearance of the Manchu Dynasty and the inauguration of a Republic the state religion fell into neglect. But in 1913 a great assembly of scholars was held at Chüfu, the ancient home of Confucius, and an organized effort was made to have Confucianism reëstablished as a state-supported system. During the presidency of Yüan Shih-k'ai the sacrifices were restored for a brief period, but after his death the Parliament passed a resolution disestablishing the ancient cult and providing for entire freedom of belief and worship.

Juridical Reform

Another important edict was that issued on May 13, 1902, appointing a commission to revise the penal code. The commissioners were Dr. Wu T'ing-fang who for many years had been the Chinese Minister at Washington and who had studied law in London, and Shen Chia-pen, an authority on Chinese law.

The revision of the penal code had been prompted by the desire of the Chinese government to get rid of the extra-territorial jurisdiction exercised in China at that time by nearly all foreign powers. One of the reasons assigned by Europeans and Americans for the right to such jurisdiction when it was extorted from China by the Treaties of 1842, 1843 and 1844, was that the Chinese penal code was too severe. In truth it was barbarous in some of its provisions, but it was also too lenient in others. For some offenses that in our codes are punished by imprisonment at hard labor for a considerable term of years, the Chinese code prescribed banishment for two or three years to some part of one's

native province. For more serious offenses the criminal was exiled to some frontier province, which in most cases could not be considered a severe penalty. In some cases, however, it involved branding, and in others, castration, both barbarous penalties. Whipping with the heavy bamboo and the use of the cangue or wooden collar also were brutalizing; and death by *ling ch'ih,* that is, by the slow dismemberment of the body, which was prescribed for high treason and parricide, was an intolerable cruelty.

The most objectionable feature of the Chinese code was the provision for vicarious punishment. In the case of certain very serious crimes the law aimed at the extinction of the family of the criminal, and therefore his male relatives to the third degree were either put to death with him or, if under sixteen years of age, were castrated and condemned to slavery; while his mother, unmarried sisters, wife and daughters, and the wives and concubines of his sons were given as slaves to the families of meritorious ministers. All real and personal property involved was confiscated.

Scarcely less objectionable was the practice of torture to compel confession by those accused.

The commission made its report in 1905, which was promptly approved. It provided for the abolition of the penalty of *ling ch'ih,* substituting death by decapitation. It also forbade the exposure of the head in executions by decapitation. Branding was forbidden and imprisonment at hard labor was substituted for whipping, for the wearing of the cangue and for banishment and exile. The new code also provided that none but the criminal was to be punished for his offense; his family was not to be involved. Torture was forbidden except in the case of a criminal convicted of a capital offense. It was retained there because Chinese law forbade the execution of one who did not admit his guilt. Since the establishment of the Republic the code has been still further revised. All torture is forbidden and death by strangulation is substituted for decapitation.

The report submitted in 1905 was accompanied by recommendations for the organization of courts independent of the administrative branch of the government. This, too, received the imperial approval. A number of the new courts were set up before the Revolution of 1911 and more have been organ-

ized under the Republic; but the disordered condition of the country since 1911 has greatly hindered the progress of this and other reforms.

To provide judges for the new courts it was necessary to establish schools of law where men could acquire a knowledge of modern legal systems and court procedure. The commissioners urged the establishment of such schools, to which the government agreed, and a beginning was made at once.

The unsanitary condition of Chinese jails was also one of the reasons for demanding the grant of extraterritoriality. To meet this objection the commissioners recommended the building of new prisons. This, too, has been done in many places and the new prisons will compare favorably with the best in the West. Their administration is also highly commended. The inmates are taught to read and write and trained in some trade by which they can earn a living after leaving the prison.

These excellent reforms have not yet been carried out in all parts of the country, but in so far as the improvements have been made they have done much to create a disposition on the part of foreign governments to consent to the abolition of extraterritorial jurisdiction. Up to the present, however, the privileges have not been surrendered except by Austria, Germany, and Russia. One or two other powers which have made recent treaties with China have been denied the grant of extraterritorial jurisdiction.

Extraterritoriality

An impression has prevailed among not a few people that China from ancient times has been accustomed to permit the exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction over alien residents, but this is a mistaken one. Except when the right to territorial jurisdiction has been expressly surrendered by treaty, China has always claimed and endeavored to exercise that jurisdiction. The case of Arab and Hindu merchants living at Canton in the tenth century of the Christian era, sometimes cited,[2] has been misunderstood. The headmen who governed this foreign community did not represent any foreign state.

[2] Jno. W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, p. 89.

They were appointed by the Chinese authorities and enforced Chinese laws. Since communication with these strangers was difficult, they were placed under one of their own number who understood the Chinese language. This method of administration was formerly practiced by the Spanish in the Philippines and the Dutch in Java in their government of the Chinese in those colonies.

In the case of the Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), already mentioned, the surrender of jurisdiction was mutual, but the provisions of the Treaties of 1842, 1843 and 1844 were unilateral; China was forced to give up territorial jurisdiction without any *quid pro quo;* the Europeans and Americans still insisted upon jurisdiction within their territories over Chinese resident there.

The Chinese have repeatedly called attention to this inequality and asked for the restoration of territorial jurisdiction, but thus far without success. At the Washington Conference (1921-22) they requested that measures be adopted to secure such restoration of jurisdiction in the near future. It was agreed to appoint an international commission to visit China and make investigation of the character and conduct of extraterritorial courts, of which considerable complaint was made, to examine the new Chinese codes and courts and the administration of justice under them and recommend to their governments the best course to pursue. Owing to the disturbed condition of China this commission did not meet in Peking until January 1926. Before the investigation was completed, the government was broken up in September 1926, but the commission made a report which is of great value in revealing the real conditions under which justice is administered. Credit is given China for the great progress made in the revision of her codes, but these have not yet been adopted by Parliament; and although a number of the new courts have been constituted, they number but 139 in a land in which there are 1800 large cities. Some trained jurists have been provided, but they number but 1300 for all kinds of courts in all parts of the country. It is to be remembered, however, that foreign residents are found as a rule in only a few of the many cities, and that the number of modern courts and judges is quite sufficient to meet the needs of these places. No doubt in the near future some arrangement will

be made with the foreign powers that will provide for the transfer, either gradually or otherwise, of jurisdiction over foreign residents to the Chinese courts.

Currency Reform

To understand the need of currency reform in China one must know something of the great confusion that exists in regard to monetary matters. When one travels in China this confusion is brought very promptly to his attention. Every district has its own currency and rates of exchange are very high. Until some time in the 'eighties in the last century, the only Chinese coin in existence was the cash,[3] a brass disk with a square hole in the center. During the Manchu Dynasty these coins were stamped with the name of the current reign, both in Chinese and in Manchu writing. The value of a cash in any foreign currency varies from day to day, but roughly speaking it may be taken as worth about one-twentieth of a cent in American money. Ninety-six to ninety-eight of these on a string passed through the hole in the center were counted as one hundred, the missing two or four cash being the cost of the string and the work of stringing them. Ten strings fastened together made a *tiao,* nominally one thousand and formerly reckoned as worth one tael of silver. The tael is not a coin but a weight, about one and one-third ounces avoirdupois. The cash, so acceptable to the Chinese peasant, whose wages are small and whose standard of living is low, is rapidly going out of use. The rise in the value of copper in recent years has made it unprofitable to mint these coins; they are worth more as bullion than as coins and are surreptitiously melted down in spite of the law that forbids it. Instead of the cash a new copper coin, the cent, is coming into use. For a time this was very popular; it was taken as the equivalent of ten cash, but the provincial mints issued too large a number and then the provincial governments refused to accept the cent at its face value in payment of taxes and dues. They thus destroyed the market value of their own coin. Sometimes one has to pay from 110 to 120 of these cents for a silver dollar.

About 1887 some of the provinces began to mint silver,

[3] The Chinese name is *Ch'ien;* "cash" is a foreign word, derived from the Sanskrit, *Kärsha.*

both dollars and fractions of dollars. The choice of this dollar unit was due to the introduction in the early years of foreign trade of the Spanish or Carolus dollar. One may still find it in circulation at a considerable premium in some districts of Anhui Province. After the Carolus dollar came the Mexican, which is still the coin most commonly used at Shanghai and some other ports. During the 'eighties of the last century the American government tried to keep up the value of silver by minting a large quantity of dollars of weight and fineness similar to the Mexican, which were called "Trade Dollars." These they attempted to introduce into China, but without success. Subsequently the British crown colony, Hongkong, minted its own dollar and this found circulation in south China and afterward, following the settlement of the Boxer troubles, in Peking. The various provincial dollars were nominally of the same weight and fineness as the Mexican, but in reality they varied slightly, and no two provinces minted dollars of exactly the same value. This increased the confusion. A traveler had to know what sort of dollar was used in the region to which he was bound and what varieties were used on the way. The fractional currency was popular, but no one would accept it at its face value, that is to say, no one would accept ten dimes as the equivalent of a dollar. The dimes and twenty-cent pieces were valued according to the amount of silver contained in them. In exchange for a silver dollar one sometimes received eleven dimes, two or three copper cents and several brass cash.

Although the cash, as just said, was formerly the only Chinese coin, the use of silver as money has been common since ancient times, but in the form of bullion; it was paid out by weight and tested for fineness. The unit of weight is the tael, or, as the Chinese call it, the *liang*.[4] Large sums of money are still reckoned in taels, although there is no such coin. Here again is great confusion. There is no common standard of weight and fineness. Each city has its own tael and frequently several varieties. In Peking there are seven taels in common use. When the Commercial Treaties were made in 1843 and 1844, the tael in which duties were to be paid was fixed at 583.3 grains of absolutely pure silver, that is, 1,000 fine. There is, of course, no such silver in cir-

[4] The word "Tael" is derived from the Malay, "Tahil."

culation, but the duties are reckoned in such theoretical taels and paid in the currency of the port at the rate of exchange between it and this imaginary customs tael. The Treasury Tael of Peking, known as the Kuping Tael, is the equivalent of .98384 Haikuan, *i.e.,* customs taels. One hundred customs taels are reckoned as worth 111.40 Shanghai taels. When one considers the many kinds of silver bullion in use, the number and variety of silver dollars in circulation accepted only on the basis of their bullion value, and the constantly varying rate of exchange between these and the subsidiary coins, he is able to understand why China is called "the paradise of money-changers."

In 1902 silver depreciated twenty per cent in a single year. This, of course, disturbed trade with silver-using countries. The American government tried to do something to steady the situation. A commission was sent to Europe to confer with financiers and treasury officials in Great Britain, France, Germany and elsewhere. In 1903 China asked the United States to consider what could be done to stabilize exchange in the Far East. In response the American government sent Dr. J. W. Jenks to China to study the situation. He arrived in Shanghai in January 1904 and spent some eighteen months in China, traveling about the country and conferring with merchants, bankers and government officials. He proposed a gold-exchange system, which he considered better suited to the conditions in China than either a silver standard currency such as they had and have, or a gold-standard system, for which they were unprepared. Briefly, he proposed (1) that there should be a uniform coinage to take the place of the medley in use, and (2) the use of the seignorage and, if necessary, a loan to purchase gold to be held on deposit in the principal financial centers of the world, against which the Chinese government could sell bills of exchange. If silver rose above the government rate, the Chinese treasury would buy gold at the government rate, which would tend to bring silver back to the fixed ratio. If, on the other hand, silver should fall below the fixed exchange value, the government would sell bills against its deposits abroad at a better rate than the banks would offer, and this would tend to restore the normal rate. Before the scheme could be made a success it would be necessary to revise the Commercial Treaties which

stipulate that the precious metals either in coin or bullion may be imported and exported free of duty. Some such measure as has been adopted in India and in the Philippines would have to be enforced to prevent the free import of silver. But the plan was never given a trial. The conservative advisers of the throne raised objections.

In 1910, however, the Chinese government decided to introduce a uniform coinage. The American government was requested to arrange with American bankers for a loan of fifty million taels for this purpose. The four banks in New York City that were already interested in railway loans in China agree to float the loan, but they were already bound by a bankers' agreement to share all business with their associates in the Four-Power Group (a syndicate of American, British, French and German bankers). The agreement was drawn accordingly with the Four-Power Group and the amount of the loan was increased to fifty million gold dollars. An advance of four hundred thousand pounds was made to improve monetary conditions in Manchuria. A complete plan was drawn up and approved, providing for the establishment of a uniform silver coinage; but when the selection of an adviser was mentioned there was disagreement. The Chinese government had promised that an American would be appointed. The European groups objected. Finally a compromise was arranged in accordance with which an adviser was to be chosen from one of the smaller European countries not interested in the loan. Mr. Vissering of the Netherlands, President of the Java Bank, was selected. While he hesitated over the question of his official rank, the revolution broke out and the loan contract was never made definitive. During the World War Germany was cast out of the group. Japan took her place. The American bankers continued to hold their interest in this proposed loan until 1917, when they withdrew. The American government, nevertheless, notified China that it had not surrendered its interest in the reform.

The Opium Problem

Account has been given elsewhere[5] of the introduction of the poppy into China and of the friction with European na-

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tions caused by the smuggling of opium. After the Treaties of 1858 had legalized the traffic in the drug, the cultivation of the poppy in China and the manufacture and use of opium spread with great rapidity. The effect of the change of attitude on the part of the government toward a business that had been outlawed for more than a century was demoralizing in the extreme. Moreover, the use of grain land for the production of opium in a country where for millions famine is ever just over the threshold was cruel. The pity and indignation of thoughtful men and women were aroused. Missionaries preached against the vice of opium smoking and denounced the traffic. They opened refuges where those who so desired would be aided in breaking themselves of the vice; but they could do nothing to restrict the traffic, and their scattered effort at best could save but scores or hundreds where thousands and millions were perishing. Gradually the vice began to take a more insidious form. Morphia pills and hypodermic injections of the drug began to be used.

In the new Commercial Treaties of 1902 and 1903 Great Britain, the United States and Japan agreed that China might prohibit the import of morphia except for medicinal purposes. Subsequently the Empress Dowager decided to attack the problem and she went at it with her accustomed vigor. She should be given credit for her earnestness in this attempted reform and for the large measure of success achieved. In September, 1906, she issued an edict, outlining a program for the progressive decrease during ten years of the production of opium by a corresponding decrease in the acreage of poppy cultivation. This was supplemented by the adoption of measures for the closing of opium-smoking divans and the gradual cure of those addicted to the habit of using the drug. These measures were very practicable and in a remarkably brief time brought about a considerable change in conditions; but without the coöperation of foreign powers, it was impossible to secure any large measure of success. After the opium-smoking dens had been pretty generally closed in the Chinese cities, they remained open in the settlements and concessions under foreign control. The import of foreign opium in 1906 amounted to 54,475 piculs or 7,263,333 pounds, about one-third of the native production. The assistance of foreign governments

was asked. In 1908 an agreement was made with Great Britain by which the import of Indian opium, 51,000 piculs a year, was to be decreased by one-tenth each year until extinguished. But China made more rapid progress than was anticipated. Some of the provinces found it more feasible to stop poppy cultivation at once than by a gradual decrease of the acreage of cultivation. Great Britain thereupon in 1911 agreed to stop altogether the import of Indian opium into such provinces. In this way in a brief time the greater part of the empire was closed to the import. In the meantime the American government, which was interested in the suppression of opium smoking in the Philippines, proposed that an international commission should meet at Shanghai to investigate the situation and make recommendations.

The Shanghai Commission

This commission, representing the powers having territories in the Far East, met in January 1909, but inasmuch as the Empress Dowager of China and the Emperor had both died in the preceding November, an adjournment until February 1st was taken out of respect for the memory of Their Majesties. The commission sat from February 1st to February 26th and adopted unanimously nine resolutions. These recognized the sincerity of China's efforts to suppress the vice of opium addiction, moved the several governments represented to take measures for its suppression in their own territories and possessions, urged a prohibition of the use of opium for other than medical purposes and the prevention of the shipment of opium to any country that forbids its import. The commission, moreover, recognized the grave danger arising from the unrestricted manufacture, sale and distribution of morphia, and advocated an examination of alleged cures for the opium habit that were being advertised. Each country represented was urged to close the opium-smoking divans in settlements under its control in China and to prevent the manufacture and trade in China by its nationals in antiopium remedies that were found to contain morphia. To accomplish this each government was advised to make its pharmacy laws applicable to its citizens or subjects in China.

The Hague Convention

In order to bring about the coöperation of the twelve powers in the adoption and enforcement of these recommendations, the American government requested the government of the Netherlands to invite these powers to a conference at The Hague. This was done; the delegates met in December 1911 and on the 23d of January, 1912, signed a convention in which the contracting powers agreed to enact effective laws and regulations for the suppression of the abuse of opium and other habit-forming drugs. The convention did not secure immediate ratification, however, because, without the adherence of other powers, it could not be made effective. Accordingly, all the great powers of the world were invited to sign the convention and a general conference was called to meet at The Hague in July, 1913. At this meeting it was discovered that there were several European and Asiatic governments that had not yet signed. This caused more delay. A third conference met at The Hague on June 15, 1914. It appeared then that of the forty-six nations invited, forty-four had signed the agreement. Turkey and Serbia were the two that refused to sign. But it also appeared that only eleven powers had ratified the convention. The conference then drew up a protocol which was left at The Hague, and which provided that any power signing it could put the Convention of 1912 into force for itself after December 31, 1914, and that those who might sign after that date could enforce it from the date of signature. The United States, China, the Netherlands and Guatemala were the only powers that signed in 1914. The outbreak of the World War interrupted the work and nothing more was done of an international character until the close of hostilities.

Opium in the Peace Treaties

The Chinese Republic at first displayed even more zeal than the empire in eradicating the opium evil. Drastic regulations were adopted, and in some provinces men were put to death for smoking the drug. But after the outbreak of civil war in 1917 some of the military leaders encouraged poppy-planting in order to raise revenue for the support of their armies.

During the World War, while the attention of men everywhere was focused upon Europe, unscrupulous traders smuggled large quantities of morphia into China. One of China's neighbors was found in 1915 to have imported two-thirds of the entire output of the British manufactories, and most of this found its way to China. This was made possible by the use of the post offices maintained by that neighbor within the territory of China. These post offices enjoyed extraterritorial rights and could not be searched by the Chinese customs authorities. The Statistical Secretary of the Customs, a British subject, estimated the amount of morphia smuggled that year into China as worth one million pounds sterling.

Despite the retrograde movements in some of the provinces, the Peking government continued its effort to suppress the abuse. After the agreement with Great Britain in 1911, all the provinces but four had been closed to the import of Indian opium. Subsequently these four were also closed. But the dealers at Shanghai had large supplies on hand for which the market was destroyed. They made a great outcry, and in 1919 the Chinese government bought these supplies at the cost of many millions of dollars and then burned the whole lot. This evidenced its sincerity in the struggle to free the country from the opium curse.

Delegates to the Peace Conference at the close of the World War were gathered from nearly every nation under heaven. They met at Paris in January 1919. Not long after the first plenary session, the American and the British delegates separately urged upon the conference the importance of improving the unique opportunity there afforded for pledging all governments to adhere to the Convention of 1912. Accordingly, the several peace treaties each contain an article providing for the signature and ratification of that convention by the signatories who had not yet adhered to it, and for the enactment of whatever legislation might be needed for the enforcement of the convention by the several powers. The treaties provided also for the supervision of the execution of the convention by the League of Nations.

The powers that were not represented in the peace conferences and which had not already ratified the Convention of 1912 were invited to do so and those that were members of

the League of Nations were required to intrust the League with supervision of enforcement of the convention.

The American government had taken the lead in this humane enterprise, but it had refused to ratify the peace treaties and thus never became a member of the League of Nations. Mrs. Hamilton Wright, however, an American lady whose husband before his untimely death had done more than any other person to promote this great reform, was attached as an assessor to the committee of the League that was charged with supervision of the opium question.

Retrogression

This committee met in June, 1921. The Chinese member, Dr. Wellington Koo, introduced a resolution recommending the reduction and restriction of poppy cultivation and the production of opium therefrom to the amount that would be needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. The resolution was adopted and was ratified by the Council of the League of Nations, which recommended its adoption by the Assembly of the League. The Assembly met in October, 1921, and adopted an amendment introduced by Mr. Sastri, representing the British Indian government. This amendment substituted for the phrase, "strictly medicinal and scientific purposes," the words, "legitimate purposes." This of course emasculated the resolution, for the sale to monopolies maintained in various places to gratify the craving of addicts is perfectly legitimate, however reprehensible.

In January, 1923, the Honorable Stephen G. Porter introduced into the House of Representatives of the American Congress a resolution, requesting the President of the United States to urge upon the governments of certain nations the immediate necessity of limiting the production of habit-forming drugs and of the raw materials from which they are made to the amount needed for strictly medicinal and scientific purposes. The resolution was passed by both the House and the Senate and received the approval of the President on March 2, 1923. Delegates were appointed to attend a meeting of the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations to be held in May, 1923. The delegates submitted to the committee its proposals, which were as follows:

1. If the purpose of the Hague Opium Convention is to be achieved according to its spirit and true intent, it must be recognized that the use of opium products for other than medicinal and scientific purposes is an abuse and not legitimate.

2. In order to prevent the abuse of these drugs, it is necessary to exercise the control of the production of raw opium in such a manner that there will be no surplus available for nonmedicinal and nonscientific purposes.

On June 5, 1923 the committee accepted the proposals, but with a reservation on the part of the governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal and Siam, as follows:

The use of prepared opium and the production, export and import of raw opium for that purpose are legitimate so long as that use is subject to and in accordance with the provisions of Chapter II of the Convention.

This reservation, as will be seen, nullifies the American proposals. Article 7 of Chapter II of the Convention of 1912 reads:

The Contracting Powers shall prohibit the import and export of prepared opium; those Powers, however, which are not yet ready to prohibit immediately the export of prepared opium shall prohibit it as soon as possible.

The powers that made the reservation were all deriving revenue from the traffic in raw opium and could easily persuade themselves that it was impossible for them to sacrifice the revenue that would be lost by immediate prohibition.

Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory character of this report of the Opium Advisory Committee, the American government appointed the same delegates to attend in a consultative capacity the meeting of the two international conferences for the control of the traffic in habit-forming drugs called by the Council of the League of Nations to meet at Geneva in 1924.

The House Joint Resolution that made the appropriation for representation at one or both these conferences instructed the delegates that they were not to sign any agreement that did not fulfill the two conditions embodied in the proposals of the American representatives to the Advisory Committee already quoted.

The Geneva Conference

The Assembly of the League of Nations at its meeting in October, 1923, had adopted the report of the Advisory Committee and had recommended to the Council the calling of two conferences; the first to consider the question of raw opium for smoking purposes in territories in the Far East, the second "to examine with a view to the conclusion of an agreement the question of the limitation of the amounts of morphine, heroin or cocaine, and their respective salts to be manufactured; of the limitation of the amounts of raw opium and the coca leaf to be imported for that purpose and for other medicinal and scientific purposes, and of the limitation of the production of raw opium and the coca leaf for export to the amount required for such medicinal and scientific purposes."

By this stratagem the question of the traffic in raw opium for smoking in Far Eastern territories was separated from the matter of drug addiction in Western countries, and when the first conference met on November 3, 1924, it was seen that no countries were represented in it except the eight that possessed territories in the Far East in which opium smoking was still permitted. Seven of these agreed to a convention, while aiming, as its preamble declared, at effective suppression with the least possible delay, on grounds of humanity, of the use of prepared opium, nevertheless established a legalized traffic in the drug in the Far Eastern possessions of these nations. China alone of the nations represented refused to sign the agreement. This agreement was never ratified.

To the second conference all the signatories of The Hague Convention of 1912 were invited to send delegates. It met on November 17th and on November 19th the American delegation presented its proposals. When the second of these proposals, that dealing with prepared opium, came up for discussion, certain delegates who had taken part in the first conference objected strenuously to the consideration of the subject, as not being properly on the agenda of the general conference. This obstructive policy made perfectly plain the object in view in calling two conferences and limiting attendance at the first to delegates from those nations whose revenues from the traffic in prepared opium in the Far East

would be curtailed by limiting production to the amount needed for medicinal and scientific purposes. In the discussion that followed the raising of objection to any consideration of the subject, considerable acrimony was displayed and on December 16, 1924, the conference adjourned for a month. It reconvened on January 19, 1925, and for a time there was prospect of a compromise. The plan submitted by the American delegation proposed the gradual suppression of the traffic in prepared opium in those Far Eastern countries where smoking was still allowed. The amounts of raw opium imported for the manufacture of prepared opium were to be reduced by one-tenth each year, so that in ten years from the date of the ratification of the convention the import should be entirely suppressed. Further objection was made in January to the discussion of the question of smoking opium in the Far East, but eventually the delegations interested in the traffic proposed to increase the period within which suppression was to be accomplished to fifteen years, but to have the period begin when China should have suppressed her growth of opium to that stage "which will remove the danger of opium smuggling from China into other Far Eastern territories." The Americans pointed out that the danger of smuggling might be said always to exist. It has been noted by others that probably as much foreign opium was smuggled into China as Chinese opium into other Far Eastern territories; but it was undoubtedly true that China was producing as much opium as she had ever done, and no doubt there was much smuggling of cheap Chinese opium into countries where its use injured the revenue from government monopolies. The real weakness, however, of the argument advanced by those who opposed the American plan was that it sought to justify the continuance of a recognized evil until others should abstain from doing wrong. In fact the Chinese government, in so far as a central government could be said to exist, was doing all that it could with its feeble resources to check the evil of opium production. The law forbade the cultivation of the poppy and the smoking of opium. The penalties for violation were severe, but the government was at the mercy of contending military commanders who encouraged opium production in order to obtain revenue for the support of their

armies. The powers that refused to restrict production of opium until Chinese ceased to disobey their own laws were illogical, in that they held that China must protect herself from smuggled narcotics while insisting that China protect them from smuggled Chinese opium.

When it appeared that agreement between the American delegation and certain others was impossible, the American delegation on February 6, 1925, withdrew from the conference. This was followed by the withdrawal of China. These withdrawals created some consternation and much regret, but the conference completed its work and in the end adopted the first article of the American plan requiring the enactment of effective laws or regulations for the control of the production and distribution of raw opium and coca leaves, but with a provision that really nullified it, since it permitted any contracting party to declare at the time of signature the limitations subject to which it accepted the article. The first conference also resumed its sitting and all but China signed its convention which provided that these seven powers pledged themselves to suppress opium smoking in their territories within fifteen years after China should have curbed overproduction and smuggling.

Abolition of Slavery

On March 25, 1906, Chou Fu, the Viceroy of Nanking, submitted to the throne a memorial praying for the abolition of the purchase and sale of human beings. In an earlier chapter attention was called to the existence of slavery under the Manchu Dynasty, and mention was made of the different classes of slaves.[6]

The petition of Chou Fu aimed at the entire abolition of slavery, but it met with great opposition from the Manchus who were the principal slaveholders. The bondmen of the Banner Corps could not be released from their duties, for they formed the rank and file of the service. Their status was more like that of the enlisted soldier who is not free to come and go as he likes, except that, in the case of the bannerman, the service was for life. The nobles were particularly opposed to freeing the serfs lest their lands should remain

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uncultivated, and it was upon these lands that in the main they depended for support.

Nevertheless, the Manchu Dynasty did not have a bad record as compared with other Chinese dynasties or with European governments during the same period. At the very beginning of its rule in China the fundamental statutes adopted forbade the sale of free persons, and as long ago as 1739, that is, seventy years before the slave trade was forbidden by Great Britain, an imperial edict of a Manchu Emperor forbade under severe penalties the traffic in the natives of East India islands. Somewhat later legislation punished the kidnapping and sale of the indigenes of southwestern China. Many other edicts sought to mitigate the condition of slaves and provided for the manumission of slaves by their masters. In 1904 a decree of the Empress Dowager had abolished the disabilities of certain outcasts in Chekiang. But the slave code of the dynasty was very cruel. Fortunately it was not often enforced.

Since China was modernizing her institutions and seeking to win a place in the comity of nations, it was important that such a barbarous custom as that of holding one's fellows in slavery should be abandoned. Chou Fu's memorial, however, met with much opposition and the government hesitated. In 1909 the question was raised again by a censor, Wu Wei-ping, and a commission was appointed to consider the suggestions of the two men and report. The report was approved by an imperial rescript on January 31, 1910. The slave code became a thing of the past. But in one respect the rescript was unsatisfactory to those who loved freedom; it still required the serfs attached to the land of the nobles to continue to serve their masters. They were given the status of free laborers and were to be paid wages, but they were not allowed to leave the land. Their condition was not unlike that of British laborers under the Statute of Labor in the fourteenth century; but in China the number of persons affected was small, for it was only in parts of Manchuria and in the vicinity of Peking that there had been any serfs attached to the land; generally speaking, agricultural labor in all the provinces was free.

The Chinese, as distinct from the Manchus, had never since ancient times been much troubled by slavery. Where slaves

were found they were as a rule girls used as household servants. Many of these had been purchased from their parents in times of distress to save their lives. They were generally well treated. Under the provisions of the rescript household slaves, whether male or female, became hired laborers; and the young women were to be provided with husbands when they reached the age of twenty-five years, if not before, and no money payment was to be taken for their enfranchisement.

The new law did not forbid the sale of children in time of famine, but it permitted such children to be bound for a term of years only, which was never to extend beyond the twenty-fifth year of their age.

Among the female slaves were some of the concubines of men of rank and wealth. Some of them had been educated in literature and music and then sold by their masters to men who had been attracted by their accomplishments. The practice of concubinage was not abolished, but the new law forbade bargain and sale of women for this purpose. The concubine has always had a legal standing in China and her children share with those of the wife in the estate of the father. The new law, however, required the concubine to be taken with prescribed legal formalities and under a marriage contract duly witnessed.

Among the household slaves of the nobility were the eunuchs. Most of these came from one prefecture of Chihli. The number allowed to any household was limited according to its rank. The evil custom was one that had cursed many dynasties. Many of the eunuchs in the palace had sold themselves in middle age in order to benefit their families. Crafty, unscrupulous and fond of intrigue, they were responsible for much of the misgovernment charged to the Manchus. The rescript made no direct attack upon the practice of employing eunuchs, but in the prohibition of the purchase and sale of human beings the custom was foredoomed to suppression.

Representative Government

The most startling reform and that having the most far-reaching effect among those introduced after the Boxer War was one that aimed to bring about an entire change in the form of government. Absolutism was to be abandoned in

favor of a modernized system in which provision would be made for representation of the people. The movement was inaugurated in 1905 when two commissions were appointed to go abroad to study constitutional methods in Europe and America. Duke Tse, a member of the imperial family, headed the group sent to Europe and Tuan-fang, the progressive Viceroy at Nanking, the party bound for the United States. The professional revolutionists were alarmed by this course which would take the wind out of their sails and leave them lagging in the rear with no good strategic position from which to attack the Manchu government. To deliver the party from this predicament an overzealous adherent attempted to prevent the departure of the commissions by carrying an infernal machine aboard the private car of Duke Tse. As the assassin entered the car a premature explosion destroyed him and killed a number of other persons. Duke Tse was slightly wounded and other members of the party were more seriously injured. Departure was postponed for a few weeks, but before the summer was over both parties sailed. They returned to Peking in the autumn of 1906 and made their report, advocating a gradual preparation of the people for the exercise of the suffrage.

Self-government societies were organized in all important centers for the instruction of the people. The first elections were held for certain municipal councils in 1907. These councils were to be of a consultative character, only, for a time, as was true also of the provincial assemblies which were first elected in 1908. Before they could meet, the sudden death of the Emperor, Kuanghsü, on November 14, 1908, followed the very next day by that of the Empress Dowager, Tzu-hsi, wrought a great change in the situation.

Death of the Empress Dowager

With the passing of the great Empress, the last chance of saving the dynasty vanished. Despite the faults of her government, and they were many, she was a shrewd politician and had more initiative and courage than any of her ministers. Hearing the cry for reform, she sought to silence it by reform. She adopted enough of the plans of the reformers to deprive them of their slogan and yet enable her to retain control of

the situation for herself. We must not think, however, that reform with her was entirely a sham. She was not wanting in sympathy with her people. This she showed when in 1904 she relieved the outcasts of Chekiang of their disabilities. She was thoroughly in earnest, too, in her determination to provide schools for girls, and in her efforts to break up the practice of foot-binding among her Chinese subjects. She left a reputation for cruelty and this was deserved, but it was only when her person or the safety of the dynasty was endangered that she could be an implacable fury. She was short in stature and slender. Being a widow, she used no cosmetics. She had an animated countenance in which her black eyes were the conspicuous feature. As a hostess she was amiable and hospitable, entirely free from hauteur as well as from pretense of timidity. She was extremely fond of flowers and had an artist's appreciation of the beautiful. She had a brilliant mind and a strong will and with it all a good degree of native kindliness of heart. Perhaps, as the years pass, the memory of the evil that she did will be softened by the recollection that it was she who gave China its first national public school system, who initiated the first steps in representative government for the Chinese people, who did more than all others to abolish foot-binding, and who inaugurated the first practicable plan for the suppression of opium smoking and the traffic in that insidious drug.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	A.D.
Emperor Kuanghsü	1876-1908
Third Regency of Tzu-hsi	1898-1908
Emperor Hsüant'ung	1909-1912
Regency of Prince Ch'un	1908-1911
Regency of Empress Lungyü	1911-1912

REPUBLICAN PERIOD

President Yüan Shih-k'ai	1912-1916
Li Yüan-hung	1916-1917
Feng Kuo-chang	1917-1918
Hsü Shih-ch'ang	1918-1922
Acting President Li Yüan-hung	1922-1923
President Ts'ao K'un	1923-1924
Appointed by military leaders Chief Executive, Tuan Chih-jui	1924-1926

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CHAPTER XVII

REVOLUTION

Last Manchu Period, 1902-1912
Republican Period, 1912-1913

Rotten wood can't be carved.
—CONFUCIUS.

When the rulers are without piety and the people without learning, destruction is imminent.

—MENCIUS.

THE REGENCY

THE last act of the Dowager Empress, Tzu-hsi, was to proclaim her grandnephew successor to the throne. This meant another regency, for the successor chosen was a child four years of age, the son of Prince Ch'un who was a younger brother of the Emperor Kuanghsü. The boy's name was P'u-yi, but now that he had become "Son of Heaven," his personal name was taboo and he became known to the world by the title of his reign, Hsuant'ung.

His selection was in fulfillment of an agreement made in 1903 to reconcile the two rival factions of the Court. In the plot and counterplot of 1898 on the part of the adherents of the Emperor and those of the Empress Dowager, already related, the attempt to murder Jung-lu, the supporter of the Dowager, had been followed by a plan to make way with the imprisoned Emperor. Fear of the foreign powers had prevented the execution of the plan, but the unfortunate ruler had been compelled to issue an edict proclaiming his unfitness for the throne, and a youth, P'u-chün, son of the Boxer leader, Prince Tuan, had been proclaimed heir to the preceding Emperor, T'ungchih. In the settlement of the Boxer troubles, the exiling under sentence of death of the father, Prince Tuan, had made his son unacceptable as successor to the throne. When, therefore, the Court, chastened and sobered, returned

to Peking, the two factions, by the good offices of Prince Ch'ing and others, were reconciled to one another. To seal the pact of amity, a marriage was arranged between Prince Ch'un, the brother of the Emperor, and the daughter of Jung-lu, and since the former Emperor, T'ungchih, was without an heir, it was stipulated that the eldest son of this marriage should succeed Kuanghsü as Emperor but should maintain a double sacra, that is to say, he should be given two wives, one to provide an heir to T'ungchih, the other to furnish an heir to Kuanghsü.

Accordingly, upon the death of Kuanghsü, P'u-yi was proclaimed his successor, and the father, Prince Ch'un, became Regent. The latter, however, had not forgotten the part played by Yüan Shih-k'ai in 1898 in the betrayal of his brother's plans, and his desire for revenge was quickened by the discovery in the desk of the late Emperor of an edict ordering the arrest and execution of Yüan. Yüan, being at the time Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs, was warned by friends and fled for safety to the foreign settlement at Tientsin. Prince Ch'ing again assumed the rôle of peacemaker and Yüan was spared. He was allowed to resign his offices and retire to his home in Honan. His excuse for resignation was that he had a sore foot that incapacitated him for work. He remained in retirement until the crisis of 1911 brought the Prince, who had sought his life, to beg him to come to his assistance.

The Prince Regent showed himself unfitted by temperament for the difficult post to which he had been chosen. The empire was filled with ferment by the many reforms that were being attempted. The intrigues of rival factions, the perplexing questions of foreign relations, and above all the organization of representative bodies that could advise but that were not allowed to legislate, all served to make plain the incapacity of the inexperienced Prince, whose tactlessness was more than matched by his stubbornness.

The Voice of the People

The edict of 1906 had announced that a period of ten years would be required to prepare the people for the responsibilities of self-government. The local assemblies were to be elected

TSAIT'AO, PRINCE CH'UN, REGENT 1908-1911

and a national Parliament also, but they were not to be permitted to exercise legislative power until after the expiration of the ten-year period of preparation. In this the Chinese were but following in the footsteps of Japan, and, just as happened in the experience of Japan, the people objected to the long period of preparation. There was perhaps less reason for so long a period in China since the Chinese have enjoyed a large measure of local self-government from very ancient times. Even before the death of the Empress Dowager popular protests had been made against the long delay in the exercise of legislative powers. To these protests the Dowager replied in an edict that reprimanded the impatient people and reminded them that the constitution that was being granted was not being yielded in response to any demand from the people, but as an act of grace on the part of the throne. She made a very plain declaration of the sacredness of the sovereign who still possessed all authority although he desired to exercise it in accordance with constitutional forms, and she wanted it clearly understood that the powers of the sovereign under the new constitution would be like those of the rulers of Japan and of Prussia, that all laws would have to have his approval and that the appointment of all officials would rest with him, that he alone would be able to convoke and dissolve Parliaments, that he was still to be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and that the expenses of the imperial household were to be paid out of the treasury without any supervision by Parliament.

The provincial assemblies met for the first time in the autumn of 1909 and were highly complimented by foreign observers upon the dignity and good sense manifested in their deliberations. The National Assembly was a single-chamber assembly that met in October, 1910. It consisted of two hundred members, one-half of whom were appointed by the throne and the other half elected by the provincial assemblies. The Manchus had their full share of representatives. Of the one hundred appointed by the government, sixteen were imperial Princes or Dukes, twelve were Manchu nobles of lesser rank, six were Imperial Clansmen other than the Princes, and fourteen were Mongol Princes. Besides these natural supporters of the monarchy, there were thirty-two representing the various ministries who would necessarily be

adherents of the government, and one-half of the twenty that remained were noted scholars and the other half large tax-payers.

Yet, with one-half of the members appointed by the government, the Assembly almost from its organization showed itself hostile to the Regent. The majority demanded the grant of real legislative power. The Manchu President of the Assembly, Prince P'u-lun, a liberal-minded man with political vision, endeavored to persuade the Regent to yield to the demand and save the dynasty by getting credit for progressive views; but all that he could obtain, and that very reluctantly, was the promise to shorten the period of preparation so that a real Parliament could meet in 1913 instead of 1917. After a stormy session the Assembly adjourned on January 11, 1911.

The Hukuang Railways

While the Prince Regent was thus making himself obnoxious to the Assembly, his Minister of Communications, with an equal lack of wisdom, was creating a feeling of hostility among the most responsible people of Szechuen, in the western part of the empire, that was destined to find expression in a rebellion that would utterly destroy the monarchy.

The new era that followed the suppression of the Boxers was marked by an abandonment of the old attitude of arrogance and by an increasing receptiveness to Western influences. This was shown by the negotiation of a number of railway contracts, among them one with the four-power syndicate of bankers already mentioned, for a loan with which to build certain lines that were to extend from Hankow southward and westward, that were known collectively as the Hukuang Railways.

In 1903 and again in 1904, both Americans and British had made offers to finance a railway from Hankow into Szechuen and had been promised that due consideration would be given their offers if it should be decided to borrow money for that purpose. In 1905 an Anglo-French syndicate was negotiating for the construction of a line from Hankow south through the province of Hunan, to connect with one being built north from Canton. The British and French capitalists offered an interest in the enterprise to certain American bankers, which

the latter declined. The negotiations dragged along for some time; the terms of the lenders were not satisfactory to the Chinese. In 1908 a German syndicate offered better terms. This led to a compromise by which the Germans were admitted to the group. To make the enterprise large enough for so many participants, it was then decided to include in the scheme a railway line from Hankow westward to Kueichou just over the eastern border of Szechuen. In the spring of 1909 the Taft administration came into possession of the Washington government, and Philander Knox was appointed Secretary of State. "Dollar Diplomacy" became the watchword. The attention of Secretary Knox was called to the situation in China and to the promise given by the Peking government some years earlier with respect to American participation in a loan for railway construction westward from Hankow. The Secretary consulted with certain American bankers who agreed to finance American participation if the Secretary so desired and such participation could be secured. The Chinese government was then notified of the desire of Americans to share in the enterprise, and the promise of 1903 and 1904 was brought to its attention. China replied that it was too late, that the contract with the Anglo-Franco-German group had been initialed. But initialing does not necessarily conclude a contract, and President Taft on July 15, 1909, sent a personal telegram to the Prince Regent asking for fulfillment of China's promise. The Prince Regent directed that this should be done, and the lending group was accordingly enlarged in May, 1910, to include the Americans.

At this time the amount of the proposed loan was four million pounds sterling, including a sum needed for repayment of certain borrowings from the Hongkong government. During the years occupied in these several negotiations the people of Szechuen had been trying to raise among themselves the sum needed to finance the building of railways within their province. They had subscribed eleven million taels and had begun the construction of a line from Kueichou, on the eastern border of the province, to Ch'engtu, the capital. The Peking government had appointed the president of the provincial railway company in order to retain control of construction. But the work made slow progress. By 1910 twenty miles of earthwork was all there was to show for the expenditure, and the

central government decided to take over the enterprise, thus extending the Hankow-Kueichou line to Ch'engtu. To cover the additional appropriation that would be needed, the loan by the four-power group was increased from four million pounds sterling to six million. The inclusion of this extension in the contract was advantageous to the lenders, since it enabled them to make a fairer division among the four syndicates of engineering rights on the lines. The final contract was signed on May 20, 1911. News of the signing created a stir in Szechuen, where there was much hostility toward the government. Friction had been created a few months earlier by the attempt of the Provincial Assembly to take control of provincial finances. The administrative officers, appointed by the Peking government, were in bad odor and were accused of employing illegal torture. But the most serious cause of ill feeling was the action of the President of the Provincial Assembly who had induced not only the Assembly of Szechuen, but those of Hupei, Hunan and Kuangtung, to protest against the character of the Peking Cabinet, which, contrary to precedent, was composed almost entirely of imperial Princes.

Rioting in Szechuen

It was known in Ch'engtu as well as in Peking that very little remained of the eleven million taels paid over by the merchants of Szechuen, and it was known also that this was due to the misappropriation of funds by the president of the company, who had wasted them in rubber speculation at Shanghai. A meeting of the shareholders was held on August 4, 1911, at which a resolution was passed requesting the central government to reimburse them for their outlay or at least pay them interest. The Minister of Communications, Sheng Hsüan-huai, offered to give them bonds, but the shareholders recalled their experience of two decades earlier with national bonds that had never been paid. Two weeks were consumed in wrangling, and on August 18th the shareholders made a proposal, which the Peking government was to be allowed fifteen days to consider, to the effect that the company would repay themselves from certain provincial taxes. If at the end of fifteen days no reply should have been received, the company would consider that the proposal had been ap-

proved. This amounted to an ultimatum. The period expired on September 2nd, and two days later the shareholders were called together again. No reply had come from Peking and some rioting had already begun in various cities of the province. The shareholders discussed the situation and adopted a number of very solemn regulations. One of these expressed a determination to call out the provincial militia to oppose any force that might be sent against them. This was no idle threat, for these men were the most influential in the province. The shareholders pledged themselves to share all responsibility for the rebellion which they contemplated and to provide pensions for the families of those who might be killed in the conflict which they anticipated. One more petition was sent to the Prince Regent, and the Szechuen Gild in Peking was urged to use its influence to obtain redress. The Gild did hold a meeting and sent a deputation to wait upon the Prince. He remained inflexible. The petition had been sent by telegraph. On September 6th a reply was received by the Viceroy at Ch'engtu, directing him to suppress the disturbance. The next day six hundred shareholders assembled to consider the situation, when their leaders were called to the Viceroy's yamen on the pretext that a method of settlement had been found. When they arrived they were immediately placed under arrest, and guards were stationed about the building where the meeting was being held. A crowd gathered at the gate of the yamen and, although unarmed, was fired upon by the Viceroy's guard. Some fifteen people were killed. The excitement increased and on September 9th a body of peasants came to the city gate armed with a variety of weapons. They were asked what they wanted. They replied that they wanted to see the Viceroy. When asked why they came armed, they said it was because those who went unarmed two days before had been shot down. They were then told that if they would surrender their arms they would be admitted. They gave up their weapons but were immediately fired upon by the guard, and a number were killed and wounded. Such treachery as this it was that fired the train that blew up the Manchu Dynasty. The whole province was stirred to rebellion. Riots broke out in many places, tax officers were destroyed, bands of soldiers were fired upon and many of them killed; the salt wells, source of imperial revenue, were

seized, and the provincial militia prepared to resist the imperial forces. A body of troops was sent from Hankow under the command of Tuan-fang. He went to Szechuen most reluctantly. He was not a soldier, he was a scholar; but a Manchu was theoretically a military man, and in this case Tuan-fang went as a special officer to administer the province temporarily. The long journey of a thousand miles against the swift current of the Yangtze and through the rapids of the gloomy gorges consumed much time. Before he reached Ch'engtu, Hankow was in rebellion behind him. The troops at Wuchang had mutinied. When news of this came to the ears of Tuan-fang's troops, they mutinied in sympathy. He attempted to escape, but on November 27th he was caught and barbarously beheaded.

The Mutiny at Wuchang

In the meantime, the revolution was making rapid progress throughout the empire. The mutiny at Wuchang, just mentioned, was the result of the accidental explosion of a bomb, on October 8th, in a house in the British concession at Hankow. An investigation by the police showed that it was the rendezvous of a group of revolutionists. Three men were arrested and promptly executed by the Viceroy, Jui-ch'eng, whose capital was at Wuchang just across the Yangtze. The next day the Viceroy was complimented by the Prince Regent and decorated with the Yellow Jacket. On the following day, October 10th, the Viceroy's troops were in revolt, his yamen was burnt and he had to flee to a man-of-war in the river which conveyed him to Shanghai. He was thereupon reprimanded by the Prince, deprived of his Yellow Jacket, and directed to recover possession of his capital without delay. Instead, he died of chagrin at Shanghai.

The revolting troops were led by their colonel, Li Yüan-hung, who quickly put himself in control of the three great cities that have grown up at the junction of the Yangtze and the Han rivers: Hanyang, with its arsenal and iron furnaces, Hankow with its tea factories, its vast commerce and its railway interests, and Wuchang, the political capital of the Hukuang Provinces.

The Revolution in Peking

On October 14th the Prince Regent remembered Yüan Shih-k'ai, the man whom, a few years earlier, he had sought to kill. He remembered that Yüan had built up the imperial army and that he had been the idol of his troops. He plainly was the man to put down the rebellion. A decree was issued appointing Yüan Shih-k'ai to be Viceroy at Wuchang. Yüan took a week to think the matter over and on October 21st he declined the honor. His excuse was that his sore foot was not yet well. The next day the National Assembly met in Peking, but instead of becoming an aid to the Manchu government, it powerfully assisted the revolution by seizing the opportunity to push its own demands for legislative power and for the control of the Cabinet. On October 26th by a resolution it demanded the execution of the Minister of Communications, who was responsible for the situation in Szechuen. The unhappy Minister fled to Tsingtao for safety. The next day Yüan was offered a post as special high commissioner, but declined this also. The troops at Luanchou in Chihli Province mutinied about this time, and this was seized upon by some of the commanders in the imperial army as an excuse for a round robin signed by them in which they demanded the adoption of a constitution consisting of nineteen articles. Some of the most important of the provisions of this constitution were the creation of a cabinet responsible to Parliament, the requirement that the Emperor must promulgate all laws enacted by Parliament, the control by Parliament of the expenditures of the imperial household, and the prohibition of the use of the army or navy for the settlement of domestic matters except with the approval of Parliament. The National Assembly was to exercise all the powers of Parliament until one should be elected. This constitution was adopted by the National Assembly on November 2nd. On the preceding day the Prince Regent had yielded to the demands of the Assembly respecting the Cabinet, and the imperial Princes holding portfolios all retired. Yüan was offered the post of Premier with full control of the army and navy, but again he declined. The supreme control of the army and navy had been one of the stipulations made in his behalf by

those who were representing him, but he was evidently unwilling to receive honors at the hands of the Regent.

On November 4th the Prince Regent in a published decree reminded him of all the favors that he had received from the dynasty in the past and begged him to reconsider his declination. His friends had said repeatedly that Yüan would accept the Premiership when his terms were agreed to by the Prince, but they had also added that it was Yüan's intention later to establish a republic. On November 7th he was elected Premier by the National Assembly and the choice was confirmed by the Regent on November 9th in accordance with the new constitution just adopted. Yüan again declined. On the 13th, however, he came to Peking. Once more he refused the honor thrust upon him, for he must not seem too eager. On the 15th of the month he accepted.

On November 26th the Regent went to the Temple of Imperial Ancestors and took a solemn oath to observe the new constitution. The spirits of the dead were called to bear witness to his sincerity. But in spite of this complete surrender, he was compelled on December 6th to resign the office of Regent, and was replaced by the Empress Lungyü, widow of Kuanghsü. She was an inexperienced woman, timid and easily influenced, and thus a better instrument for promoting the ambitious schemes of Yüan Shih-k'ai.

Progress of the Revolution

After the capture of Hankow and Hanyang, four of the southwestern provinces seceded from the empire and set up a government with its capital at Wuchang. Of this little republic Colonel Li Yüan-hung, who had led the revolt at Wuchang, was elected President. Other provinces one by one seceded until thirteen out of the twenty-two provinces had thus withdrawn their support from the Manchu Dynasty. It is worthy of note that Kuangtung, which had for years been the headquarters of a revolutionary party, was among the last to join the rebellion. This was doubtless due to the absence abroad of the leader, Sun Yat-sen. Many attempts had been made by Dr. Sun and others to bring about a revolution, but all had failed because the people did not support them. The revolution of 1911, as we have seen, did not owe its origin

to the agitation or the plottings of secret societies; it grew out of the open and public protest and just complaints of substantial business men in Szechuen. But the secret societies of the Yangtze Valley promptly gave the movement their support, as the mutiny at Wuchang demonstrated.

An appeal to arms cannot but result in wounding and killing and in much suffering among noncombatants, but the conduct of the revolution in China was unfortunately stained by some acts of barbarity that cannot be excused. In some of the large cities in which Manchu garrisons were stationed, the unarmed Manchus,—old men, helpless women and children —were massacred by the mobs, and some captured Manchu officials were cruelly tortured before being put to death. It seemed as though all the innocent blood of those who had been tortured and killed in the Manchu conquest in the seventeenth century had been brought by some avenging Nemesis upon the hapless descendants of those conquerors.

Soon after Yüan Shih-k'ai accepted the Premiership he took command of the imperial army that was operating in the vicinity of Hankow. He quickly drove the revolutionists out of that port and on November 27th, he recaptured Hanyang, a city of still greater importance than Hankow from a military point of view. Huang Hsing had assumed command at that place but appears to have distinguished himself chiefly by his sudden disappearance in the hour of danger. The victory for the imperial arms at Hankow was offset to a degree by the loss of Nanking about the same time to the republicans.

Peace Negotiations

Hankow and Hanyang had been recovered, but Wuchang was still in possession of the republicans. Perhaps it could have been taken with the assistance of a few war vessels, but the wide Yangtze flows between Hankow and Wuchang. Nanking too, an ancient capital, was held by the revolutionists, and all the provinces south of the great river were in rebellion. The little republic of which Li Yüan-hung was President still had its capital at Wuchang. A number of self-appointed representatives of the other southern provinces had established a provisional government at Shanghai. To undertake a con-

quest by force of arms of the vast and populous region south of the Yangtze was a task to make the boldest pause. Yüan hesitated. It would be necessary to have a well-equipped army and supplies for a long period. This would require a large sum of money, and the imperial treasury was empty. Yüan went back to Peking and consulted with the Empress Regent. A foreign loan was proposed and negotiations for a small amount were in fact, initiated. The American government was observing strict neutrality. Perhaps its sympathies were with the republicans. At any rate, it suggested to the British government the propriety of warning the bankers of the two countries against any loan for military purposes to the recognized Chinese government. This made a foreign loan of any considerable amount an impossibility. Yüan, seeing that foreign assistance was not to be had, suggested to the Empress the desirability of an armistice to discuss terms of peace. She consented and an armistice was agreed to by the republicans on condition that the imperial forces should withdraw for a distance of fifty miles from the republican lines. This was done, and on December 9, 1911, Tong Shao-yi, a close friend of Yüan, was appointed a plenipotentiary to discuss terms of peace with the revolutionist leaders. An American friend of Tong's reported that the latter was convinced before he left Peking that a republic would be the outcome of the conference.

Tong Shao-yi first visited Li Yüan-hung at Wuchang and after a satisfactory conference there he went to Shanghai where he arrived on December 14th. On the 17th he met the representatives of the revolutionists there, chief of whom was Wu T'ing-fang who had been Chinese Minister at Washington. Tong and Wu were both Cantonese and quickly came to an agreement. Tong's readiness to accept the terms of the republicans shocked the imperialists at Peking, and even some of the friends of the southerners were surprised, they could hardly believe that the imperial cause was so desperate. Tong reported to the Premier that the Manchus would have to abdicate. Yüan did not reply to the suggestion. There are those who assert that Yüan was privy to Tong's action. He did not at once agree to it, however, and Tong resigned.

On December 27th, Dr. Sun Yat-sen arrived at Shanghai. During the whole period of the civil war he had been abroad. On his arrival at Shanghai he was hailed by the revolutionists

as the logical man to head a united republican government. Li Yüan-hung at Wuchang was induced to agree to a coalition of all the southern provinces. On December 29th, Dr. Sun was elected President and on January 1, 1912, he took the oath of his office at the tomb of the founder of the Ming Dynasty at Nanking. It seemed to many foreign observers a somewhat incongruous proceeding for a President of a republic to solemnize his oath at the tomb of an imperial conqueror; but the real significance of the act was an appeal to the founder of the latest preceding native government of China to bear witness to the return of his country-men to the control of their native land, and their determination to expel the alien conqueror from the throne which Hungwu had once made glorious.

A provisional government was established at Nanking; a Parliament, whose representative character was somewhat doubtful, was assembled there, and a provisional constitution was drafted and adopted. Meantime the armistice was continued from date to date, and negotiations of a semiofficial character were carried on between Yüan in Peking and this republican government at Nanking.

Assassination

On the 17th of January, 1912, Yüan visited the imperial palace and laid before the Empress, Lungyü, the demand of the republican leaders for the abdication of the Manchu Emperor and the establishment of a republic, together with their promise that generous provision would be made for the proper support of the imperial family.

As he was returning from the Forbidden City to his home, two bombs were thrown at his carriage, one of which exploded. The captain of his bodyguard was killed and several troopers wounded. The driver skillfully turned the horses down a side lane. One of the animals fell dead as Yüan reached the gateway of his house. The assassination was charged by some to the agents of the revolutionist party, but by others to retainers of some of the Manchu Princes. It seems most improbable that the revolutionists would at this time attack Yüan, since they must have been aware of his real attitude toward the Manchu Dynasty and must have known, too, that

he was seeking to bring about a reunion of the country upon the terms demanded by the republicans. But there was abundant reason for ill feeling on the part of the Manchu Princes toward Yüan, for many of them believed that he was playing a treacherous game.

On January 28th another round robin was signed by the generals of the imperial army, in which they urged the adoption of the terms of peace laid down by the revolutionists. A review of the whole course of events between October 10, 1911, and February 12, 1912, shows very clearly that the revolution was won, not by the military strength or skill of the revolting provinces, but by the combined action of the Chinese people north as well as south, by the pressure exerted by the National Assembly at Peking, by the support given to the demands of the republicans by the officers of the imperial army and by the successful intrigues of Yüan Shih-k'ai.

The Abdication

At last on February 12, 1912, the sorrowful woman in the great palace enclosure at Peking was induced to sign three remarkable decrees in the name of the child Emperor. The first contained the following significant passages:

> It is evident that the hearts of the majority of the people are in favor of a republican form of government. The provinces of the South were the first to espouse the cause and the generals of the North have since pledged their support. From the preference of the people's hearts the will of Heaven can be discerned.
>
> .....
>
> Let Yüan Shih-k'ai have full power to organize a provisional republican government and confer with the republican army as to a method of reunion that will bring peace to the people and tranquility to the empire, forming one great Republic of China by restoring the union of the five races: Manchus, Mongols, Turkis, Tibetans and Chinese with their several territories.

The second edict recited the conditions under which the abdication had been made. These included provision for the continuance of the offerings in the Temple of Imperial Ancestors and at the Imperial Tombs, the completion of Kuang-hsü's tomb as originally planned, an understanding that the Emperor surrendered his political power only and would be

permitted to retain his title, and detailed stipulations respecting the support of the imperial family and the treatment of Manchu Princes and bannermen as well as other non-Chinese peoples in the empire. The Court of the Emperor was to be maintained as then existing. A palace was to be provided for his residence and he was to receive four million taels a year as a pension until the new currency should be adopted, when it was to be four million dollars a year. The nobles were to retain their titles, all private property of the Emperor or of the nobles was to be respected, and all races were to be on a footing of equality in the Republic.

The third edict set forth the real reason for abdication, which was a desire to prevent further strife and to restore peace, and urged officials to attend to their duties and promote the welfare of the people.

These edicts reveal the practiced hand of an experienced official. The commissioning of Yüan Shih-k'ai to organize a republic in which all parts of the empire and all its races should be united was a skillful stroke to give the subsequent measures to be taken by Yüan the authorization of the recognized government and make the republic that he proposed to set up entirely independent of the revolutionist organization at Nanking. After the reunion had been effected, Yüan's friends were never weary of reminding us of this fact, that he derived his authority not from Nanking but from the former imperial government at Peking.

The terms of the abdication had been agreed upon by Yüan and the republican leaders before the decrees were issued, so that they needed nothing more than a formal approval at Nanking. But the decree of abdication commissioned Yüan to establish a republic and if this condition was to be observed, the organization at Nanking would have to be abandoned. Accordingly Dr. Sun and his cabinet presented their resignations to the Nanking Assembly on February 14th and on February 15th that Assembly elected Yüan Shih-k'ai Provisional President of China and subsequently appointed a committee to notify him and escort him to Nanking to take the oath of office. The southern party wanted to keep the Republic free from the influence of Peking, but Yüan was not willing to have it appear that the North had surrendered to the South. Moreover, his strength lay in the North; he would find it difficult

to carry out his plans if stationed among strange surroundings at Nanking.

On February 26, 1912, the Nanking delegates arrived in Peking and were received with great honor. As they represented the sovereign people, the imperial gate in the curtain wall of the Ch'ien Men, theretofore reserved for the sovereign, was thrown open for them. The streets were gaily decorated with the flag of the Republic, and a guard of honor preceded by a band of music escorted them to their quarters in the Nobles College.

Mutiny and Riot

On the evening of February 29th they were entertained at dinner by Yüan Shih-k'ai in the banquet hall of the Foreign Office. While they were thus engaged, suddenly a fusillade was heard outside the building, the electric lights went out and panic seized the guests. The Third Division had mutinied. A shell fired across the city seems to have given the signal for a demonstration by the rank and file of the army of their displeasure with the trend of affairs. The guard at the Foreign Office rushed to the headquarters of the visiting delegation and looted it. Then began a general looting of the city. Shops of the silk merchants, the goldsmiths, jewelers, curio dealers and the banks were cleared of their treasures and set on fire. Bedlam reigned throughout the night. The next night there was further rioting and looting, and the disorderly troops seized three trains into which they loaded their plunder and departed toward the southwest. On this same night Paotingfu was also looted and on the third night Tientsin. There were some who insisted that the whole affair was staged by Yüan Shih-k'ai to convince the visitors that it would be necessary for him to remain in the North to preserve order.[1] On March 2nd Tong Shao-yi wrote to the Ministers of the foreign powers requesting them to take charge of the city and restore order. This they declined to do, but they decided to increase the number of legation guards by bringing up some troops from Tientsin. These arrived the day following, and by a parade of some detachments through the streets the confidence of the people was somewhat restored. The result

[1] See B. L. Putnam Weale, *The Fight for the Republic in China*, p. 42.

of the *émeute* was that the Nanking delegation was induced to agree to the inauguration of Yüan Shih-k'ai as Provisional President in the Foreign Office at Peking, which was to remain the capital.

On March 10, 1912, Yüan took the oath of Provisional President in the banquet hall of the Foreign Office Building in the presence of the Nanking delegates, the members of his cabinet, representatives of the army and navy, the bannermen and citizens of the five races composing the Republic, as well as a few invited guests from among the Europeans and Americans in the city.[2] The President and other Chinese present were in Western dress. The Tibetan lamas in purple gowns and yellow jackets gave the only touch of color to the assemblage. It ought to be added that the representatives of Mongols and Tibetans had no official status. As we have seen already, Outer Mongolia at this time had established an independent government and the Dalai Lama of Tibet was hostile to the Chinese, whether imperialists or republicans.

The Manchus Pass

Thus the Great Pure Dynasty of the Manchus came to an end. It had ruled China for two hundred and sixty-eight years. We are accustomed to charging the Manchu Dynasty with tyranny, corruption and inefficiency. The charges are easily sustained. But we are apt to forget that, in spite of its oppression and maladministration, it probably gave the Chinese the best government they had ever had. The Manchus were wise enough to choose the ablest men among the Chinese people themselves to administer the government. Among the greatest of the Viceroys, Governors and Ministers, the majority were probably of the Chinese race. The Manchus adopted Chinese civilization so that, after all, it was China that triumphed in all that was commendable in the Manchu government. That the dynasty surpassed those that went before was but the natural result of the general progress that went on from age to age. The apparent backwardness of China in comparison with the West during the last century was not so much due to any reactionary spirit among the Man-

[2] The oath taken by Yüan pledged him to give strict obedience to the constitution, to abide by the will of the people and to vacate his office whenever the National Assembly should elect a President of the Republic.

chus as to the rapidity with which Europe forged ahead after the advance of the physical sciences had given her a distinct advantage over the Orient.

Is a Chinese Republic Possible?

Why, after the overthrow of the Manchus, did the Chinese seek to establish a republic? It was a common observation throughout the West at that time, that the Chinese were unfitted for self-government True, the masses of the people were densely ignorant, but it was not proposed to have universal suffrage at once; and it was a fact easily ascertainable that the intelligent and capable leaders in local affairs had for centuries demonstrated their talent for government. The central government was an absolute monarchy; but in the county, which was the administrative unit, the magistrate, who represented the throne, was compelled to deal with the elders of the people in the villages and in the city wards, who resisted, generally with success, all unusual taxation and all interference with customary rights. These elders levied taxes for all local purposes, such as the upkeep of walls and streets, police, lighting, and the village schools and temples. They settled the village quarrels. They saw that the provincial taxes were paid, and as long as peace and good order were maintained their authority was not questioned.

The gilds, too, had a democratic organization, legislated for the craft concerned and maintained their own courts. They avoided, as far as possible, all appeal to official courts, and when that was no longer possible, the mandarin, to whom the appeal came, applied the rules of the gild as the law in the case.

The clan councils, also, were an education in self-government. Each family in the clan was on an equality with all others, and these representatives of the several households decided all questions of concern to the clan,—the sale of land, the distribution of estates and many other questions that with us must be settled in official courts. Thus the Chinese had much experience to fit them for self-government; it only needed that they should carry over into the larger affairs of the central government the methods employed so successfully in local matters.

HENRY PUYI, LAST EMPEROR OF THE MANCHU DYNASTY, NOW IN RETIREMENT

The Reorganization Loan

Yüan's cabinet was composed in part of men from the North and in part of others from the South, but the most important posts were held by friends long attached to himself, upon whom he could rely. One of these was Tong Shao-yi, who became Premier. A new provisional Parliament known as the National Council was organized near the end of April. But the constitution adopted in the North on November 2, 1911, called for a bicameral Parliament, and the constitution adopted at Nanking required the National Council to call a national Parliament together whose composition the National Council was to determine. Accordingly, on May 7th the Council in Committee of the Whole voted that the Parliament should consist of two houses. The Senate was to represent provinces and the House was to represent population, just as is true in the American Congress. Elections were held during the year and the Parliament was to be convened in the spring of 1913.

In the meantime, the most pressing question before the government was that of finance. To pay off the troops in the large armies North and South that were to be disbanded, to meet outstanding obligations and to reorganize the administration, a large loan would be necessary. Even before the inauguration of the Provisional President, his friend, Tong Shao-yi, on behalf of the new government about to be installed, had approached the representatives of the four-power group and had obtained an advance on February 28th of two million taels to meet pressing needs, with the understanding that negotiations would be undertaken with the group as soon as possible for a large loan to start the new government on its way. On March 7th a further advance of Tls. 1,100,000 was made, and two days later the group received a letter from the President-elect, giving assurance that the group should have a firm option for the further monthly requirements from March to June inclusive and possibly for July and August, and promising that in consideration of the assistance rendered in the then existing emergency, the group, if its terms were equally advantageous with those obtainable elsewhere, should also have a firm option of undertaking the comprehensive loan for reorganization purposes.

In spite of these assurances, Tong Shao-yi five days later, March 14th, signed an agreement with a so-called Belgian syndicate for an independent loan of one million pounds sterling redeemable in twelve months, to be followed by a larger loan aggregating ten million pounds. The contract gave to the Belgian syndicate exactly the same preference with regard to future loans up to ten million pounds that had been assured five days earlier to the four-power group. This violation of faith at once raised a storm of protest and caused a suspension of negotiations by the four-power group. Subsequently the Chinese government canceled the loan agreement with the Belgians, and negotiations were resumed on May 3rd. But the terms demanded by the four-power group were so obnoxious to the Chinese that they began to consider a loan by certain Russian interests. The conditions made by the group, however, were really in the interest of the Chinese people as well as in that of the investors, for a proper supervision of expenditure and a reorganization of the salt gabelle under expert supervision, both objectionable to the Chinese, were intended to secure economy in expenditure and an efficiency in administration that was desirable in the interest of the taxpayers and calculated to improve the credit of China. In the hope of preventing further international competition in lending to China, the four-power group on June 18, 1912, enlarged its membership to take in a Russian and a Japanese group, thus becoming a sextuple combination. In the meantime, Tong Shao-yi on June 15th had quit Peking for Tientsin, thoroughly disheartened by the outlook. From Tientsin he sent his resignation. The six-power group resumed the suspended negotiations, but the Chinese were unwilling to agree to the group's condition that the salt gabelle, whose revenues were to be security for the proposed loan, should be reorganized and placed under foreign supervision. They then turned to another syndicate, that of C. Birch Crisp and Company, and on August 30th signed a contract for a loan of ten million pounds sterling, secured upon the revenues of the salt gabelle, subject to prior liens; but the contract did not require foreign control of the gabelle, unless China should default on payments due, in which case the Maritime Customs were to take charge as far as it might become necessary to do so to protect the

investors. Five million pounds of the loan were offered for subscription, but no more than forty per cent could be obtained and the underwriters had to assume the remainder. This failure to float the loan was due to the declaration of the British government that no official support could be given to any loan upon terms differing from those demanded by the international group. The Crisp syndicate had been given the usual option on further borrowings, but when it was seen that no loan could be obtained of sufficient amount without the approval of the governments that were backing the six-power group, the Crisp syndicate was induced to surrender its preference, and late in November, 1912, the negotiations with the sextuple combination were resumed.

In the meantime, China had been meeting obligations by small loans from commercial houses in return for concessions or for orders for munitions and upon very hard terms. The long delay in getting the government to function properly caused much dissatisfaction throughout the country and led to mutinies in various places among the troops and to plottings against the President. Suspects were arrested and executed without much ceremony. In some instances objectionable leaders were removed by assassination, which further discredited the administration. In addition to these internal troubles, there were questions of serious import with Russia relating to Outer Mongolia and with Great Britain concerning Tibet, which were disturbing the government and creating discontent throughout the country. The Chinese press was filled with foolish clamor for war with Russia.

On February 4, 1913, the Chinese government definitely accepted the terms of the group for a loan of twenty-five million pounds, and nominated the three foreign advisers who were required: Oisen, a Dane connected with the Maritime Customs, for Associate Inspector General of the Salt Gabelle; Rossi, an Italian, as Adviser to the Bureau of Audit, and Rumpf, a German already in Chinese employ, for Director of the Bureau of Foreign Loans.

The note communicating this information, instead of being received with satisfaction, became at once an apple of discord and for two months the representatives of the six groups wrangled over these appointments.

Withdrawal of the American Group

But the United States had held an election in November, 1912, and the Taft administration had been replaced in March, 1913, by that of President Wilson. It will be remembered that the American group had entered the business of promoting "Dollar Diplomacy" at the request of Secretary Knox, and now that the Republicans were out of office, these banks were unwilling to continue their interest in the loan negotiations unless the new administration would request them to do so.

In reply to their letter asking for a statement of the attitude of the President and his Cabinet, President Wilson on March 13th declined to make the request on the ground that the new administration could not approve the conditions of the loan, which seemed "to touch very nearly the administrative independence of China itself." The conditions, it was said, included the pledging of antiquated and burdensome taxes and their administration by foreign agents. The encouragement of a loan so secured was declared to be obnoxious to the principles upon which the American Government rested. This reply at once caused the American group to withdraw from the sextuple combination, which thus became a five-power group. President Wilson had to some extent been misinformed as to the real situation in China. The Chinese expressed their appreciation of the friendliness shown by the President's note, but at the American Legation they stated their regret at the withdrawal of the Americans since that group had been looked upon as disposed to deal favorably with China's proposals. Four years later President Wilson reversed his attitude, when, during the World War, he requested the same group of American bankers along with others to form a syndicate to unite with the British, French and Japanese groups to form a new consortium to arrange for loans to China.

The Reorganization Loan was finally signed on April 26, 1913, with provision for the appointment of a British Associate Inspector of the Salt Gabelle, a German Deputy Inspector General of the Gabelle to reside at Shanghai, a French and a Russian Adviser to the Bureau of Audit, and a German Director of the Bureau of Foreign Loans. Strong opposition to the signing of the contract was made by leaders of the new

Parliament just elected on the ground that the constitution required all loans to be approved by the Parliament. But the new Parliament had not yet been organized, and the reply of the President to their protests was that the old National Council held the powers of Parliament until the latter should be elected and organized, and that the National Council had approved the contract.

Recognition of the Republic

The Republic of China had not as yet been recognized by any government. After the statement by President Wilson relating to the loan had been published, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs sent a note expressing the high appreciation of the friendly attitude of the United States thus shown. In it the Minister voiced the hope of the people of China that the American government would soon give the young Republic its recognition. The American Legation at Peking also advised the Department of State of the desirability of such action. Accordingly, on April 7, 1913, the Secretary of State instructed the Legation that, as soon as the newly elected Parliament should assemble and be organized for business a note from President Wilson, giving the desired recognition, was to be delivered to President Yüan. The Parliament met on April 8th, but the parties supporting President Yüan and those of the opposition were so nearly equal that sparring and logrolling began at once for control of the Houses. The wrangle continued for some weeks. On April 25th the Senate effected an organization, but the House did not elect a Speaker until April 30th. On May 2nd the note of recognition was delivered. It gave encouragement to the Chinese government and caused much rejoicing throughout the country. May 8th by proclamation of the President, was set aside as a holiday for the celebration of the event. On that day delegations from the National Chamber of Commerce in Peking, from the trade gilds and from various societies, together with a procession of boys and girls from the public schools, visited the Legation to express their appreciation of the action of the American government.

The Republic of Mexico also gave recognition, but the European powers and Japan decided to await the election of

a President. Yüan at this time was but a Provisional President. The Parliament began work at once upon a permanent constitution. For the time being, the government was conducted under the provisional constitution adopted at Nanking. Bitter partisanship began to be manifested from the very beginning of the parliamentary sessions. The members who had belonged to the Nanking government were suspicious of Yüan and his supporters. They were determined to have a constitution that would grant the largest measure possible of local autonomy, and insisted that the President should be merely an executive of the will of Parliament. They desired a constitution similar to that of France; the Premier and his Cabinet were to be responsible to Parliament.

Yüan, on the other hand, wanted to be a real ruler. He desired to be a President with powers similar to those of the chief executive of the United States. He used all his power of persuasion and of patronage to seduce members of the opposition. It was charged, too, that he resorted to assassination to remove some of the most objectionable of his opponents. An insurrection headed by Li Liehchün and Huang Hsing broke out in May in the Yangtze Valley and the movement spread rapidly through the south, until in July there were six provinces that had seceded from the Republic. Yüan acted with great decision. He showed no mercy to his enemies. Martial law was proclaimed in Peking. Young men accused were given short shrift. After trials that were little more than a mockery, they were shot at sunrise. There can scarcely be a doubt but that some of these were innocent of any real crime. One young man who happened to have been born in the United States was rescued by the Legation. Investigation showed that he had not committed any offense, but had unfortunately recently been in Canton. An apology for his arrest was made by the Provost Marshal.

The insurrection was suppressed in a few weeks. Huang Hsing ran true to form, for he ran away at the first sign of danger to himself. He found refuge in Japan. Dr. Sun and Li Lieh-chün fled to the same shelter. Ts'un Ch'un-hsüan sought safety in the Straits Settlements.

The new constitution was created very slowly, and it was decided to complete first of all the chapter dealing with the

election of the President, so that an election might be held as soon as possible. This was done. The election was held on October 6, 1913. Yüan was charged with employing intimidation. He was elected President after several ballotings. Li Yüan-hung was chosen Vice-President on the following day.

On September 30th the representatives of those governments that had not recognized the Republic decided to recommend such recognition as soon as a President should be elected, provided China would agree to observe existing treaties and respect all rights and immunities formerly granted to their nations. This was done. On October 10th, the anniversary of the rising at Wuchang in 1911, President Yüan Shih-k'ai took the oath of office in the presence of a great company representing the various branches of the administration, the army and navy, the two Houses of Parliament and the diplomatic corps. The ceremony was an impressive one, held in the largest hall of the Imperial Palace, formerly known as the T'ai Ho Tien. Its name had been changed to the Hall of Ceremony. A plot to blow up the hall had been discovered a few hours earlier. The plotters were arrested and promptly put out of the way. After the inauguration ceremonies the diplomatic corps and other guests were entertained at luncheon and this was followed by a review of the troops, who were paraded before one of the great gate towers of the imperial city. Under such ominous circumstances was the Republic of China started upon its course.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	A.D.
Emperor Kuanghsü	1876-1908
Third Regency of Tzu-hsi	1898-1908
Emperor Hsuant'ung	1909-1912
Regency of Prince Ch'un	1908-1911
Regency of Empress Lungyü	1911-1912
President Yuan Shih-k'ai	1912-1916

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[3] For the events related in this chapter the writer has relied chiefly upon his own diaries and notes.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF YUAN SHIH-K'AI

Republican Period, 1913-1916

To reign is worth ambition, though in hell.
— MILTON.
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.
— GRAY.

A Perjured President

WHEN Yüan Shih-k'ai was installed as the duly elected President of China, he took a solemn oath to obey the constitution and faithfully discharge the duties of President. Yet he began at once to violate that oath by planning to destroy the legislative branch of the government. On November 5, 1913, he issued a decree dissolving the Kuo Min Tang, the principal party of the opposition, and expelling its members from Parliament. This high-handed proceeding deprived 132 Senators and 306 Representatives of their seats.[1] The party was accused of treasonable designs, but the method employed for its suppression was itself treasonable.

With so many of its members unseated and no elections held for replacing them, the Parliament lacked a quorum. It lingered on for a few weeks without power to act and in January, 1914, was dissolved. The President assumed dictatorial powers and gathered a body of friends around him to serve as advisers. In compliance with his directions, his legal adviser, Dr. Frank Goodnow, drew up a new provisional constitution centralizing all authority in the hands of the President. It provided, however, for the creation of a committee which was to draft a permanent constitution. This new provisional constitution was known as the Constitutional Compact. According to its terms there was to be a National Legislature and a Council of State. The former was to be

[1] B. L. Putnam Weale, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

composed of 275 members chosen by electoral colleges. The suffrage was to be greatly restricted. The Council of State was to be organized by a method to be determined by the Committee on Constitution. The term of the President was changed from five to ten years by a new law, and he was to be eligible to reëlection. The Constitutional Compact was promulgated in May 1914, but the law relating to the presidential succession was not published until the close of that year. A Council of State was organized by the appointment of the President himself. Yüan's treatment of the provincial legislatures was no less drastic. They were suppressed, and the Governors who had been elected by the people were removed and replaced by Military Governors appointed by the President. These Military Governors with the troops placed under their orders became subsequently responsible for much of the civil strife that filled the country with disorder.

Having by these measures brought the whole administration under his personal control and, flattered by the sycophants who always gather about a tyrant, Yüan began to plan to make himself Emperor and thus establish a new dynasty. In the meantime, the attention of Western nations was absorbed by the World War which broke out in the summer of 1914.

The Capture of Kiaochow

Upon the outbreak of hostilities in Europe the American government consulted with the belligerents, proposing that arrangements be made to circumscribe the area of hostilities in the Far East. China also on August 3, 1914, proposed that the belligerents undertake not to engage in hostilities either in Chinese territory and marginal waters or in adjacent leased territories. Both the British and the German governments replied favorably to the American proposals. Sir Edward Grey thought that an agreement to maintain the *status quo* in the Far East would be a great advantage; he feared that if the war were carried to the Far East it might cause disturbances in China. The German government expressed a willingness to engage not to attack British colonies or warships or British commerce in the Far East in return for corresponding promises on the part of Great Britain. By

the "East" was meant all lands and waters east of longitude 90 east of Greenwich, including all the Pacific to Cape Horn. If this seemed too large a region, Germany was willing to agree to neutralize a more restricted area. It has been reported that Germany and China were engaged at the same time in negotiations looking to the retrocession of the leased territory held by Germany in Shantung but, if true, the negotiations never went beyond the initial suggestion, for the war was brought very promptly into Chinese territory by the action of Japan.

As early as August 11th Japan had offered to come to the assistance of Great Britain, but the British government, hoping that the American proposals would be accepted, discouraged the participation of Japan. It was suggested, however, that if Japan really desired to make war upon Germany, she should confine her operations to attack upon armed German merchantmen.[2] This Japan declined to do. On August 13th the Japanese Legation at Peking presented a memorandum to the Chinese government objecting to China's action in seeking to exclude the Far East from the area of hostilities.

On August 15th Japan issued her ultimatum to Germany, advising Germany in the interest of peace in the Far East "to withdraw immediately from Japanese and Chinese waters the German men-of-war and armed vessels of all kinds and to disarm all that could not be withdrawn, and to deliver to Japan not later than September 15, 1914, without condition or compensation, the entire leased territory of Kiaochow with a view to its eventual restoration to China." [3] The phraseology of the ultimatum recalled that of Germany's advice to Japan in 1895 regarding south Manchuria. Germany made no reply to Japan's ultimatum, and on August 23rd Japan prepared to take Tsingtao by assault.

When the British government saw that Japan was bent on driving the Germans out of Shantung, a British force was

[2] There is a conflict of testimony as to Japan's entry into the war. Baron Kato in August stated in the Diet that the British government had asked for Japan's assistance.

[3] Subsequently, in December 1914, Baron Kato said that no promise as to the ultimate disposition of Kiaochow had been given; that "restoration [to China] after a campaign had not been thought of and was not referred to in the ultimatum." The implication was that, only if it had been surrendered without fighting, would the promise to restore the territory to China have been binding.

prepared to assist in the attack on Tsingtao. Probably Great Britain desired to have a voice in the disposition of the leased territory of Kiaochow after it should be captured; but before the time for peace arrived, Japan took advantage of Great Britain's need of assistance against the submarine menace in the Mediterranean to obtain a pledge from her ally that at the Peace Conference she would support Japan's claim to have the former German possessions in Shantung transferred to the Mikado.

Japan declared war on Germany on August 23, 1914. Shortly thereafter she notified China that military necessity would require her to occupy Chinese districts outside the boundaries of the leased territory of Kiaochow. Great Britain, however, recognized no such necessity, but landed her troops at Laoshan within the leased territory. China had already proclaimed her neutrality and Japan's proposed action would be a violation of that neutrality. The Chinese protested but the protest was unheeded. The Japanese proceeded to Lungkou, on the north side of the Shantung Peninsula, about one hundred miles from the nearest point in the leased territory. There they landed their troops, seized the Chinese post and telegraph offices and billeted their soldiers upon the Chinese peasants. They then constructed a military railway from Lungkou to Weihsien on the Shantung Railway, a distance of about seventy-five miles. Much complaint was made by the Chinese of their treatment by the Japanese soldiery.

Since Japan paid no heed to China's protest against the violation of her neutrality, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs on September 3, 1914, addressed a note to the diplomatic representatives at Peking, saying:

> It is very unfortunate that Germany, Japan and Great Britain, friends of our country, have committed such altogether unexpected acts within our territory, creating an extraordinary situation, analogous to the Russo-Japanese acts of hostility in the Liaotung Peninsula in the year 1904.
>
> The only way open to us is to follow that precedent, to declare that so far as concerning Lungkou, Laichow and places adjacent to Kiaochow Bay, within the narrowest possible limits absolutely necessary for military operations of the belligerent troops, our Government will not be wholly responsible as a neutral state; while in all other places within

our territory the law of neutrality which has already been promulgated shall remain in full force. However, within the districts as designated above, the administration as well as territorial jurisdiction, the safety of the inhabitants and the functionaries, public and private properties shall be fully respected by the belligerent states.[4]

To this the Japanese government replied on September 7th to the effect that they understood with some difficulty what was meant by the Chinese declaration. The Chinese then explained more fully that the railway from Weihsien to Tsinan, the provincial capital, was to remain under Chinese protection, and the Japanese were requested to forbid the advance of their troops to Weihsien or to any place west of Weihsien. The Japanese paid no attention to this request, but seized the railway station at Weihsien and occupied the whole railway line from the leased territory to Tsinan, a distance of 254 miles. To the repeated protests of China they replied that since the building of the railway was the outcome of the lease of Kiaochow, it was to be considered as having the same status; that, communicating as it did with the interior, it was a serious danger to the military operations at Tsingtao, and that in any case it was not necessary to obtain the approval of China to its seizure.

Tsingtao was not strongly fortified and the Germans were not prepared to make a prolonged defense of the place. It capitulated to the Japanese and British forces on November 7, 1914.

All occasion for the occupation of Chinese districts outside the leased territory having been removed by the capture of Tsingtao, the Chinese government in December took up with Japan the question of the abolition of the war zone in Shantung and the withdrawal of Japan's forces from China's neutral territory. Japan objected. On January 7, 1915, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs notified the British and Japanese Ministers in Peking that the war zone had been abolished and requested the removal of all troops from that area.[5]

Japan replied on January 9th that China's action was "improper and arbitrary, betraying, in fact, want of confidence in

[4] MacMurray, *Treaties and Agreements With and Concerning China,* vol. ii, p. 1154.

[5] MacMurray, *op. cit.,* p. 1158.

international good faith and regardless of friendly relations." Japan refused to acquiesce in it under any circumstances. The Japanese government added:

> The Imperial Government deems it necessary to declare that, even if your Government actually cancels the communications concerning the creation of a war zone, the Imperial Government would not permit the movement and actions of their troops within a necessary period to be affected or restricted by such act of cancellation.

On January 16th the Chinese rejoined with a statement to the effect that the creation of the war zone was not the result of any agreement with the belligerents but was an independent action of China in the interest of peace in the Far East, and that the abolition of the zone by China did not require the concurrence of any other government.

Japan appeared to be waiting for some excuse for further aggressive action toward China and found it in this correspondence.

The Twenty-one Demands

On January 18, 1915, the Japanese Minister at Peking, Hioki Eki, resorting to the unusual procedure of ignoring the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sought an audience of the President of China and presented to him a list of very serious demands, and warned him on no account to make them public. These demands had been formulated in December, 1914. Hioki received them on December 3rd.

President Yüan paid no heed to the warning but promptly communicated them to certain friendly powers and subsequently also to the correspondent of the Associated Press. According to the terms of the Root-Takahira notes it would seem to have been incumbent upon the Japanese government to inform the American government promptly of this action which undoubtedly did "threaten the *status quo*," but it was not until February 8th that the Japanese Ambassador called upon the Secretary of State and left a memorandum dealing with the matter. By that time the Department of State was already in possession of the whole twenty-one demands, yet the Japanese memorandum contained but eleven of the least objectionable of them, and these not fully stated. When the Peking correspondents began to send out the text after the

middle of February, it was evident that the fact that there were twenty-one demands could no longer be concealed, and the Japanese Ambassador at Washington called once more and presented seven of the missing ten, but stated that these were "requests, not demands." The Chinese government declared that Hioki Eki in presenting them to President Yüan did not make any such distinction. In fact, as late as April 2nd when the newspapers began to report that the demands of Group V were merely requests, the Japanese Legation in Peking officially informed the Foreign Office of China that the Japanese government recognized no such distinction but would insist upon Group V equally with the others. In this, however, as in the first presentation of the demands, the Japanese Minister appears to have acted on his own responsibility and to have exceeded his instructions. The official version of the incident as given out by the Japanese government shows that the demands were prepared in December, 1914, and that Hioki Eki was instructed on December 3, 1914, to bring the matters in the first four groups to the attention of the Chinese government. As to the matters mentioned in the fifth group, his instructions say: "As regards the proposals contained in the fifth group, they are presented as the wishes of the Imperial Government. The matters which are dealt with under this category are entirely different in character from those which are included in the first four groups."

The Japanese official text of the twenty-one demands as originally presented is as follows:

GROUP I

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, being desirous to maintain the general peace in the Far East and to strengthen the relations of amity and good neighbourhood existing between the two countries, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The Chinese Government engage to give full assent to all matters that the Japanese Government may hereafter agree with the German Government respecting the disposition of all the rights, interests and concessions, which in virtue of treaties or otherwise, Germany possesses *vis-à-vis* China in relation to the Province of Shantung.

ARTICLE II. The Chinese Government engage that, within the Province of Shantung or along its coast, no territory or island will be ceded or leased to any other Power, under any pretext whatever.

ARTICLE III. The Chinese Government agree to Japan's building a

railway connecting Chefoo or Lungkow with the Kiaochou-Tsinanfu Railway.

ARTICLE IV. The Chinese Government engage to open of their own accord, as soon as possible, certain important cities and towns in the Province of Shantung for the residence and commerce of foreigners. The places to be so opened shall be decided upon in a separate agreement.

GROUP II

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, in view of the fact that the Chinese Government has always recognized the predominant position of Japan in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The two Contracting Parties mutually agree that the term of the lease of Port Arthur and Dairen and the term respecting the South Manchuria Railway and the Antung-Mukden Railway shall be extended to a further period of 99 years respectively.

ARTICLE II. The Japanese subjects shall be permitted in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia to lease or own land required either for erecting buildings for various commercial and industrial uses or for farming.

ARTICLE III. The Japanese subjects shall have liberty to enter, reside and travel in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and to carry on business of various kinds—commercial, industrial and otherwise.

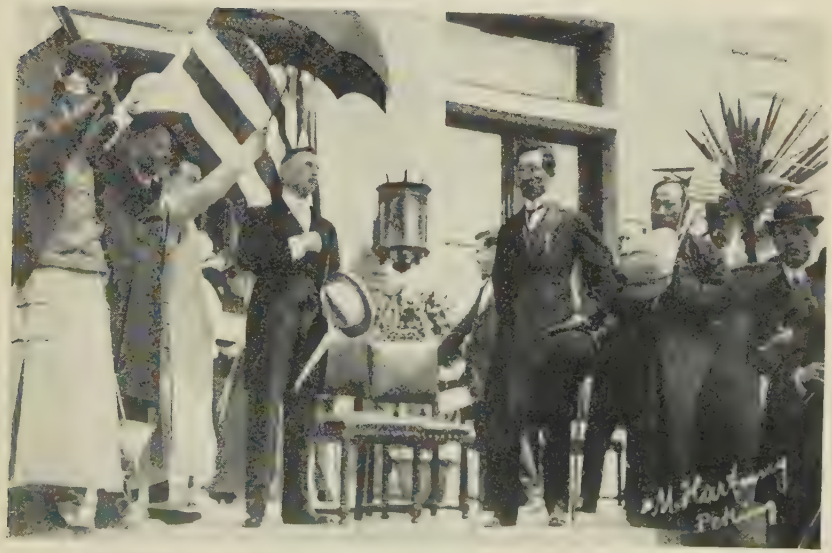
ARTICLE IV. The Chinese Government grant to the Japanese subjects the right of mining in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. As regards the mines to be worked, they shall be decided upon in a separate agreement.

ARTICLE V. The Chinese Government agree that the consent of the Japanese Government shall be obtained in advance, (1) whenever it is proposed to grant to other nationals the right of constructing a railway or to obtain from other nationals the supply of funds for constructing a railway in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, and (2) whenever a loan is to be made with any other Power, under security of the taxes of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia.

ARTICLE VI. The Chinese Government engage that whenever the Chinese Government need the service of political, financial or military advisers or instructors in South Manchuria or Eastern Inner Mongolia, Japan shall first be consulted.

ARTICLE VII. The Chinese Government agree that the control and management of the Kirin-Changchun Railway shall be handed over to Japan for a term of 99 years dating from the signing of this Treaty.

DR. SUN YAT-SEN



DEPUTATIONS FROM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, GILDS, UNIVERSITY, AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS, EXPRESSING TO AUTHOR CHINA'S APPRECIATION OF AMERICAN RECOGNITION

GROUP III

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, having regard to the close relations existing between Japanese capitalists and the Han-Yeh-Ping Company, and desiring to promote the common interests of the two nations, agree to the following articles:

ARTICLE I. The two Contracting Parties mutually agree that when the opportune moment arrives the Han-Yeh-Ping Company shall be made a joint concern of the two nations, and that, without the consent of the Japanese Government, the Chinese Government shall not dispose or permit the Company to dispose of any right or property of the Company.

ARTICLE II. The Chinese Government engage that, as a necessary measure for protection of the invested interests of Japanese capitalists, no mines in the neighbourhood of those owned by the Han-Yeh-Ping Company shall be permitted, without the consent of the said Company, to be worked by any one other than the said Company; and, further, that whenever it is proposed to take any other measure which may likely affect the interest of the said Company directly or indirectly, the consent of the said Company shall first be obtained.

GROUP IV

The Japanese Government and the Chinese Government, with the object of effectively preserving the territorial integrity of China, agree to the following article:

The Chinese Government engage not to cede or lease to any other Power any harbour or bay on or any island along the coast of China.

GROUP V

(1) The Chinese Central Government to engage influential Japanese as political, financial and military advisers.

(2) The Chinese Government to grant the Japanese hospitals, temples and schools in the interior of China the right to own land.

(3) In the face of many police disputes which have hitherto arisen between Japan and China, causing no little annoyance, the police in localities [in China] where such arrangements are necessary, to be placed under joint Japanese and Chinese administration, or Japanese to be employed in police offices in such localities, so as to help at the same time the improvement of the Chinese Police Service.

(4) China to obtain from Japan supply of a certain quantity of arms, or to establish an arsenal in China under joint Japanese and Chinese management and to be supplied with experts and materials from Japan.

(5) In order to help the development of the Nanchang-Kiukiang Railway, with which Japanese capitalists are so closely identified, and with due regard to the negotiations which have for years been pending between Japan and China in relation to the railway question in South China, China to agree to give Japan the right of constructing a railway to connect Wuchang with the Kiukiang-Nanchang line, and also the railways between Nanchang and Hangchou and between Nanchang and Chaochou.

(6) In view of the relations between the Province of Fukien and Formosa and of the agreement respecting the nonalienation of that province, Japan to be consulted first whenever foreign capital is needed in connection with the railways, mines and harbour works (including dockyards) in the Province of Fukien.

(7) China to grant to Japanese subjects the right of preaching in China.

The Negotiations

In considering the motives that influenced Japan in the presentation of these demands, it should not be forgotten that Yüan Shih-k'ai was engaged in an ambitious and dishonorable project to destroy the Republic and make himself Emperor, and that he had been *persona non grata* to Japan ever since the period of his service as Resident in Korea in the decade 1884-1894, when he tried to obstruct Japan's intrigues to detach that dependency from its ancient allegiance to China. It is not at all incredible, therefore, that when the Japanese Minister presented the demands to President Yüan, he should have intimated to him, as has been reported,[6] that if he would agree to them, he would remove Japanese hostility and obtain Japanese assistance for his plans, and that if he should refuse to grant the demands, Japan would find it difficult to prevent Japanese assistance to the revolutionists that were seeking Yüan's overthrow.

The negotiations which began on January 18, 1915, dragged along for four months. China resisted ineffectually, for she was not prepared for war. On March 6th the Japanese plenipotentiaries expressed themselves as dissatisfied with the slow progress being made and intimated that if important demands were not agreed to by March 12th, means other than diplomacy might be employed. Both in Shantung

[6] B. L. Putnam Weale, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

and in Manchuria significant military measures were being taken. Japanese troops sent to Manchuria to relieve the railway guards were rumored to have other work in view. On April 26th the Japanese submitted a modification of the demands, less offensive than the original list, but comprising twenty-four articles. The increase was due to the separation of certain articles dealing with Inner Monoglia from similar demands concerning South Manchuria. This was due to the fact that demands concerning Eastern Inner Mongolia affected the relations between the Chinese and the Mongols and had therefore to be treated with more caution than those relating to South Manchuria.

The offensive statement in the introduction to Group II that China had always "recognized the predominant position of Japan in South Manchuria" was omitted, and the phraseology of several articles was amended so as to meet objections made by the Chinese. At the end of the revised list the Japanese added the following proposal:

> The Japanese Government engage that, if the Chinese Government accept the Japanese revised proposals as above stated, the leased territory of Kiaochou Bay shall be returned to China, in the event of the said territory being left to the free disposal of Japan as the result of the peace conference upon conclusion of the present war, on the following conditions:
>
> 1. To open the entire territory as a commercial port;
>
> 2. To permit a Japanese settlement to be established in the area to be designated by Japan;
>
> 3. To permit an international settlement to be established, if desired by the Powers;
>
> 4. Arrangements to be made between Japan and China, before the restoration of the territory to China, regarding the disposition of the German establishments and with respect to the other conditions and procedures.

Chinese Counterproposals

This disposition of the Japanese to soften somewhat the character of the demands seems to have emboldened the Chinese to stiffen their resistance. Suddenly on May 1st they presented these counterdemands:

1. Unconditional restitution to China of the leased territory of Kiaochow.

2. Agreement by Japan to the participation of China in the peace conference to be held between Japan and Germany.

3. The Japanese Government to bear the entire damages incident to the hostilities between Japan and Germany [*i.e.*, in Chinese territory].

4. Immediate removal of all the Japanese military establishments connected with the hostilities between Japan and Germany and prompt withdrawal of the troops from within occupied territory.

The courage shown in making these counterdemands was admirable, but one may well doubt the wisdom of such a move.

On May 4th the Japanese ordered their reservists in Mukden to report at their stations. Japanese residents of Canton and Hankow were directed to repair to places where they could be protected; those in Peking were told to be ready to move into the Legation Quarter. On the 6th of May a Japanese warship arrived at Chinwangtao and on the following day at 3 p.m. an ultimatum was delivered, demanding a satisfactory response to the Japanese "advice" before 6 p.m. of May 9th, failing which Japan would take such measures as they might deem necessary to meet the situation. In a supplementary memorandum which accompanied the ultimatum the Japanese cleared up some ambiguities in the revised draft of the demands, and declared that if the items as set forth were accepted, the promise to return Kiaochow Bay to China would still hold good.

The Treaties

China was in no condition to resist the demands and had to comply with the ultimatum. On May 6th she replied that in order to preserve the peace of the Far East she accepted the articles of Groups I, II, III and IV and a proposed exchange of notes relating to one of the demands of Group V concerned with Fukien Province. The Chinese reply also accepted the Japanese proposal that the discussion of five other articles in Group V should be postponed for later negotiation. The plenipotentiaries at once resumed their meetings, and on May 25th two treaties were signed, one relating to Shantung and the other to South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. Several of the demands, however, were dealt with in exchanges of notes instead of in the treaties.

The demands with respect to Shantung were agreed to with

slight modifications. Article II of that group was covered by an exchange of notes in which China promised not to lease or alienate to any foreign power any territory within or along the coast of Shantung. This phraseology shut out Japan as well as other powers from obtaining such a lease. As to the railway from Lungkou to connect with the Shantung line, China agreed to apply to Japanese capitalists to finance the undertaking, provided Germany should surrender her right to do so. One of the exchanges of notes embodied the Japanese promise to restore Kiaochow to China upon the conditions already mentioned.

In the second treaty the Chinese Government agreed to extend the terms of the leases of the South Manchuria and the Antung-Mukden Railways to ninety-nine years. A similar extension was made of the lease of the Kuantung Peninsula in southern Manchuria. These extensions were less than had originally been demanded, which was for further periods of ninety-nine years after expiration of the leases then running. Article II of Group II, both in the original and in the revised list of demands, stipulated that Japanese should be permitted to lease or to purchase land either for buildings or for industrial and commercial uses or for farming. The original demand related to Eastern Inner Mongolia as well as to South Manchuria. The treaty allows Japanese to lease but not to purchase land for the purposes stated, and restricts the right to South Manchuria. In Inner Mongolia the right was limited to *joint* undertakings by Chinese citizens and Japanese subjects in agriculture and industries auxiliary thereto. Japanese subjects availing themselves of the rights thus granted in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia were to carry passports, be registered, and be subject to Chinese police laws, regulations and taxes, but extraterritorial jurisdiction was not given up, although it is stipulated that it shall be surrendered when the judicial system in those regions shall have been completely reformed.

Provision was made for the selection of cities and towns in Eastern Inner Mongolia that were to be opened to foreign residence and trade, and the agreements touching the Kirin-Changchun Railway were to be revised in such a manner as to make them as advantageous to the Japanese as any other railway loan agreements between China and foreign capitalists.

The demand for mining rights, in accordance with the revised version of that article, was granted for South Manchuria only, but in an exchange of notes and not in the body of the treaty. Six districts were specified in which coal might be mined, one in which iron was to be mined, one for coal and iron mining, and one for gold.

The demand for a Japanese veto on railway building by foreigners in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia and for a veto on loans secured upon the taxes in those regions was but slightly modified; China is required to consult first with Japanese capitalists in seeking loans for such railway building or any loans secured on the taxes in those regions except loans secured on the salt gabelle and customs duties, already pledged for loans to the central government. As to advisers for the government of South Manchuria, China was not required to employ any, but if foreigners are to be employed for that purpose, an exchange of notes requires that preference is to be given to Japanese.

An exchange of notes forbids China to confiscate or nationalize the Han-Yeh-Ping enterprise[7] and requires her to approve of any future agreement between the Han-Yeh-Ping Company and Japanese capitalists to make it a joint undertaking.

Another exchange binds China not to permit any foreign power to build a shipyard, military coaling station, naval station or any other military establishment on the coast of Fukien Province, and forbids her to borrow foreign capital for any of these purposes.[8]

The United States Reserves Its Rights

Although the attention of the Western World was directed at this time to the progress of the World War, the extortion of such valuable concessions from China, and that, too, without any *quid pro quo,* did not pass unnoticed. Some of the demands infringed the sovereignty of China and others were

[7] This enterprise includes the operation of iron furnaces and rolling mills at Hanyang, the mining of iron at Tayeh and of coal at Pinghsiang, all in central China, in districts adjacent to the port of Hankow. The name is formed by taking one syllable from each of the place names mentioned.

[8] This refers to the attempt of Secretary Hay in 1899 to obtain a coaling station on that coast, and was called out by rumors of more recent negotiations for an American loan to build a naval station for China there.

a clear violation of the Open Door pledges. The American government, upon learning of the presentation of an ultimatum by Japan and its acceptance by China, on May 13th sent to each of the two governments a note reserving its rights. That to China was as follows:

> In view of the circumstances of the negotiations which have taken place and which are now pending between the Government of China and the Government of Japan and of the agreements which have been reached as a result thereof, the Government of the United States has the honor to notify the Government of the Chinese Republic that it cannot recognize any agreement or undertaking which has been entered into or which may be entered into between the Governments of China and Japan impairing the treaty rights of the United States and its citizens in China, the political or territorial integrity of the Republic of China, or the international policy relative to China, commonly known as the Open Door Policy.[9]

The Chinese government also issued a statement declaring that although it was "constrained to comply in full with the terms of the ultimatum," it nevertheless disclaimed any desire to associate itself with any revision that might be thus effected, of the various conventions and agreements concluded between other powers in respect of the maintenance of China's territorial independence and integrity, the preservation of the *status quo,* and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China.[10]

Further Encroachments

Japan had her eyes fixed upon the undeveloped resources of Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia. In those vast and sparsely populated regions there seemed to be an inviting field for Japanese colonization. She had effectually disposed of the Anglo-American scheme for the opening up of the fertile Mongolian plains, as we have seen. In December, 1915, the Yokohama Specie Bank obtained an agreement with the Chinese government for the building of a railway from Ssupingkai on the South Manchuria Railway to Chengchiatun. This was part of an extensive plan for the development of Eastern Inner Mongolia that had been provided for as early

[9] MacMurray, *op. cit.,* p. 1256.
[10] *Ibid.*

as October, 1913, when by an exchange of notes the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Minister in Peking had agreed that China would borrow funds from Japanese capitalists to construct a number of lines in that region. One of these lines was to pass through Chengchiatun to Taonan. Japanese engineers began a survey of the route from Ssupingkai to Chengchiatun in January, 1916, and took with them for their protection a detachment from the Railway Guards of the South Manchuria line. These guards had no right, of course, to function anywhere in Chinese territory outside of the railway zone. At Chengchiatun they were more than fifty miles from that zone.

In the following summer, after the party reached Chengchiatun, a Japanese civilian one day attempted to buy fish from a small boy who had them for sale. He objected to the price asked and, when the boy refused to take less, the Japanese grew angry and began to beat him. Some Chinese soldiers standing near came to the boy's assistance and gave the Japanese a drubbing. He went at once to the headquarters of the Japanese guards and charged that he had been assaulted by Chinese soldiers without provocation. A Japanese soldier proceeded to make an investigation which he had no authority to do and reported that he was resisted. The Japanese commander then sent a lieutenant with twenty men to the Chinese barracks to seek redress. The sentry refused to permit them to enter and was immediately slain by the Japanese. Chinese soldiers then began to fire. Seven Japanese were killed outright and five others died later. Four were severely wounded. The Chinese lost four killed; several others were wounded. A Chinese magistrate appeared and restored order. He then went to the Japanese commander to express regret for the occurrence, but was promptly arrested and confined. The Japanese sought to make the incident a basis for demanding further political rights in the region concerned. Besides demanding the punishment of the commander of the Chinese troops, the dismissal of all officers concerned, and the punishment of all others engaged in the fight, they endeavored to compel China to agree to the stationing of Japanese police in places in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia where they were necessary for the protection of Japanese. China was to be required to engage police ad-

visers for South Manchuria, and the following "requests" were also made:

1. Chinese troops stationed in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia to employ a number of Japanese military officers as advisers.
2. Chinese Military Cadet Schools to employ a number of Japanese military officers as instructors.
3. The Military Governor of Mukden to go personally to Port Arthur to the Japanese Military Governor of the leased territory to apologize for the occurrence and to make similar apologies to the Japanese Consul General at Mukden.
4. Compensation to be paid by China to the Japanese wounded and to the families of the Japanese who had been killed.

A force of infantry and cavalry was sent by Japan to Chengchiatun to enforce her demands. The negotiations dragged on for months and the matter was not settled until January, 1917, by which time Japanese feeling had cooled. The Chinese agreed to reprimand the Chinese commander and to punish others *according to law*. They agreed also to issue a proclamation for the information of soldiers and people requiring considerate treatment of Japanese. The Military Governor of Mukden was to express his regret in any way he thought appropriate to the Governor of the leased territory and to the Japanese Consul General at Mukden for the unfortunate occurrence. The Chinese agreed further to pay $500 to the Japanese civilian who had been given a drubbing by Chinese soldiers.

As to the desire of the Japanese that China employ Japanese military advisers in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, China replied that such an adviser was already in the employ of the Military Governor of Mukden.

China declined to employ Japanese officers as instructors in the military academies. As to the demand for the stationing of Japanese police at places in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, China replied that the Chinese police were functioning there and that the introduction of Japanese police would be an infringement of Chinese sovereignty. China called attention to the fact that Japan had already introduced Japanese police without right in various places and that the Chinese government had repeatedly protested against such encroachment.

This incident has been related in some detail because it is

typical of the attitude of Japan toward China at the time. A number of similar affairs, manifesting an aggressive spirit on the part of Japan, occurred during the period covered by the World War and the two years immediately following.

A Russian-Japanese Alliance

On July 3, 1916, while the great World War was being waged with undetermined results and the Russian imperial government was hasting to its tragic end, the government of the Tsar entered into a treaty of alliance with Japan. The treaty as published does not bear that character. Its real purport was kept secret and all that was made public was a brief *résumé* of the first two articles. These two articles stipulated that neither one of the two contracting parties would be a party to any arrangement or political combination directed against the other, and that if the territorial rights or special interests of either in the Far East should be menaced, both governments would consult together as to the best measures to be taken to safeguard such rights and interests.

Such an agreement was innocuous and apparently was quite unnecessary in view of the existing treaties between the two governments, particularly that of July 4, 1910, which covered the same ground. The next year, however, that is to say, in November 1917, the government of Russia passed into the hands of the Bolshevists, who published what was alleged to be the real text of the treaty of July 3, 1916. This, which bears all the marks of authenticity, shows itself to be a treaty establishing a military alliance. It contains six instead of two articles, and declares that the vital interests both of Russia and Japan require that China should not be allowed to fall under the domination of a third power hostile to either, and binds the two contracting parties to coöperate frankly to prevent such an occurrence. The treaty provides furthermore that if the measures taken in such coöperation should lead to a declaration of war against either, the other party would come to its assistance as soon as such assistance was demanded, that the amount of armed assistance contributed by either should be determined in common and that neither should make peace except by consent of the other. The last article of the treaty required that its provisions be kept profoundly secret.

Some interest has been shown in the identity of the "third power" against whom the alliance was directed. Millard, in his *Democracy and the Eastern Question,* points out very convincingly that the "third power" must have been the United States, for Japan and Russia were both at this time in alliance with Great Britain and France and other powers waging war against the Central European powers, and that since Japan and Russia were already allied against these Central European powers, a special treaty of alliance against any of them would have been superfluous. There was but one great power in 1916 not engaged in the World War. That was the United States.

On the same day Russia ceded to Japan some sixty miles of the railway between Changch'un and the Sungari River as an expression of appreciation of Japan's assistance in supplying munitions of war to Russia. Russia also gave her consent to Japan's navigation of the Sungari between Kirin and the mouth of the Nonni, a right theretofore reserved to Russians and Chinese.

American Activity in China

Americans were, in fact, quite active in China in 1916, and ever since the attempt of Secretary Knox to bring about the internationalization of the railways in Manchuria, both Russia and Japan had shown themselves extremely suspicious of American enterprise in China and inclined to be jealous of American influence at Peking. This was not unnatural. Among the concerns looking for profitable business in China in 1916 was the American International Corporation. On May 17, 1916, Messrs. Siems and Carey, an American engineering firm, signed an agreement with the Chinese government for the construction of 1,500 miles of railway, subsequently reduced to 1,100 miles. For the financing of the enterprise China was to issue gold bonds to be sold in New York. This was to be done through the American International Corporation.

Five different lines were proposed by the Chinese government, one of which was to be built from Fengcheng in the province of Shansi to Ninghsia in Kansu. Fengcheng is a short distance west of Kalgan and therefore northwest of

Peking. The general direction of the proposed line from Fengcheng to Ninghsia would be southwestward. It would connect with the Peking-Kalgan line and would open up the upper valley of the Yellow River, a region desirable for settlement by Chinese colonists. There was nothing in the agreement between China and Russia signed in 1899 upon which Russia might base a protest against the construction of such a line, for that agreement referred to lines to be built to the north or the northeast toward the Russian border, but Russia nevertheless objected to the building of the proposed railway.

Spheres of Interest Again

Russia was not alone in seeking to obstruct American enterprise in China. Another line among those proposed by China to be built by Siems and Carey was one from Hengchou in Hunan to Nanning in the province of Kuangsi. Nanning is within the French sphere of interest and not far from Pakhoi, a port on the southern coast of China. Yamchow, a port a little west of Pakhoi on the same Gulf of Tonking, was in fact mentioned as a possible outlet for the proposed line. France objected to the building of it on the ground that its construction by an American firm would violate an agreement made by the French Minister in September 1914 with the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, providing that "in future if railway or mining enterprises are to be undertaken in the province of Kwangsi, in which foreign capital is required, an offer will first be made to French capitalists." The American government was disposed to hold that since this last-mentioned agreement had never been made public, it ought not to be regarded as of force. France, however, had an earlier promise in May, 1898, that a Franco-Chinese company only should have the right to construct all railways having Pakhoi as their starting point, and Pakhoi is so near to Nanning as to make the agreement valid as against the proposed line. The result of the protest was that the Chinese government substituted for the proposed lines one to be built from Chuchou, Hunan, on the Canton-Hankow Railway, to Ch'inchou in Kuangtung. The line has never been built. It would measure about seven hundred miles. That left four

hundred miles to be supplied elsewhere. The Chinese suggested as part of the four hundred a line to run from Chouchiak'ou in Honan to Hsiangyang in Hupei. The British government objected to the building of this railway by Americans on the ground that some years before, Viceroy Chang Chih-tung had given the British Consul General at Hankow a written promise that British financiers should have an option on furnishing funds for railway construction in Hupei. The central government apparently had never approved of the grant, and the American government has never recognized the validity of any of the various protests against the several Siems-Carey projects. In undertaking the survey of the line from Chouchiak'ou to Hsiangyang, the company found it desirable to continue the survey westward toward Szechuen. An arrangement was made for the issue of Treasury Notes to cover the expense of this survey and the building of the Chuchou-Ch'inchou Railway. It was discovered by the survey that an excellent route exists for a line to Chengtu, said to be a better route than that planned for the Hankow-Szechuen branch of the Hukuang Railways. This very naturally aroused opposition on the part of the four-power group.

The Yellow River has repeatedly, in recent years, broken through its dikes in the vicinity of Kaifengfu, and the floods have swept across Honan and Anhui Provinces into the headwaters of the Huai River and sought an outlet to the sea through an old channel of the Yellow River south of the Shantung Promontory. These floods have destroyed hundreds of villages and myriads of lives and done great property damage. The American Red Cross furnished relief to the sufferers in 1906 and again in 1911. An American engineer, C. D. Jameson, was employed to survey the Huai River region and recommend measures for relief. A practicable scheme was reported in 1912 for reclaiming extensive districts west of the Grand Canal, covered with lakes and swamps, by drainage into the Yangtze River. The Grand Canal crossing the Huai River prevents the free flow of its waters to the sea. The drainage canal would provide an outlet for the overflow in time of flood. As a result of the survey, the Chinese government in January, 1914, entered into a contract with the American Red Cross, empowering the latter to endeavor to obtain a loan of twenty million gold dollars for Huai River

conservancy and to engage an engineer to prepare detailed plans. It was not until May 13, 1916, however, that a loan contract was signed. The American International Corporation was authorized to issue on behalf of the Chinese government a gold loan of three million dollars for conservancy purposes. A month earlier, April 19, 1916, the same corporation had signed an agreement to float a loan of the same amount for the improvement of the southern section of the Grand Canal. A year and a half later, or, more exactly, on November 20, 1917, the corporation signed a third agreement for a loan of six million dollars to finance the improvement of the northern section of the Grand Canal.[11] None of these loans appear to have been floated as yet. The World War and conditions in China are probably responsible for this. The northern section of the Grand Canal crosses Shantung Province, and it will be remembered that when Germany extorted from China the lease to Kiaochow she demanded also and obtained an option for German financiers on all public works in the province of Shantung that might require foreign capital or foreign skilled labor. Accordingly, before signing the loan contract for the improvement of that section of the Grand Canal, the Chinese government asked Germany if her capitalists desired to undertake the work. The Germans replied that they were not interested. At that time Germany was absorbed in the prosecution of the war.

But after Japan had captured Tsingtao, she claimed to be heir to all German rights in the province of Shantung and objected to the American undertaking. The American government had never recognized any monopoly by Germany of commercial and industrial rights in Shantung, and has repeatedly obtained from the German government a disavowal of any claim to such monopoly. Consequently the American government could not admit the validity of Japan's protest. But the American International Corporation, to cut short the long-drawn discussion of the protest, entered into an agreement with Japanese interests without the knowledge of the American government, granting to the Japanese an interest in the loan.

[11] The rivers of north China were in flood in 1917 and the great distress of the population emphasized the importance of this proposed work.

This somewhat detailed account of the Siems and Carey contracts has been given to illustrate the unfortunate practical effect of the Spheres of Interest Policy. It is not surprising that Chinese, who have noted the division of their country into spheres of interest by alien powers, should have asked themselves with some concern: "Where is the Chinese sphere of interest?"

Yüan's Ambition Foiled

Throughout the year 1915 Yüan Shih-k'ai, despite the agitation over the twenty-one demands, the fear of more serious trouble with Japan, the negotiations with Russia over Mongolia and the many important problems growing out of the World War, continued his efforts to bring about a situation that would enable him successfully to proclaim himself Emperor.

There are those who would excuse Yüan on the ground that he himself did not desire to be Emperor, but was overpersuaded by his friends. It is true that he did repeatedly deny that he harbored any secret ambition to be Emperor and that even "if the people of China should insist upon his acceptance of the scepter, he would refuse it and go abroad to spend the remainder of his life." Like Cæsar of old, who at the celebration of the Lupercalia thrice refused a kingly crown, Yüan also declined the offer of an imperial title. Yet there can be no doubt of his participation in the plot to overthrow the Republic and establish his family upon the throne. The repeated refusal to accept the crown was perhaps a face-saving device. The evidence appears to point that way.

When Yüan came to Peking in November, 1911, to accept the post of Premier under the Manchus, he openly expressed the opinion that the best form of government for China would be a limited monarchy. The demand of the southern leaders for the elimination of the Manchus made it convenient to say that it was impossible to establish a limited monarchy under the Manchu Dynasty. Probably Yüan was as eager as southern leaders to get rid of the Manchus. It is impossible, of course, to prove that Yüan was planning at that time to make himself Emperor; but a few months later, in the summer of 1912, an

American who had business at the President's office became engaged in conversation with one of the President's advisers, who, as if to draw out the American, said: "The best form of government for China would be a limited monarchy." "The South would never agree to that," said the American, "so there's no use talking about it." "Well," the adviser rejoined, "I can assure you that we shall very shortly have a military dictatorship." Thus, more than a year before the *coup d'état* of November 1913, it is plain that the plot to advance Yüan from President to Dictator and from Dictator to Emperor was already under discussion in the President's palace. We have seen that in 1914 he called upon one of his legal advisers to draft a new constitution which centralized authority in the hands of the President. This made Yüan practically a dictator. By removing the Provincial Governors and replacing them with his military commanders, he brought the country under the control of an army devoted to himself.

The next step was to create a public demand for a change of government and for his assumption of the imperial power. The country was flooded with literature produced by his supporters advocating this change. A society was formed in 1915, the *Chou An Hui,* to promote the scheme. This band of claquers prepared telegrams which they had sent in to Peking from all parts of the country, pretending to express the desire of the people in all sections that Yüan should proclaim himself Emperor. One member of Yüan's Cabinet resigned the portfolio of Justice rather than be a seeming supporter of the treasonable scheme. This was Liang Ch'i-chao, the foremost scholar of the Republic. Liang had been one of the small band that had worked with the Emperor, Kuanghsü, in 1898 to bring about a reform of the government and had narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Empress Dowager. Yet at the time of the revolution in 1911 he had advocated a retention of the Manchu Dynasty with provision for popular representation in the government, because he favored evolution rather than revolution. When the Republic had been established, he gave to it his hearty support, and now that Yüan Shih-k'ai was trying to subvert it, he showed the same opposition as before to any change in the established form of government. This he set forth in September, 1915,

To Mr E T Walkams

With the high esteem and sincere friendship of

Yours Sincerely

Chas Chu Wo

in a masterly paper which was quoted and discussed far and wide. It was translated and appeared in the foreign language press in China.[12] Everywhere it cheered the republicans and nerved them to resist the plot of the President.

Yüan had a way of getting rid of his enemies either by winning them to his cause through titles of nobility or by appointments to high office in his own entourage. When such methods failed, he had no hesitancy in hiring assassins to remove them. One leader, whom he feared, was the Vice-President, popular throughout the country. He had led the revolt at Wuchang in 1911. Yüan had persuaded him to take up his residence in Peking almost immediately after the *coup* of November 1913. He was given a palace in the Western Park where he would be under the surveillance of Yüan's henchmen. He probably was not ignorant of Yüan's motive in bringing him to Peking, but he kept his counsel and maintained friendly relations with the President. Once, however, he opposed the will of the would-be Emperor. When offered a title as Prince, he declined.

Another popular leader in the South was Ts'ai Ao, a young military commander in Yünnan. He had taken no part in the uprising of 1913, but Yüan wanted to have him under his immediate supervision and had brought him to Peking ostensibly to fill an important office. Upon his arrival at the capital the office was found to be important, it is true, but connected with the Ministry of Finance and not with military affairs. When the plot to make Yüan Emperor was nearly ripe, Ts'ai Ao saw that he was likely to be placed in a dangerous position, the more so since he realized that he was kept under continual observation. He therefore disguised his real sentiments and became outwardly an ardent supporter of the scheme until he had won the confidence of Yüan's supporters. When suspicion was lulled, he escaped to Japan and from Japan made his way to Yünnan where he raised the standard of the Republic in resistance to the usurper. This was in the spring of 1916.

In the meantime, the farce of holding an election in the provinces upon the question of changing the form of government was carried out by the Military Governors. With an

[12] See *China Press,* Shanghai, September 10 and 11, 1915.

army in control of the polls there were few who would dare to vote against the proposal and the result was what was made to appear as a unanimous demand for the establishment of a monarchy.

The Western World was busily occupied with the war. In the Eastern World the only power that could hinder was Japan. But Japan was an empire and would be supposed to favor that form of government rather than a republic. Moreover, the Japanese press had intimated that such a change would be desirable. Yet it was Japan that warned Yüan against the execution of the project. It was in October, 1915, that this intimation was conveyed. Yüan was in a serious dilemma. He could not turn back without loss of face, therefore he went forward. The result of the election was announced and in December, after refusal and with feigned reluctance, he accepted the throne. Arrangements were made to have the formal enthronement carried out at the beginning of the new year; but on the last day of the old year an ultimatum was received from Yünnan, addressed to the President of China, demanding the immediate abandonment of the monarchical scheme and the execution of those bosom friends of his that had given treasonable advice.

In vain did Yüan and his supporters attempt to suppress the rising. It spread rapidly throughout the South and, even in the North, opposition began to manifest itself. On March 22, 1916, the usurper had to issue a humiliating mandate canceling the proclamation of an empire. He attempted to recover standing by calling for the assembling of Parliament in May and by promise of the establishment of a government responsible to Parliament. It was too late; a provisional government had been set up at Canton and had elected Li Yüan-hung President, and a conference met at Nanking to deal with the situation. The demand for the permanent retirement of Yüan became almost unanimous. A merciful Providence spared him the bitter dregs of the cup of humiliation. The anxiety connected with this crisis in his career brought on a recurrence of an old disease, and Yüan died on June 6, 1916. The same day Li Yüan-hung who had not left Peking, being Vice-President of the Republic, took charge of the government and the Republic took a new lease of life.

Yüan Shih-k'ai's Character

For many years Yüan Shih-k'ai had been a prominent figure in the government of China. He had not reached public office through the usual door, that of the Civil Service Examination, but had been given his degree as an act of grace in recognition of his father's services. He was not distinguished, in fact, as a scholar. In his attempt to restore the Confucian religion as that of the state, he made a number of changes in the ritual which he would not have done had he understood the history of the religion of his fathers and the significance of certain parts of the service.

As a henchman of the Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, he was given the post of Chinese Resident in Korea, where he won the ill will of Japan by his opposition to Japanese plans for the reformation of their neighbor's government. When the success of Japan's arms drove him back to China, he was given the task of creating a new and modern military force. In this work he showed real ability and the brigade which he organized became the nucleus of the new army. He was proud of the troops and they were devoted to him.

When he returned to the command of the army in 1911 after some years of retirement, he revived this attachment and, having the confidence of his men, he had no difficulty in winning victory at Hankow. For a time his success seemed to restore the hopes of the Manchus, but he had no real love for them after the attempt upon his life in 1908. He could not forgive the Regent, and he obtained his revenge when he forced the son of the Regent off the throne in 1912.

In some respects he was a statesman of superior capacity. Although a mandarin of the old school, he was progressive and believed in modernizing the state. During the era of reform he made his province a political experiment station, taking the lead in introducing the various reforms that were decreed.

He was short of stature and stoutly built. He was careless of his personal appearance and his uniform hung very loosely about him. He was genial, generous and hospitable. He made strong friends who were very loyal to him. Europeans and Americans, as a rule, admired him and had faith in his

ability to restore prosperity to China by means of a strong government.

As we have seen, he was also an implacable foe. He had no scruples in destroying those who opposed his plans. His "vaulting ambition o'er-reached itself." From a position of great honor and influence he fell to one so abased that even his enemies pitied him. On his deathbed he dictated a valedictory that confesses failure, yet seeks to recover the good will of the people. He closes with these words: "The ancients said: 'It is only when the living try to become strong that the dead are not dead.' This also is my wish."[13]

He was given an imposing funeral and his remains were placed in a great mausoleum built at public expense. Perhaps we ought to say of him, as Antony did over the dead body of Cæsar:

> The evil that men do lives after them;
> The good is oft interred with their bones.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

President Yüan Shih-k'ai..A.D. 1913-1916

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CHAPTER XIX

CHINA IN THE WORLD WAR

Republican Period, 1917-1921

He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one.
—JESUS.

China as a Neutral

CHINA broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on March 14, 1917, and declared war on Germany and Austria on August 14th, the same year. To understand this action it will be necessary for us to review the circumstances leading up to it.

When the great World War broke out in the summer of 1914, China was absorbed in domestic problems. Yüan was busy with his scheme to convert the Republic into a monarchy. His relations with all the European powers were quite friendly. China was bound to the most powerful of them by financial obligations. Being entirely detached from the problems of European politics, the Chinese took little or no interest in the crisis which had arisen in the West and which was about to plunge the world into war. When war was declared, therefore, Yüan's chief concern was to keep China, if possible, from becoming in any way involved in it.

With this end in view the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Peking on August 3, 1914, consulted with the American Minister there as to the possibility of obtaining a pledge from the belligerents not to engage in hostilities either in Chinese territory and marginal waters or in the adjacent leased territories. At all the important seaports of China there are large settlements of Europeans, some under international control, others governed by the representatives of some one foreign power. In some ports there are as many as a half dozen different settlements of as many different nationalities. There are also,

as we have seen, a number of enclaves of Chinese territory leased to various powers, all of them being among the belligerents of the World War. In the foreign settlements, national and international, there are volunteer military organizations well supplied with arms and ammunition. In Peking, too, all the belligerents maintained legation guards, and along the railway between Peking and Shanhaikuan there were detachments of various nationalities protecting the line. Both Russia and Japan had troops in Manchuria, and all the belligerents had war vessels within Chinese waters. The chances for hostile encounters were numerous and it was no more than natural that China should have made the proposal just mentioned. Account has already been given of the failure of this attempt to keep the war out of China. But China declared her neutrality.

As between the Central European powers and those at war with them, the Chinese people at that time had no preference. China was at peace with all of them. She had suffered injury from the leading powers on both sides. She had lost territory to Great Britain, Russia, France, Japan and Portugal on the one side and to Germany on the other. If any difference at all was noticeable in the feeling of the people, it was perhaps a disposition to favor Germany's cause, not so much because they disliked Germany less but Japan more. After the presentation of the twenty-one demands this feeling naturally increased.

As for the attitude of the government in distinction from that of the people, it is to be noted that at the very beginning of the war President Yüan did consider the advisability of joining the allied powers in making war upon Germany, but the step was not taken. The circumstances were these: Before Japan issued her ultimatum to Germany, negotiations between China and Germany were begun, as has already been intimated, looking to the voluntary restoration to China of the Kiaochow leased territory. When Japan's action broke off these negotiations, Yüan seriously thought of joining in the attack upon Tsingtao so that the port might be recovered for China. From this step he was dissuaded by one of the Allied powers.[1]

[1] This statement has been confirmed by Liang Ch'i-chao, who was a member of Yüan's cabinet. See also Millard, *Democracy and the Eastern Question,*

A second attempt to join in the war on Germany was made by President Yüan in August 1915. At that time he was encouraged by the Ministers of France and Russia. The Japanese government opposed the move, and the British government apparently supported its Oriental ally. Russia and France continued, however, to press for an invitation to China to join them and the matter was taken up in Tokyo on November 23, 1915. The Ambassadors of Great Britain, France and Russia called upon Viscount Ishii and urged that China be asked to declare war on the Central European powers. Viscount Ishii opposed the suggestion, saying that "Japan considered developments with regard to China of paramount interest to her" and that "she must keep a firm hand there. Japan could not regard with equanimity the organization of an efficient Chinese army such as would be required for her active participation in the war, nor could Japan fail to regard with uneasiness a liberation of the economic activities of a nation of four hundred million people." [2] The Japanese press also opposed China's admission to the group of Allies, and so for another year she continued her neutrality.

Toward the end of 1916 an event occurred which had considerable influence in shaping the future policy of China. On December 18th of that year President Wilson sent to each of the belligerent powers a note, seeking from them a definition of their aims and desires in the war, hoping that from their several replies he might be able to discover a basis for the discussion of peace. Among other statements in the note are the following:

> The objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in their war are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small states as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful states now at war. . . .
>
> In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker

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pp. 95, 96, and B. L. Putnam Weale, *The Fight for the Republic in China*, pp. 229–239.

[2] Millard, *Democracy and the Eastern Question*, p. 99.

peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to coöperate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command.[3]

A copy of this note was sent to each of the neutral nations for its information. The Chinese government, on receipt of it, was much impressed by its statements regarding measures to secure the rights and privileges of weak peoples against aggression. China has an enormous territory but is, nevertheless, one of the "weak peoples." For many centuries her people had been taught the folly of war, and, accepting these teachings too literally, they had neglected the proper measures for self-defense. They hailed with eagerness, therefore, a plan which seemed to promise some assurance of protection against the rapacity of the colonizing nations of Europe and the land hunger of neighbors. The Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, in his reply to the note of Minister Reinsch who had transmitted the statement of President Wilson, expressed much satisfaction with the view of the government and people of the United States of America in their declaration that they were "ready and even eager to coöperate when the war is over by all proper means to assure the respect of the principle of the equality of nations, whatever their power may be, and to relieve them of the peril of wrong and violence."

Severing Diplomatic Relations with Germany

From this time China adopted the attitude of the United States and associated herself with the government of the United States in the successive measures which finally brought them both to declarations of war against Germany and Austria.

On May 4, 1916, the German government, in reply to protests of the United States against submarine attacks upon neutral vessels, informed the American government that the German naval forces had received new orders to the effect that "in accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area

[3] *Diplomatic Correspondence between the United States and Belligerent Governments Relating to Neutral Rights and Commerce. Special Supplement* to *Amer. Jour. International Law,* vol. ii, Oct., 1917, p. 303.

declared as naval war zone," should not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships should attempt to escape or offer resistance. Germany observed this policy for some months; but by January, 1917, her situation had become desperate and on the 31st of that month the German Ambassador at Washington informed the Secretary of State that the German government had decided to resume the practice of attacking and sinking neutral vessels without notice if found within certain defined blockade zones.

As a result of this decision the American government on February 3rd, 1917, severed diplomatic relations with Germany and on the following day addressed a note to each of the neutral nations of the world, suggesting that it would make for the peace of the world if other neutral nations would take action similar to that of the United States. To this note the Chinese government replied on February 9th, expressing full accord with the views of the American government and stating that China had taken action similar to that of the United States by protesting energetically to the German government against the new measures of blockade.

By this date, as we have seen, the government of China was again in the hands of loyal republicans. President Li Yüan-hung, upon taking over the administration, had recalled to Peking the Parliament of 1913, which had been scattered by the hostile measures of Yüan Shih-k'ai. It is true that, strictly speaking, according to the provisions of the Provisional Constitution, the terms of office of members of the House of Representatives had expired as well as those of one-third of the Senators. The plea in behalf of these Representatives and Senators was that they had not been allowed to serve out their terms. Parliament assembled and elected Feng Kuo-chang to the vice-presidency in succession to Li Yüan-hung. The work of drafting a permanent constitution was taken up where it had been left off at the time of the enforced adjournment. The draft was nearly completed at the time of our note relating to the German blockade.

On February 9, 1917, the Chinese government, when replying to the American note, sent a note to the German Minister in Peking, intimating that if Germany should carry out her plans for submarine warfare as proposed, it would become necessary for China to sever diplomatic relations.

On the 17th of the same month, the French merchant vessel Athos was attacked in the Mediterranean by a German submarine and five hundred Chinese Coolies were drowned. These coolies were bound for France where they were to serve as a labor battalion. This attack aroused a feeling of real hostility toward Germany and hastened the rupture of friendly relations.

After the despatch of China's note to Germany a whole month passed without reply from that power, and on the 10th of March the President of China submitted to the Parliament a proposal to sever diplomatic relations with Berlin. There was a spirited debate that day in the House of Representatives. The German Minister the same day, possibly with a view to preventing the approval of the President's proposal, handed to the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs the long-delayed reply of the German government. Nevertheless, the House that day and the Senate the following day approved the President's proposal by large majorities. On March 14th the President issued a mandate announcing the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany. In a note to the American Minister the Foreign Office informed the American government of this action and stated that the German reply to the Chinese protest had offered to open negotiations for the protection of Chinese lives, but refused to abandon the proposed measures of blockade, so that China felt constrained to break off relations with that power.

The Secret Treaties of 1917

In the meantime, the submarine menace had become very serious in the Mediterranean. As early as January 1917 Great Britain and France had been urging Japan to give naval assistance in that region. To obtain this it was necessary to give a *quid pro quo*. Japan asked in return that the Allies support her claim at the Peace Conference to have the former German islands north of the equator and the former German rights in the province of Shantung transferred directly to her. Great Britain agreed, but the notes which were exchanged on February 16th made no mention of the fact that this promised support at the Peace Conference was to be in return for naval assistance in the Mediterranean. The real situation was

camouflaged by the notes which promised British support to Japan's claim as above stated, in return for Japan's support at the Peace Conference of Great Britain's claim to the former German islands south of the equator. The notes exchanged with France were signed on March 1st and stipulated that France would support Japan's claim to German interests in the province of Shantung and to the former German islands north of the equator, in return for which Japan was to support an effort to have China break off diplomatic relations with Germany, expel all Germans from China, intern German vessels in Chinese waters and place them at the disposal of the Allies, requisition German commercial houses and cancel German rights in the various concessions held by that power in China. This meant that Japan was to give up her attitude of opposition to China's participation in the war.

Russia on February 19th and Italy in March also promised their support to Japan's claims as to Shantung and the Pacific islands. These agreements were all kept secret and were not known to the American government until the assembling of the Peace Conference at Paris in January 1919.[4]

Struggle between Premier and Parliament

After breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany, China was disposed to follow the example of America and declare war; but some of her statesmen were afraid that such a step might lead to the foreign control of China's army and military resources. The demand of Japan in 1915 for joint operation of the arsenals had not been forgotten. Moreover, a large foreign loan would be needed to place the Chinese army on a war footing. Earnest efforts were made to obtain such a loan in the United States, but the American government was more concerned about the financing of Europe and discouraged loans to China. In her extremity China accepted the offers of Japan and in doing so was compelled to enter into two secret treaties that established a military and naval alliance between the two countries. These treaties were signed on May 16 and

[4] For text of notes exchanged with Great Britain and France, see MacMurray, *op. cit.*, pp. 1167–69. Viscount Ishii told Secretary Lansing on September 6, 1917, that the British had practically consented to a retention by Japan of the islands north of the equator. He avoided mention of any agreement as to Shantung.

May 19, 1918, but were preceded by an exchange of notes on March 25, 1918, providing for coöperation in the war. The military agreement was supplemented on September 6, 1918, by a stipulation to the effect that the operations of Chinese forces in Siberia were to be directed by Japanese commanders.[5]

These agreements were not made until after negotiations that lasted more than a year and which had been initiated by Japan very shortly after the signing of the notes exchanged with France. To carry out her pledge to France, Japan was to exert herself to persuade China to break with Germany; but in doing so, she could not be unmindful of the danger, alluded to by Viscount Ishii in 1915, that if China should be drawn into the war and build up an efficient army, a situation might be created that would be dangerous to Japan. An alliance such as that which was effected would do much to lessen that danger. But before it could be effected, China must be brought to declare war and would have to be provided with financial assistance. To supply the latter the Japanese Premier in the spring of 1917 sent a special confidential agent to Peking, a Buddhist monk, Nishihara. This agent did not deal with the Chinese Foreign Office but carried on his negotiations with the Premier, Tuan Chih-jui, who was also Minister of War. Loans in large amounts were arranged for, which have since become known under the name of the Japanese agent. The secretive methods employed by Nishihara gave rise to many foolish rumors and when the President of China on May 7, 1917, recommended to Parliament that a declaration of war be made against Germany, that body became very suspicious. A number of members the next day addressed an interpellation to the government in which it was stated that reports were in circulation to the effect that the Chinese government had entered into secret treaties with "a neighboring country," and suggesting that such agreements ought to be submitted to the Parliament for its consideration.[6]

The permanent constitution, the draft of which was very nearly completed, provided for a large measure of local autonomy. Many members of Parliament feared that the Premier was preparing with Japanese assistance to build up a great

[5] MacMurray, *op. cit.*, p. 1413.
[6] B. L. Putnam Weale, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

army that would be used to overawe Parliament rather than to fight with Germany. There were other statesmen who were opposed to the declaration of war on other grounds. The veteran reformer of 1898, K'ang Yu-wei, pleaded, as he said, "with tears" against an act that would threaten the existence of the nation;[7] and the southern leader, Sun Yat-sen, even before the severance of relations with Germany, sent a telegram to Lloyd George, the British Premier, protesting against the attempts of the Allied powers to drag China into the war. He warned the Allies that the efforts they were making were likely to stir up the antiforeign Chinese and the Mohammedans of the northwestern provinces, whose sympathies were naturally with Turkey, and that the result might be a general massacre of the foreign residents of China. But Dr. Sun had spent most of his life abroad and was mistaken as to the feelings of his fellow countrymen. Moreover, there was another reason for his action. This did not appear until later. In an interview with a Japanese correspondent in Shanghai in November, 1922, Dr. Sun said:

> In joining in the World War on the side of the allied powers, Japan failed to utilize the golden opportunity of making Asia exclusive for the Asiatics. Such an Asia would have opposed the Whites, especially the Anglo-Saxons. At the beginning of the World War I wrote Mr. Inukai, President of the Kokuminto, urging Japan to assist the Teutonic powers, thereby impairing the relative strength of the Anglo-Saxons, and balancing the power of the world. The result of such a situation would have been the promotion of Japan to the position of real leadership of the Asiatics. But Japan did not accept my advice, thus letting slip the Heaven-sent opportunity of making herself the leader of the Orient.[8]

This expression of opinion by Dr. Sun will in a measure explain his subsequent relations with the Russian Federated Soviet Republic.

Notwithstanding the strong opposition to his policy, the Premier on May 10, 1917, attempted to coerce Parliament into a declaration of war. As the members entered the Houses of Parliament they were roughly hustled by a mob that had gathered about the place and that was yelling for war. It was discovered that a great part of the crowd was composed of

[7] B. L. Putnam Weale, *op. cit.*, p. 336.
[8] *Japan Advertiser,* November 26, 1922.

soldiers in civilian dress who had been sent by the Premier's orders to make the demonstration. Parliament refused to act under such pressure and adjourned. The members of the Cabinet, except the Minister of Education, all resigned in disgust. The Premier tried once more to have the question of declaring war brought up for action, but the majority voted that no consideration could be given the matter until the Cabinet had been reconstituted. The opposition to the Premier increased from day to day, strengthened by rumors of the Nishihara loans and the commitments said to have been made in connection with them. The Committee on the Constitution was influenced by the situation to strengthen the provisions making the government responsible to Parliament. The President, who, although in favor of declaring war, was in sympathy with Parliament on the constitutional question, was constrained on May 23rd to dismiss the Premier. Tuan Chih-jui had been not only Premier but Minister of War also and was supported by the army. A group of military officers attempted to stir up feelings in his favor, but accomplished nothing. A President who does not have the loyal support of the military forces is helpless. President Li in his extremity turned for help to General Chang Hsün, an officer of the old Manchu regime who had been a supporter of Yüan Shih-k'ai, and who had been allowed by him to retain his command of a large force stationed midway between Tientsin and Nanking. He was not identified with either of the parties to dispute, and the President evidently thought he would be able to act as mediator and find a satisfactory solution of the deadlock.

Attempt to Restore the Monarchy

The solution that General Chang sought was far from being what was expected, but it did for a moment bring the opposing forces into harmony in a very dramatic fashion. On his arrival with a portion of his troops early in June at Tientsin, he demanded first of all that the President should dissolve Parliament. The President protested that he had no authority to do so, which was true under the constitution then in force. But General Chang insisted, and the President, being helpless, complied. Parliament denied his authority and a large part of the members left Peking and reassembled in Canton, declar-

ing themselves to be the only legitimate government. On July 1st General Chang went to Peking, but instead of attempting to reconcile the President and the military party, he issued a forged proclamation in the name of the President, reëstablishing the Manchu monarchy. In the middle of the night he entered the palace, aroused the boy Emperor, Hsüan-tung, placed him upon the throne and kowtowed to him. The next morning the city was decorated with the old dragon flag of the empire. The result was not what he had anticipated. The whole country, military party and constitutional party, was united against him. Tuan Chih-jui, the ex-Premier, took command of the army and attacked Peking. The reëstablished monarchy was not recognized anywhere outside of the walls of Peking. No matter how the people might be divided on other questions, they were a unit in opposing the restoration of the monarchy. After six days General Chang had to surrender; the Republic triumphed. This victory made Tuan Chih-jui and the military party stronger than ever, and President Li felt unwilling to remain at the head of the government. He resigned and Feng Kuo-chang, Vice-President, became acting President. Tuan Chih-jui once more accepted the post of Premier.

Declaration of War

As soon as possible after the restoration of order, the government resumed consideration of the question of war and on August 14, 1917, the acting President, Feng, issued a mandate declaring war on Germany and Austria. There was no Parliament in Peking to approve or disapprove, and the dissolved Parliament endeavoring to set up a government at Canton was without a quorum. In due time, however, the military government established at Canton, in spite of its leader's views on the question, also declared war on Germany and Austria, which indicated that, after all, the people for the most part, north and south, were in favor of war.

The Lansing-Ishii Agreement

Japan, having gained the support of her four principal allies for the claim that she intended to make at the Peace Conference to the rights formerly enjoyed by Germany in

Shantung, was naturally desirous of adding the support of the United States. In the summer of 1917, therefore, although ably represented by an Ambassador at Washington, she sent a special mission headed by Viscount Ishii, one of her most brilliant diplomats. He was an amiable and tactful man, attractive in manner and eloquent in speech. He visited many important cities in the United States where he made popular addresses and was hospitably entertained. He was invited to speak to the American Congress and made an excellent impression there. Prior to his coming, the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Sato, left with Secretary Lansing a memorandum in which Japan's political and economic interests in China were declared to be paramount and in which Mr. Lansing was asked to confirm certain statements made by Mr. Bryan on March 13, 1915, in a memorandum relating to the twenty-one demands. Secretary Bryan did not admit the paramountcy of Japan's interests in China, but stated that, while under the provisions of treaties between the United States and China the American government had grounds upon which to base objections to the Japanese demands, the United States nevertheless frankly recognized that territorial contiguity created special relations between Japan and certain districts in China. Viscount Ishii brought up the subject again on September 6, 1917. He asked Secretary Lansing to draft a note embodying his conception of Japan's special interest in China as growing out of geographical propinquity. After further consultations the Secretary directed the note to be drafted which has since passed into history. The text is as follows:[9]

Department of State, Washington, November 2, 1917.

Excellency:

I have the honor to communicate herein my understanding of the agreement reached by us in our recent conversations touching the questions of mutual interest to our Governments relating to the Republic of China.

In order to silence mischievous reports that have from time to time been circulated, it is believed by us that a public announcement once

[9] MacMurray, *op. cit.*, p. 1394. The original draft pledged the two governments not to take advantage of the then existing conditions to seek special rights or privileges in China that would abridge the rights of the citizens or subjects of other friendly states, but the Japanese Ambassador objected and the phraseology was modified.

more of the desires and intentions shared by our two Governments with regard to China is advisable.

The Governments of the United States and Japan recognize that territorial propinquity creates special relations between countries, and, consequently, the Government of the United States recognizes that Japan has special interests in China, particularly in the part to which her possessions are contiguous.

The territorial sovereignty of China, nevertheless, remains unimpaired, and the Government of the United States has every confidence in the repeated assurances of the Imperial Japanese Government that while geographical position gives Japan such special interests they have no desire to discriminate against the trade of other nations or to disregard the commercial rights heretofore granted by China in treaties with other powers.

The Governments of the United States and Japan deny that they have any purpose to infringe in any way the independence or territorial integrity of China and they declare, furthermore, that they always adhere to the principle of the so-called "Open Door" or equal opportunity for commerce and industry in China.

Moreover, they mutually declare that they are opposed to the acquisition by any Government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China or that would deny to the subjects or citizens of any country the full enjoyment of equal opportunity in the commerce and industry of China.

I shall be glad to have Your Excellency confirm this understanding of the agreement reached by us.

Accept, Excellency, the renewed assurance of my highest consideration.

Robert Lansing

His Excellency
Viscount Kikujiro Ishii
Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary
of Japan on Special Mission

There was nothing very new in this declaration. Other nations had claimed special interests in various parts of China contiguous to their own territories. Reduced to its exact meaning, the note merely affirmed that every nation that had territory adjoining that of China or in the vicinity had a special interest in that portion nearest its own territory. This was in effect a restoration of the old policy of "Spheres of Interest." But combined as the statement was with a reaffirmation of the policy of the Open Door, the special interests became

scarcely anything more than a neighborly interest in the welfare and peace of the regions concerned.

The real significance of Japan's action was not understood by the American government at the time of the signature of the notes, because the American government was entirely ignorant of the secret agreements made by Japan in February and March with Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy, obtaining the support of these governments for their claims to the rights formerly held by Germany in Shantung. The Japanese government apparently desired to obtain from the United States such an acknowledgment of Japan's special interests in China as would pave the way for American assent at the Peace Conference to the transfer of German interests in Shantung as already agreed upon with her four allies. The phraseology of the note was so guarded, however, as to make it of no avail for this purpose. The "special interests" conceded could not include anything that conflicted with the policy of the Open Door and equality of commercial opportunity. Moreover, there was inserted a clause that pledged Japan to oppose the "acquisition by any government of any special rights or privileges that would affect the independence or territorial integrity of China."

Before the note was signed, Viscount Ishii endeavored to persuade Secretary Lansing to add the words "and influence" after "special interests," but the Secretary steadfastly refused to do so. A sphere of influence is something quite different from a sphere of interest. For a brief period, however, it seemed to the Chinese and their friends that the United States had agreed to place China under the tutelage of Japan. The American government had agreed to keep the note secret until November 7, 1917, on which date it was to be made public simultaneously by the two governments. In disregard of this agreement the note was made public in Peking on November 4th by the Japanese Legation. Even the American Minister obtained his knowledge of it from his Japanese colleague. This increased the effect of the note in China. It seemed as though the United States had turned over its interests in China to the care of Japan. This impression was strengthened by the Chinese translation of the note as given out by the Japanese. The phrase used for the words "special interests" was one that was capable of a stronger interpreta-

tion and might be used to bolster a claim to "special influence."

In the end, however, this move by Japan merely defeated its purpose, for the truth was not long in coming to be known. Japan's object in all this was better understood when subsequently she endeavored to obtain control of the Chinese delegation to the Peace Conference and to supervise Chinese interests there.

Many have expressed surprise that the American Secretary of State should have signed such a note without first consulting China, but a little reflection will explain that. A multitude of precedents already existed for just that sort of action. The Hay notes of 1899 relating to the Open Door in spheres of interest, the several Anglo-Japanese treaties of alliance to preserve the territorial integrity of China, the British-Russian agreement as to railway concessions, the several Russo-Japanese treaties and the Franco-Japanese agreement of 1907, and particularly the Root-Takahira notes, all of which refer to interests of these governments in China, were negotiated without the knowledge of China.

The exchange of notes with Japan was, nevertheless, a humiliation of China, which had just become our associate in the war against Germany and Austria. The only justification for the course taken was the fact that the United States was at war and was unprepared for war. We were not even prepared to defend our own coasts, much less our island dependencies. Our navy was employed for the most part in the Atlantic. Our vast interests in the Pacific were dependent very largely upon Japan for protection. It was to be expected that we should do what we could without sacrifice of principle to strengthen the bonds of friendship between us.

China's Treatment of Enemy Aliens

The first regulations promulgated by China for the treatment of enemy aliens were very mild. They required registration but did not call for internment or segregation, except that, if necessary for the protection of such aliens, they might be removed to some indicated locality, in which case their property was to be sealed and stored under official protection. Other enemy aliens were to be permitted to continue their peaceful callings with the permission of the local authorities. Traveling by such persons was forbidden, and if the local

authorities thought it necessary, the publication of books and papers by them was to be prohibited. These regulations were issued on the same day with the declaration of war.

Subsequently internment camps were established for prisoners of war and Prize Court Rules were adopted. As the war went on, the attitude of the Chinese government toward enemy subjects in China became more severe. On May 17, 1918, a law was published forbidding trading with enemy subjects, enemy countries, allies of enemy countries, and with residents or *protégés* in the territories occupied by the enemy or by their allies, as well as with firms and companies controlled wholly or partially by enemy subjects.[10] This change in China's attitude was due to the persuasion of the Allied powers. Later in 1918 China agreed to the proposals of the Allies that the enemy aliens in her country should be deported to Australia. But shipping was getting scarce, and the demand for tonnage needed for the transportation of the Czechs from Siberia made it impossible to carry out the arrangement. Then it was proposed to repatriate about two hundred leaders among these enemy aliens, and this proposal was abandoned on July 10, 1918, for one made by China that a hundred and twenty of the most dangerous enemy subjects should be interned in the city of Fangshan, about forty miles from Peking. This did not satisfy some of the Allies and even after the armistice, in December 1918, it was decided in response to their urging that all German and Austrian subjects in China should be repatriated and all enemy property be liquidated. A few exceptions were made of persons over sixty years of age, those too ill to travel and others whose services were needed by the Netherlands Minister who was in charge of German interests in China. A few others were exempted who were guarantied by the Allied Ministers. The vessels that were engaged in returning to China the labor battalions employed on the Western front were used for transportation to Europe of these German and Austrian subjects.

Abolition of Extraterritorial Rights

Upon the declaration of war, the Chinese government announced the abrogation of all treaties between China and the

[10] For texts see MacMurray, *op. cit.*, pp. 1379–81.

enemy countries. This deprived all enemy aliens in China of the privileges of extraterritoriality so long enjoyed by them in common with other foreign residents. When new treaties were made with Germany and Austria after the World War, this loss of extraterritorial status by subjects of these two powers resident in China was made permanent. Article III of the treaty with Germany of May 20, 1921, provides that the nationals of either of the two Republics residing in the territory of the other shall be placed, their persons as well as their properties, under the jurisdiction of the local courts, and they are required to conform themselves to the laws of the country where they reside. This has afforded China an opportunity to demonstrate to the world the fitness of her codes, courts and judges to have jurisdiction over the lives and property of foreign residents.

Seizure of Enemy Vessels

Immediately after the rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany in March 1917, steps were taken to secure most of the German vessels interned in China; and after the declaration of war, the remainder of the German vessels and those belonging to Austrian subjects were seized. There were twelve in all. The shortage in shipping throughout the world due to the destruction wrought by submarines made it important to the Allied and associated powers to have the use of these vessels. The Chinese organized a company to take them over, but this company chartered them to the United States, Great Britain and Japan. The United States Shipping Board obtained two of the Austrian vessels.

Other Enemy Property

At the same time that China seized the German vessels at Shanghai, she took possession of the German settlements at Tientsin and Hankow, and subsequently she recovered also the Austrian settlement at Tientsin. Since the reëstablishment of peace these settlements have remained under the government of the Chinese. The decision to repatriate Germans and Austrians resident in China led at once to the sequestration of their property. Such property was placed in the custody of the local authorities. Firms and companies in which

enemy capital was invested received the same treatment, and all moneys or other articles due to enemy aliens had to be delivered to the custodians. The property could be sold, if necessary, to satisfy claims against such enemies. The most important German commercial institution was the Deutsche Asiatische Bank, which represented a syndicate of thirty German banks. This bank had participated in the Hukuang loan. The German share in the building of the Hankow-Szechuen Railway was taken over by the Chinese government. But, after attempts to confiscate as enemy property the bonds issued by the bank on account of the Hukuang Railways, it was agreed in 1920 that they should be recognized by China without distinction as to ownership by enemies or other persons.

China's Requests

When considering the advisability of declaring war upon the Teutonic powers, China intimated to the American government and to the Allied powers that certain concessions would be much appreciated. Among these were the following:

(1) A suspension of payments upon the Boxer Indemnity for ten years.
(2) Consent to an increase of import duties by a surtax of 50 per cent of the existing duty, to be imposed until a revision of the schedule could be made that would bring the duties up to 7½ per cent *ad valorem*. Upon grant of this, likin was to be abolished.
(3) Removal of Legation Guards and cancellation of the agreement of 1901 excluding Chinese troops from Tientsin.

Subsequently, when discussing the proposal to deport enemy subjects to Australia, China asked that the Allied and associated powers should guaranty her against reprisals by Germany and Austria and furthermore assure China of favorable treatment at the Peace Conference.

The three requests made at the commencement of negotiations were not made conditions of China's entrance into the war, but favors whose grant was very desirable. After protracted negotiations, the payments of the installments on the Boxer Indemnity were postponed in part for five years. Italy and Russia would not consent to the postponement of all pay-

ments and the United States insisted that the amounts needed for the support of the Tsing Hua College and the Chinese students sent to the United States should continue to be made.

A plan was drawn up for the increase of the import tariff and for special duties on goods originating in enemy countries, but apparently was never put into operation.

The request for the removal of Legation Guards was not granted, but the Allied powers that were a party to the agreement relating to the exclusion of Chinese troops from Tientsin consented to a temporary suspension of the provision, thus allowing Chinese troops for a time to come into that port.

As to the other guarantees that were asked, the Allied and associated powers were quite willing to promise protection against reprisals by Germany and Austria, and the United States, Great Britain and France agreed to assure China of favorable treatment at the Peace Conference.

China's Assistance in the War

China was not able to contribute much in a military way to the prosecution of the war, but the Allied and associated powers obtained there large quantities of raw materials needed in the manufacture of munitions of war. The American government also obtained assistance in its ship-building program. As early as May 1917, the consular officers of the United States were instructed to make inquiries as to the possibility of having ships built in China for the American government. On December 5, 1917, the Kiangnan dock at Shanghai, a Chinese government institution, offered to build steel vessels up to five thousand tons dead weight carrying capacity, and a few weeks later the American Shipping Board concluded a contract with the Kiangnan Dock and Engineering Works for the construction of four vessels of steel of ten thousand tons each. Two were completed in a very brief time, but too late to be of service in the war. The remaining two were completed after the conclusion of peace.

Offer of Military Aid

On October 2, 1917, the Premier, Tuan Chih-jui, proposed to the American government that he should equip at once ten

divisions of twelve thousand men each, and that when these should leave for Europe he would commence at once upon the next contingent. In this way he thought any number up to fifty divisions could be prepared. This, he said, could be done only if the United States would finance the equipment and transportation. He proposed also to establish a steel plant in China and improve Chinese arsenals and dockyards so that within a year many of the needed supplies and ships could be produced in China. The project received careful consideration but was never carried out because of differences of opinion among the Allied powers in regard to the matter. The lack of shipping was a serious objection. Vessels available for transports were needed for the moving of the American forces to France.

This scheme having been abandoned, a loan for other purposes was proposed. One of these purposes was the completion of the Hankow-Canton Railway which, by supplying the missing link in an all-rail route from Canton to Peking, would tend to the unification of the country and aid in the transport of Chinese materials, the demand for which had been greatly increased by the war. This necessitated consultation with the groups interested in the Hukuang Railways, and in the end led to proposals by the American government for the formation of a new international consortium. The definite agreement for this new consortium was not signed until October 15, 1920, and in the meantime the need of funds in Europe prevented the making of any loan to China during the war.

Conditions in Siberia

The Chinese did, however, contribute some military assistance to the operations in Siberia, but this participation in the closing days of the war cannot be regarded as of great importance in so far as the European powers and the United States are concerned. The situation in Siberia, however, was of great importance to China and Japan.

Failing to obtain the needed loan in the United States, China, as we have seen, turned to Japan, with whom conversations had been had since the spring of 1917. In March and May, 1918, the agreements providing for military and naval coöperation were signed, and subsequently loans in consider-

able amounts were made in Japan for the purchase of arms and other equipment needed for war.

These agreements were called for, it was said, by the extension of enemy influence toward the Far East, jeopardizing the peace of China and Japan. Reports in circulation stated that the German and Austrian prisoners in Siberia were being armed by the Bolshevists and were about to invade China. There was a modicum of truth in the reports, but the situation was grossly exaggerated. The Supplementary Military Agreement of September 6, 1918, between Japan and China stated that the operations to be conducted jointly by the forces of the two countries were intended to assist the Czecho-Slovak troops who were trying to get out of Russia, as well as to suppress the rising of German and Austrian prisoners.

In order to better understand the situation, it will be well to narrate in chronological sequence certain important happenings in Outer Mongolia and in Siberia. Following the signing of the Tripartite Agreement of June 7, 1915, between Russia, China and Outer Mongolia, the relations between the three nations remained on the whole very satisfactory until after the death of Yüan Shih-k'ai. He had accorded the Mongols very tactful treatment and his representative at Urga, Cheng Lu, was also well liked by them. But with the accession of Li Yüan-hung to the presidency, a new Resident was sent to Urga over the protests of the Mongols. The latter appealed to the Russians, who also protested against the appointment, but to no avail. The result was much ill feeling among the Mongols leading to uprisings along the border of Manchuria where they were assisted by disgruntled Manchu Princes. These uprisings coincided with the struggle at Peking between Parliament and the military party and coincided also with the enforced abdication of the Tsar of Russia and the establishment of the Russian Republic. A situation was created on the Russo-Mongolian frontier which, as we shall see, made it very easy for the Bolshevists later to obtain a foothold in Urga.

The Kerensky revolution occurred in March, 1917, about the time that China severed relations with Germany. In June, 1917, an American Commission arrived in Petrograd and was invited by the Provisional Government of Russia to send a railway engineering corps to Russia to put the Trans-Siberian

and other railway lines in order. Such a corps, consisting of 288 engineers under command of Colonel J. F. Stevens, was formed in September, 1917, and sailed for Siberia on the first of November following. While its members were on the ocean the Bolshevists captured the Russian government so that when the engineers reached Japan, most of them were compelled to remain there for some time.

The Bolshevists in Siberia did not confine their activities to Russian territory. In Harbin and along the Chinese Eastern Railway, that is to say, within the boundaries of China, they attempted also to gain control. This Chinese Eastern Railway was built with Russian capital and was operated by Russians. The Bolshevists attempted to oust the Russian Director General, General Horvath, and put their own party in possession. The attempt would probably have succeeded if the diplomatic representatives in Peking of the Allied powers had not encouraged the Chinese to give military support to the established railway administration, which, of course, belonged to the Kerensky party. Accordingly, the Chinese sent 3,500 men to Harbin to protect the Chinese Eastern Railway and preserve order.

The Bolshevists, having gained control of the Russian government, arranged an armistice with Germany in December, 1917. This was followed by a treaty of peace, signed at Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918. This peace with Germany enabled the Bolshevists to put their political theories to the test. The severe measures adopted by them toward the supporters of the old regime drove many of the latter from the country. Some of them found their way to Peking where they consulted with the representatives of the governments associated in the war against the Central European powers and urged the sending of a force into Siberia to check the Bolsheviki.

After the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty, the Czechs who had been coöperating with the Russian army demanded the right to leave Russia. Their plan was to go via Vladivostok to the Western front. As they moved in detachments eastward, they were at first unmolested, but subsequently, presumably at the demand of Germany, the Bolshevist authorities attempted to disarm them. The Czechs resisted and seized various important stations along the Trans-Siberian Railway.

It was in part a determination to assist the Czechs to escape

from Siberia that induced the Allied and associated powers, particularly the United States and Japan, to send military forces to Siberia.

The most important figure on the side of the reactionaries in eastern Siberia at the beginning of 1918 was the Cossack Ataman, Semenoff. In February of that year he went to Harbin to consult with General Horvath, who, as just said, was at the head of the Russian administration there of the Chinese Eastern Railway. Semenoff wanted to obtain the material and moral support of the Russian authorities at Harbin and also urged upon the representatives of the Allied and associated powers the importance of giving him assistance against the combined forces of Bolshevism and the organizations of German and Austrian prisoners of war who had been set free. He appears to have received substantial subsidies from Great Britain and perhaps from France, and military supplies from Japan. Thus supported, he conducted a campaign against the Bolshevists, which, being aided by the movements of the Czechs, met at first with some success. But his use of Chinese territory as a base from which to make war upon Russia was resented by the Moscow government, which made a formal protest.

American Troops in Siberia

The American government had repeatedly declined the invitation of Great Britain and France to join in sending an international force into Siberia, but after the Bolshevist attack upon the Czechs whose efforts to get out of Russia and take part in the fighting on the Western front were approved by the United States, the objection to military operations in Siberia was weakened. Japan had also declined to send a force unless the American government would approve. A good reason for sending American troops was that there was a large supply of military stores and railway materials at Vladivostok which the Americans had sent for the use of the Russians, when the Kerensky government was functioning. Under these circumstances the United States entered into an arrangement with Japan in accordance with which each was to send a small force of seven thousand men to protect the military stores and to assist the Czechs to escape. The American government understood that the seven thousand men were

to be combatants and added a hospital corps and a commissary detail. This brought the number up to about nine thousand. The Japanese insisted that this was a violation of the agreement, and upon this technicality they claimed to be absolved from the obligation to limit their force. They sent forty-five thousand, subsequently increased to seventy-two thousand, according to their official report. Others estimated the number at more than a hundred thousand. The American troops landed at Vladivostok on the 15th and 16th of August 1918. The Japanese came about the same time. But before this happened, matters in northern Manchuria had become very complicated.

Colonel John F. Stevens had been engaged by the Kerensky government, while it was recognized as the government of Russia, to put the Siberian railways in order; and it was intended by that government that the Chinese Eastern Railway, as a part of the Siberian system, should be placed under his direction. This, too, was the understanding of the American government. In March, 1918, therefore, Col. Stevens had one hundred and ten of the engineers, who had been waiting at Nagasaki, sent to Harbin and a little later ninety more were sent to Vladivostok. By April 10th, he had made arrangements for placing units to cover the whole of the Chinese Eastern Railway. This he soon discovered to be impossible. He was obstructed both by Japanese and by the Russian management. General Horvath, the Director General, had endeavored to obtain a loan in the United States, but failing in this, had accepted a large loan from Japan. In May, 1918, Semenoff made a raid into Siberia and at first met with some success. In June he was driven back. The situation in northern Manchuria became critical, and Japan, having in May entered into a military alliance with China, proposed that measures for joint defense be carried out. The Chinese Premier agreed that if an exigency really existed, this should be done. But Article XI of the Agreement provided that the time for commencing actual military operations was to be decided by the highest military organs of the two countries.[11] Yet, without consulting the Chinese military authorities, the Japanese in August began to move an army into Manchuria. On August 14th the Japanese Minister at Peking, not a mili-

[11] MacMurray, *op. cit.*, p. 1412, Art. 11.

tary authority, advised a subordinate in the Chinese Foreign Office, not a military department, that the Japanese troops at Port Arthur had begun to move the day before. Subsequently the Chinese Minister at Washington left a memorandum with the American government detailing the facts. The Chinese then increased their force in northern Manchuria. After American agreement to participate in the occupation of Siberia, the British, French and Italians also sent small contingents drawn from forces stationed in the Far East. Thus there was a medley of forces, of various nationalities gathered in a small district, and the natural result was a great deal of friction. Chinese and Japanese, in fact, engaged in some fighting. The Military Pact stipulated that if military transportation should require the use of the Chinese Eastern Railway, the provisions of the original treaty regarding the management and protection of the railway were to be respected. Moreover, the agreement to place the Chinese troops under Japanese command was not made until September, 1918, and did not apply to operations in Manchuria. Yet, when Japanese troops began to arrive in August, they ousted the Chinese guards from their stations and began to take possession of the railway. The Russian officials were helpless in the face of such a show of force; but, in fact, the movement seems to have been the result of the agreement between Horvath and the Japanese in return for the loan made by the latter, for when the American government pointed out that Col. Stevens had been engaged by Russia, not by the United States, to take charge of the operation of the railways, the Japanese were accustomed to reply that the railway was Russian and that the Russian management was quite satisfactory so that there seemed to be no good reason for replacing Russians by Americans. But the term, "Russian Management," was but a camouflage for Japanese control. For a time the Japanese considered the advisability of changing the gauge so as to make it correspond to that of the Japanese railways in south Manchuria, but later abandoned this plan. The friction and diplomatic correspondence that resulted lasted for some months; and it was not until January 9, 1919, that a compromise was effected by which two boards were created under the control of the Interallied Committee. The first was a Technical Board composed of railway experts of the nations that had military contingents in Siberia,

and the second an Allied Military Transportation Board. A Russian was to be manager of each of the railways. The Technical Board was to have a president, who by general agreement was to be Colonel Stevens.

It had been the desire of the Chinese government, in view of the collapse of the recognized Russian government, that the American troops should take charge of the Chinese Eastern Railway which was almost wholly in Chinese territory; but the prompt action of Japan made this impossible without a conflict of arms. A small American force, seventy-five men, was sent to Harbin, but General Horvath had turned all barracks over to the Japanese and the Americans could find no shelter except in the Red Cross headquarters. At the time of the decision to send American troops into Siberia, the American government set forth its aims publicly and opposed the idea of military intervention. The aims of the expedition were said to be to help the Czecho-Slovaks consolidate their forces and secondly to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves might be willing to accept assistance, and thirdly to guard the military stores at Vladivostok. The American government, moreover, proposed to the other governments associated in the movement to unite in assuring the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner, that "none of the Governments uniting in action either in Siberia or in northern Russia contemplated any interference of any kind with the political sovereignty of Russia, any intervention in her internal affairs, or any impairment of her territorial integrity either then or thereafter, but that each of the Associated Powers had the single object of affording such aid as should be acceptable, and only such aid as should be acceptable to the Russian people in their endeavor to regain control of their own affairs, their own territory and their own destiny." In strict accordance with this declaration the American troops were not permitted to take part in various military movements that might be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of the country.

Japanese Activities

The Japanese government made a similar statement, but, as is well-known, the Japanese Foreign Office is not always the

real exponent of the foreign policy of that government. It is sometimes overruled by the War Office, particularly if the latter should have the support of the Elder Statesmen or of the extralegal Diplomatic Council. Japan is near to Siberia and felt the menace of Bolshevism, as Americans cannot, separated as they are by wide stretches of sea. The Japanese General Staff seemed to have taken control of the situation and directed affairs in a way to promote Japanese interests. By October, 1918, the Japanese were in possession of all stations on the Chinese Eastern south of Harbin, and of ten stations on the main east and west line. They were in full control of Harbin and the Japanese flag was raised over all stations. General Horvath had to admit that control had passed out of his hands. There were still a few Chinese soldiers in various places but they were being crowded out. At that time there were twelve thousand Japanese troops along the line and twenty thousand more were preparing to winter at Chita. Official reports stated that no freight but Japanese was allowed to be shipped over the road and all trains were sealed and guarded, so that in this way Japanese goods in some quantity were shipped into Siberia free of duty. By November, Japanese soldiers armed with rifles had replaced the Chinese police in the city of Harbin and in other railway towns. The Chinese Taoyin protested but in vain. American, British, Russian and Chinese merchants were denied all facilities for shipment of goods. Clashes were reported between Japanese and Chinese, Japanese and Russians, Japanese and French, Japanese and Americans and between Japanese and Italians. Japanese agents, too, it was said, were buying up timber and mining concessions all along the railway from Vladivostok to Chita and beyond, and had secured every electric power plant in Manchuria, except one, together with many others in Siberia. Japanese commercial agents were in evidence everywhere in that region. This naturally created a feeling among the Russians that the Japanese were bent on conquest, and led to bitterness and strife that culminated in 1920 in the awful massacre by the Russians of more than seven hundred Japanese, including women and children and the Japanese Consul and his staff, in Nikolaievsk in the province of Sakhalin. This is to be distinguished from the island of that name. It is a large province lying along the lower Amur, but included the

Russian portion of the island. The massacre led to the military occupation by the Japanese of several cities in the province.

The Rise and Fall of Koltchak

In order to understand the events at Urga in Outer Mongolia, it is necessary to review very briefly some events in the history of the Russian revolution. The Russian Constituent Assembly which met at Moscow in January, 1918, was forcibly broken up by the Bolshevists. The Social Revolutionists and the Menshevists fled, some to Archangel, some to the region of the Don and others to Siberia. When the Czechs started on their march to the sea and had reached the valley of the Volga, some two hundred members of the former National Assembly took advantage of the protection afforded by their presence to hold a meeting at Samara in August, 1918. They organized a provisional government opposed to Bolshevism, in the form of a Directorate composed of three leaders. Removing to Ufa for safety, in September the Directorate was increased to five: Avksentiev, Astrov, Vologodsky, Tschaikovsky and Boldireff. In the meantime, a new leader had arrived at Vladivostok in June, 1918. This was Admiral Koltchak. Aided by the temporary success of Semenoff, Koltchak was able to make his way westward to Omsk where he joined the Directorate that had moved to that point with the marching Czechs. An attempt was made to unite all Siberia under this Directorate. But it is difficult for a five-headed government to carry on a war, and war had to be waged with the Bolsheviki. So in November Koltchak effected a *coup d'état,* making himself dictator. Three of the Directorate who opposed this move were arrested and deported to Manchuria. Koltchak's action was supported by General Horvath and by the conservatives generally throughout Siberia. He declared that he did not aim at the restoration of the Tsarist regime and would leave the future government of Russia to be determined by a constituent assembly. He met with considerable success at first, but Semenoff in the east withheld necessary assistance. The Japanese offered military aid which was courteously declined. Despite the plain statement by the American government of the purposes of the

Siberian expedition, the anti-Bolshevist Russians had expected some assistance from it. Koltchak expected at any rate that a recognition of his government would be forthcoming from the Allied and associated powers, and there were Americans who thought that we were under moral obligation to assist those who were opposing the Brest-Litovsk peace; but President Wilson was immovable in his determination to sanction nothing that savored of interference in the internal affairs of Russia. In December, 1918, Koltchak won a decided victory on the Perm front and was in communication with Denikin in the region of the Don and with the anti-Bolshevik government at Archangel. But the troops lost heart when they discovered that no aid was to be expected from the Allied and associated powers, that had established an armistice in November and were busy arranging for the Peace Conference at Paris. In January Koltchak met with a severe defeat and had to retreat eastward. Orenburg was captured by the Bolsheviki on January 22, 1919, and a month later the forces of the Omsk government were encamped sixty-five miles northeast of that city. From this time onward Koltchak lost ground very rapidly. To add to his difficulties, a misunderstanding arose with the Czechs. They were accused of blocking his retreat. The breakdown of the Omsk government gave heart to the Social Revolutionaries, who looked upon Koltchak as a reactionary. They captured the municipal government of Irkutsk, and by the time that Koltchak and the Czechs reached there they were in possession and demanded the surrender of Koltchak. He was delivered to them by the Czechs and the Social Revolutionaries handed him over to the Bolshevists, by whom he was put to death in February, 1920.

The Far Eastern Republic

After the overthrow of the Kerensky government, several attempts had been made to establish a separate government in Siberia. Koltchak's was one of these. When his failure was apparent, a movement was made to organize the provinces east of Lake Baikal into an independent state. Semenoff and other leaders pushed such a scheme, and the Japanese, whose Korean territory touches Siberia, were eager to have a buffer state between themselves and the Bolshevists. The Social

Revolutionaries, however, were very active and more disposed to favor Bolshevism than Tsarism. In December, 1919, they carried the elections in the Zemstvos, and in January, 1920, a new state was created by the efforts of Krasnochekoff, called the Far Eastern Republic. Its sympathies, however, were red rather than white. It promptly made peace with the Union of Russian Soviet Socialistic Republics, and the boundaries between the two countries were carefully specified.

The Raids of Ungern von Sternberg

After the capture of Koltchak by the Social Revolutionaries, his subordinates were compelled to flee. Among them was an eccentric officer named Ungern von Sternberg. He took his force over into the desert of Mongolia and prepared a depot there where he gathered supplies in anticipation of an active campaign against the Far Eastern Republic. In these plans he found some support in Japan and was greatly aided by the attitude of the Mongols toward the Chinese.

We have seen that after Li Yüan-hung became President, a change of Chinese Resident at Urga had created ill feeling among the Mongols. This feeling increased after Li's retirement. The Supplementary Military Agreement between China and Japan was signed in September, 1918. In October Hsü Shih-ch'ang, who had been elected by a new Parliament, was inaugurated as President of China, and a force of Chinese troops was despatched across Mongolia, ostensibly to attack the Bolshevists in Siberia. This force was under command of General Hsü Shu-tung, better known as "little Hsü" to distinguish him from the President. When General Hsü reached Urga, the capital of Outer Mongolia, he remained there instead of making war upon the Russians. The chaotic condition of Russia gave the Chinese a fine opportunity to undo the tripartite arrangement of 1915. The Mongols were overawed by the military force. Harsh measures were employed to compel the Mongol authorities to rescind the declaration of autonomy. The Hutukhtu, recognized by Outer Mongolia as Emperor, was deprived of his liberty, and the government on November 22, 1919, was forced to make a formal declaration that the autonomy was surrendered. The following year Outer Mongolia was made to send a tribute-bearing

mission to Peking. It arrived there just in time to see the overthrow of the Anfu party, of which "Little Hsü" was the chief, and witness his humiliation and flight. The Hutukhtu took advantage of the presence of this mission in Peking to present to the American Legation a petition to the President of the United States to use his good offices with China to obtain a restoration of the autonomy of Outer Mongolia, but such an appeal was vain.

The fall of "Little Hsü," however, did not remove the Chinese troops from Urga, and the hostility of Mongols to Chinese increased. Ungern found no difficulty in enlisting a large number of these Mongols in his army with which he proposed to seize Urga and from that point base an attack upon the Far Eastern Republic. He made his attack on Urga on October 26, 1920, but was driven off.

The plan for a new state in Mongolia seems to have been supported by Japan which naturally desired to see some sort of a buffer state between herself and the Bolshevists. The plan to establish such a state in eastern Siberia had failed, but there was a chance that Mongolia and northern Manchuria might be organized into an independent state. The plan apparently had the support also of certain Manchu Princes. Ungern must have had considerable assistance, for he soon recovered from his defeat, and in February, 1921, he attacked Urga a second time and captured the place on the third of that month. The fall of the city was due in part to a quarrel between the Chinese Resident at Urga and the Chinese commander at Kalgan who failed to send the military assistance that had been asked.

The capture of the city of Urga was stained by the massacre of a large number of Jews, Bolsheviki and Chinese. While the Mongols pursued the flying Chinese Ungern planned to attack his foes in the north. He moved toward Kiakhta but met with a severe defeat. The forces of the Far Eastern Republic entered Urga in July, 1921, and Ungern fled to northwestern Mongolia where he was captured not long afterward by the Bolshevist forces and put to death. In accordance with the military agreement between the Far Eastern Republic and the Union of Russian Soviet Socialistic Republics, the latter sent assistance in the invasion of Outer Mongolia, and after the capture of Urga, set up there a new government called the

"Mongolian People's Revolutionary Government." The Hutukhtu was no longer permitted to exercise political functions but was compelled to restrict his activities to his religious office. The people, however, had little to say in the new government, despite its name, and the Mongol Princes were soon eager to return to the old-time relationship with China. But the Russian camel had been permitted to thrust his head in the tent and soon followed with his whole body.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	A.D.
President Li Yüan-hung	1916-1917
Acting President Feng Kuo-chang	1917-1918
President Hsü Shih-ch'ang	1918-1922

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CHAPTER XX

CHINA AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

Republican Period, 1918-1920

How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace!

—ISAIAH.

No peace can last or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

—WOODROW WILSON.

AN ARMISTICE

BEFORE the outbreak of the World War in 1914 it was a commonplace observation in the Western World that there could never be another great war because the nations were so closely associated together in business and in financial arrangements that capitalists would be unwilling to make the loans needed for the prosecution of war. We were told, too, that arbitration was rapidly taking the place of war and that the common people, who were coming more and more into power, would overthrow any administration that refused to submit to arbitration questions at issue with their neighbors. Moreover, we were assured that invention had made war so destructive and costly that no war between first-class powers could last more than a few months. In spite of all these predictions, the people of the great nations in the world supported their governments in a war that lasted more than four years and involved every continent and almost all countries in the world.

The armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, and there was a suspension of hostilities in western Europe. Fighting continued, however, as we have seen, in Russia, in Siberia, in Mongolia and in China. Subsequently there was a renewal of war in Turkey, Syria and elsewhere.

Conditions of Peace

On October 12, 1918, the German government made inquiry of the United States as to the terms upon which peace would be made. Two days later Secretary Lansing on behalf of the President replied, saying among other things: "The unqualified acceptance by the present German Government and by a large majority of the German Reichstag of the terms laid down by the President of the United States of America in his address to the Congress of the United States on the 8th of January, 1918, and in his subsequent addresses justifies the President in making a frank and direct statement of his decision with regard to the communications of the German Government of the 8th and 12th of October 1918." The address of January 8, 1918, was that in which the "Fourteen Points" were set forth as conditions of peace. Of these one only had any application to the questions in which China was interested. That was the fifth:

> V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

Among other addresses bearing upon the terms of peace, one of the most important was that delivered at the Tomb of Washington on July 4, 1918. Four conditions were there laid down, of which the first and second, preceded by an introductory paragraph, were as follows:

> There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No half-way decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting and which must be conceded them before there can be peace:
>
> I. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.
>
> II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage

of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

These quotations set forth some of the important conditions of peace that were imposed upon the German people and that were accepted by them. It was upon such an understanding that the armistice was granted. These conditions were of the greatest importance in the settlement of the questions in which China was interested. Chief of these questions was that of the disposition of the rights formerly possessed by Germany in the province of Shantung, that had been wrongfully extorted from China in 1898. How faithfully were these conditions of peace observed in the transfer by Germany of these rights at the Peace Conference?

Preparing for the Conference

We have seen that, after the capture of Tsingtao and the arbitrary presentation of the twenty-one demands, China was humiliated in the two treaties of 1915 extorted from her without just cause and without any *quid pro quo*. Following this, Japan proceeded to strengthen her position in Shantung. Large tracts of land in the vicinity of Tsingtao were seized for which the owners were paid at a low valuation, and the proprietors of coal mines near the railway were also coerced into selling them. More important was the establishment of civil government both in the leased territory of Kiaochow and in a so-called "railway zone." The agreements with Germany did not recognize any "railway zone," neither did they attempt to exercise jurisdiction along the railway line. The only mention of German rights in the territory along the railway is found in Article IV, Section 2 of the Convention of March 6, 1898, concerning the lease of Kiaochow Bay. This Article stipulates that German subjects may develop mines within 30 *li* (ten miles) on either side of the railway, but this concession did not carry with it any jurisdiction over the territory concerned. Moreover the right to mine within such distance of the railway was expressly cancelled in 1911 in return for the grant of specific mining areas in four districts. The Japanese civil administration under discussion was established by an imperial ordinance on October 1, 1917. It was to have charge of such matters as railway operation, control of the wharves,

police and sanitation, public buildings, roads and other public works, as well as forestry, schools and taxation. If this civil administration had been confined to the leased territory, less objection would have been made, but even then it would have been considered unusual on the part of a power professedly in temporary military occupation. The civil government, however, was exercised outside the boundaries of the leased territory and could only be regarded as a violation of Chinese sovereignty. Two offices were opened, one at Changtien, a railway junction, the other at Fangtzu. One excuse offered for the establishment of this civil administration was that many Japanese were coming into Shantung and that this measure was needed for their control. But Changtien and Fangtzu are interior cities and were not open to foreign residence so that the presence of Japanese there was in violation of treaty provisions.

The Chinese government promptly protested against the encroachment upon its sovereignty, and the people of Shantung in the press and through their representatives in the Provincial Legislature denounced the aggression and urged their government to have the wrong righted. The American government, on learning of the establishment of civil government by Japan in Shantung, made inquiry at Tokyo on December 28, 1917. The note recalled the declaration of Viscount Ishii on November 2nd that Japan intended to respect the sovereignty and independence of China, and expressed a reluctance to believe that such an aggression had taken place. To this the Japanese government made reply on January 19, 1918, to the effect that there had been a misapprehension, that the phrase "civil administration" did not imply *domestic* administration.

More Secret Agreements

This civil administration continued to function until the autumn of 1918 when Japan agreed in a secret convention, signed September 24, 1918, to abolish it in the so-called "railway zone" and withdraw her troops, except a consular guard at Tsinan, in return for the surrender of the whole railway line to a Japanese-Chinese company that was to be formed. The railway was to be policed by Chinese under Japanese

officers. This agreement was made between Baron Goto, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Chinese Minister at Tokyo, Chang Tsung-hsiang, but does not appear to have been ratified by the Chinese government.[1]

This attempt to settle in advance of the meeting of the Peace Conference the disposition of a German interest was made without consultation with other Allies and was not in conformity with the procedure adopted elsewhere in disposing of enemy property.

Four days after the signature of the above-mentioned agreement, that is, on September 28, 1918, the same Chinese Minister at Tokyo, Chang Tsung-hsiang, signed three other important agreements, none of which were made public until April 1919, at the time that the Peace Conference was becoming exercised over the Shantung question. These three agreements were in the nature of loan contracts and were made with a syndicate of Japanese banks. The first was for a loan of twenty million yen for war participation expenditure. A supplementary note provided that the fiscal system of China was to be reformed so as to produce revenue for the redemption of the loan. The second agreement provided for a loan for the construction of four important railways in Manchuria and Mongolia. The amount would depend upon the estimate of cost after survey, but the important feature of the loan was that twenty million yen were to be advanced at once to the Chinese government. This advance was to bear interest at eight per cent per annum. The security of the loan was to be all the property and revenue of the four proposed railways. The third contract was for certain extensions of the Shantung Railway, originally provided for in an agreement of December 31, 1913, with Germany. Like the preceding, the amount was to be determined after estimates made, but the really important item of the contract was the immediate advance of twenty million yen to bear interest at eight per cent per annum. The security was the existing and future property of the proposed lines.

These three contracts do not appear ever to have received the ratification of Parliament, as required by the Chinese constitution. They placed sixty million yen at once at the disposal of the Peking government, which was in need of funds

[1] See MacMurray, *op. cit.*, p. 1445.

with which to carry on the civil war being waged with the Canton government. When they became known in Peking in May, 1919, they were the cause of a riot resulting in the destruction of the home of Tsao Ju-lin, the Minister of Communications, who was associated with Minister Chang in the negotiations. The later, who happened to be in Peking, was attacked by the mob and badly injured.

The financial favors of September, 1918, granted to the Peking government, it would be expected, would predispose that government to adopt a friendly attitude toward Japan. When, therefore, the Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lou Tseng-hsiang, Chief of the Chinese delegation to the Peace Conference, passed through Japan on his way to Paris, he was invited to Tokyo. While paying a call upon the Japanese Minister for Foreign Affairs, it was suggested to him that the Chinese delegation should work hand in hand with that of Japan. Mr. Lou assented. Perhaps he meant no more than that the Chinese were willing to maintain friendly relations with their Japanese neighbors, but the Japanese Foreign Office did not so understand and seems to have instructed the Japanese delegation that the Chinese were to coöperate with them. This was in harmony with the effort of Viscount Ishii to have the American government acknowledge that Japan possessed special "influence" in China, and indicated a desire to make Japan representative of Chinese as well as Japanese interests at Paris. When it appeared later that the Chinese delegation was disposed to take a bold stand against the Japanese claim to the former German interests in Shantung, the Japanese government telegraphed to Peking asking that the Chinese delegates be properly instructed. The Peking government, however, supported its delegation; but its chief, when it became known what promise he had given at Tokyo, found his position so uncomfortable that he went off for a time to recuperate in Switzerland.

Shantung at the Peace Conference

The first meeting of the Peace Conference was held on January 18, 1919. On the same day a representative of the British delegation called at the American headquarters and urged support of the Japanese claim to have awarded to her

the former German islands in the Pacific north of the equator and the leased territory of Kiaochow with the other possessions and rights formerly enjoyed by Germany in the province of Shantung. The American delegation could not assent to the proposal and was then informed by the British delegate of the secret agreement between Great Britain and Japan of February, 1917, in which the British government had promised its support to Japan at the Peace Conference. In explanation the British representative stated that the *quid pro quo* for British support was Japanese naval assistance against the submarine menace in the Mediterranean.[2]

Another plenary session of the Conference was held on January 25th, but thereafter for many weeks all important questions were handled by a Council of Ten, composed of two members from each of the five great military powers,—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. It was at a meeting of this Council on January 27, 1919, that the question of Shantung was first introduced.

The subject under discussion was the disposition to be made of the former German possessions outside the boundaries of Europe. Japan presented her claim to have awarded to her the islands of the Pacific north of the equator formerly belonging to Germany, together with the leased territory of Kiaochow and other possessions and rights enjoyed by Germany before the war in the province of Shantung. The discussion that followed was confined that day to the disposition of the Pacific islands. President Wilson made a strong plea against any annexations of territory, and suggested that the territories taken from Germany should be placed under the control of the League of Nations to be administered by mandatories. He illustrated the proposed plan by reference to German Southwest Africa which adjoined the British dominion of South Africa. The territory might be administered by South Africa as a mandatory of the League, but in the general interest of the inhabitants and allowing all members of the League the same commercial privileges. To an inquiry of the British Premier, Lloyd George, he said that the British preference of three per cent in the customs duties of South Africa could not apply to the territory under mandate. This called

[2] Copies of the secret agreements mentioned in this chapter were given to the American delegation on February 25, 1919.

out strong protest from General Botha on behalf of South Africa. He pointed out the impracticability of the scheme, saying that if the customs duties were to be different in South Africa from those in the mandated territory, it would be necessary to maintain a cordon of police along the common frontier. President Wilson had also stated that, in his view, the people of the mandated territory should be allowed after trial of the system to say whether or not they wanted to have their territory annexed. General Botha in his reply said that if the plebiscite should show that the people wanted to set up a republic then there would be chaos. Other serious objections were raised by Premier Hughes of Australia with respect to German New Guinea which had a long common land frontier with British New Guinea. Premier Massey also protested on behalf of New Zealand, which expected to annex the German part of Samoa. The meeting adjourned without a decision upon the question, which was taken up again the next day. A long and interesting debate was had on the 28th at both the morning and afternoon sessions. It was participated in by President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Balfour, Borden, Orlando and others. The matter was finally adjusted on January 30th. On that day Lloyd George stated that Great Britain was willing to accept in full the principle of mandatories for the colonies taken under direct government of the crown, but that the dominions were self-governing and objected to it, as applicable to the German territories which they wanted to annex. They were willing, however, to accept a compromise. This was finally agreed to. The former enemy territories taken by the Allied and associated powers were divided into three classes: (1) Those colonies, such as "certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire which have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatary until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatary." (2) "Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, which are at such a stage that the Mandatary must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to

the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses, such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League. (3) Territories such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centers of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatary, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatary as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above-mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population." [3]

This classification was adopted in Article XXII of the Covenant of the League of Nations. In the vote taken on January 30th on the proposal to adopt the principle of mandatories provisionally until the complete scheme of the League of Nations should be drawn up, Japan announced her adherence subject to referendum. The result in so far as the German colony of Kiaochow in Shantung was concerned was that the arrangement adopted and embodied in the Covenant of the League was entirely ignored. No consideration was given to the wishes of the inhabitants of this highly civilized community in the selection of a mandatory. No mandatory at all was selected. The colony was disposed of just as was demanded by the Japanese delegation in its first presentation of the claim on January 27th and in subsequent discussions. The demand was for unconditional cession to Japan by Germany of the leased territory of Kiaochow and the Shantung Railway, with other rights and privileges enjoyed in Shantung by Germany. On the afternoon of January 28th the Chinese delegation had been permitted to state its side of the case. In brief it was put as follows:

(1) Shantung from an unknown antiquity had always been a part of China; its population was wholly Chinese. As the birthplace and burial place of Confucius and Mencius, it was the Holy Land of China.

[3] I have here followed the text of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

(2) The province is but one-fourth as large as France, yet has a population of thirty-eight millions of people, a population larger than that of France. It is densely populated and not a region fit for colonization.

(3) The Lease of Kiaochow Bay had been unjustly extorted from China and such a great wrong ought to be righted.

(4) China was one of the Powers associated in the war against Germany. To take territory belonging to her and award it to one of the Allies was an extraordinary proceeding.

(5) China upon entering the war had abrogated all treaties and conventions with Germany, so that in reality Germany had no rights with which the Council could deal.

(6) Tsingtao with the Shantung Railway leading inland was a gateway to north China and of great strategic importance, and not a place, therefore, to be put into the hands of another Power.

To this statement the Japanese rejoined that on May 25, 1915, China had entered into a treaty with Japan in which she had agreed to abide by any arrangement to which Germany and Japan might come at the Peace Conference. Other more recent agreements (the secret treaties already discussed) were mentioned in support of the Japanese claim. The Chinese protested that the treaty of May 25, 1915, had been extorted under duress, Japan having issued an ultimatum; and that in any case such a treaty dealing with the disposition of enemy property was subject to review by the Peace Conference. The Japanese government was very naturally disappointed by the unwillingness of the Chinese to coöperate in a settlement of the question along the lines already so carefully planned. Unanimity being essential to any disposal of the matter, the question was left unsettled for some weeks.

The People Immediately Concerned

When the people of the province of Shantung learned what was being attempted at Paris, they were greatly agitated. On April 9, 1919, the American Commissioners received a cable message signed by the Provincial Assembly of Shantung, the Provincial Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture, the Shantung Educational Association and the Shantung Industrial Association, asking the Commissioners to use their good offices to obtain a direct return to China of the leased territory of Kiaochow and the Shantung Railway with other possessions

and privileges formerly enjoyed by Germany, unjustly wrung from China in 1898.

The people of Shantung thought they had a right to ask these good offices, for the Treaty of 1858 between the United States and China provides in the first article that "if any nation shall act unjustly or oppressively toward China, the United States will use their good offices on being informed of the case to bring about an amicable arrangement." There seemed to be also a moral obligation to support the Chinese contention, for among the fundamental principles set forth by President Wilson and accepted by all the belligerents as the basis of peace negotiations was that requiring that the settlement of any question of territory or economic right should be based upon the "free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which might desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery." Subsequent events show that the American Commissioners did employ their good offices in behalf of China, but to no avail.

The Race Question

American activity in aid of China naturally created some feeling among the Japanese of an unfriendly character toward the United States, and this was intensified by the failure of Japan to have inserted in the Covenant of the League of Nations a statement of the equality of all races in the League. Inasmuch as the Americans had already declared it to be a "self-evident" truth that "all men are created equal," it seems unfortunate that circumstances should have made them seem responsible for the failure of the resolution. President Wilson was Chairman of the Committee that drafted the Covenant of the League. At one of the meetings, as related by a member of the Committee, a resolution was introduced making Geneva the headquarters of the League. Some of the members preferred Brussels, but the majority voted for Geneva. President Wilson announced that in accordance with the will of the majority Geneva would be the headquarters. The next resolution was that offered by Japan, declaring the equality of all races in the League. There was some opposition by

certain states other than the United States, but since President Wilson was Chairman, he had to announce that although a majority had voted in favor of the resolution, it was one which would require *unanimous* approval and that therefore it was lost. When a few weeks later the question came up again of the disposition of the leased territory of Kiaochow and other rights formerly enjoyed by Germany in Shantung, the Japanese recalled this action and intimated that they would raise the race question in the plenary session of the Conference. It was also made clear that a rejection of the resolution was likely to be made the ground of a refusal on Japan's part to enter the League, unless the Shantung settlement should be made in accordance with Japan's wishes. The plenary session was held on April 28th. One of the Japanese delegation proposed an amendment to the Covenant of the League declaring for racial equality, but after speaking in support of it declined to press it, from which it was inferred that agreement had been made to dispose of the Shantung question in the way that Japan wanted. This inference was quite correct. A number of attempts had been made by Americans and by others to bring about a compromise between China and Japan, but without success.

Open Diplomacy

The first of the Fourteen Points pronounced in favor of "open covenants of peace openly arrived at." In a letter to Secretary Lansing of June 12, 1918, President Wilson explained that when he made the declaration in favor of open diplomacy, he did not mean that there should be no private discussions of delicate matters, but that no secret agreements should be entered into. From the very beginning of the Conference there was complaint made that the proceedings of the Council of Ten were not kept secret. American and British newspapers through certain channels were well supplied with news, while the French press was denied by the French delegation equally adequate report of the proceedings. Because of the unauthorized dissemination of news, the chiefs of the four principal delegations: President Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando, from March 25, 1919, took all important questions under their consideration, and the

Council of Ten ceased to function. Some questions were now and then referred to the consideration of a Council of Five, that is, one delegate from each of the five great military powers. On April 15th this Council of Five was considering the question of the abolition of German extraterritorial rights in Egypt and the recognition of the British protectorate there. The recognition of the French protectorate in Morocco was also discussed. It was then proposed that, to save time, a blanket clause should be adopted, which provided that "in territory outside her European frontiers" Germany would renounce in favor of the five principal Allied and associated powers all rights, titles and privileges whatever in or over territory which belonged to her or her allies and all rights, titles and privileges, whatever their origin, which she held as against the Allied and associated powers." This would provide for restitution of Shantung to China at a later date, but the Japanese delegate promptly insisted that the leased territory of Kiaochow was not to be disposed of in that way.

Fiume and Shantung

A week later, April 22nd, the Japanese delegation brought the Shantung question before the Council of Four, submitting the draft of two articles dealing with the disposition of the former German interests there. They quoted the provision of the Treaty of May 25, 1915, with China relating to the matter, and the Treaties of September, 1918, which recognized the validity of that of 1915. President Wilson made a strong plea for the fair treatment of China, but the Japanese would not yield; and his colleagues in the Council of Four were all bound by the secret agreements of 1917 to support Japan. President Wilson accordingly agreed with his colleagues to submit to the technical advisers on Far Eastern affairs the question whether it would be better for China to abide by the treaty extorted in 1915 or simply have the rights formerly held by Germany transferred directly to Japan.

While the experts were considering this question, the discussion of the Italian claims to Fiume had reached a crisis. President Wilson on April 23rd issued a public appeal to the people of Italy as against their representatives at Paris. This was published in the Paris papers of April 24th and Orlando,

the Italian Prime Minister, with the greater part of the Italian delegation at once withdrew from the Conference and left for Rome.

There were some points of resemblance between the character of the Italian claim to Fiume and the Japanese claim to Kiaochow. These were at once noted and discussed. Both were based upon agreements made during the progress of the war, which provided for the transfer to the claimants of territory formerly in the possession of the enemy. Kiaochow was in China and China had become one of the associates in the war. Fiume was in territory formerly belonging to Austria, but territory that later had become part of the new state of Jugo-Slavia that had taken the place of Serbia, one of the Allied powers. In both cases the claimants demanded the transfer of territory from the friendly state to whom it naturally belonged, to an ally whose sole right to it was that "it was so nominated in the bond." President Wilson in his appeal called attention to the fact that the whole face of circumstance had been altered since the signing of the Pact of London; other powers had entered the struggle, powers that had no knowledge of the Pact, and peace had been agreed to upon the declaration of certain clearly defined principles which were to set up a new order of right and justice. He pointed out that the proposed cession of Fiume to Italy would be a violation of those principles.

The Italian people were aroused, but not in support of President Wilson. They very naturally rallied to the support of their own representatives. Yet President Wilson's plea was founded in justice, and exactly the same plea might have been made in the case of Japan's claim to Kiaochow. There were secret agreements between Japan and the three great powers, Great Britain, France and Italy, that bound these powers to support Japan's claim. Yet after they had been made, the whole face of circumstance had changed and China had become one of the powers associated with Japan in the war upon Germany. It would have been well if Japan could have recognized the propriety of canceling the strict letter of the bond in favor of a more just settlement.

The three technical advisers made their report to the Council, now reduced to three members, on the same day that the appeal to Italy was published. They advised that while both

of the two courses proposed were objectionable, that suggesting the direct transfer to Japan of the rights formerly enjoyed by Germany was the least so. But the American adviser told his colleagues that he meant to follow the report with a personal letter protesting against the adoption of either alternative and suggesting a third course. This was done. The third course was substantially the same as that submitted by the Chinese delegation on the next day, April 25th. This was (1) That Germany should relinquish in favor of the five Allied and associated powers all her holdings, rights and privileges in Shantung, to be by them restored to China. (2) That Japan, being in possession of said holdings, rights and privileges, should engage to effect the restoration to China within one year from the signature of the treaty of peace with Germany. (3) That China should make pecuniary compensation to Japan for the military expenses incurred in the capture of Tsingtao, the amount of that compensation to be determined by the Council of Four, and (4) That China should agree to open the whole of Kiaochow Bay as a commercial port and provide a special quarter, if so desired, for the residence of the citizens and subjects of the treaty powers.

But the withdrawal of the Italian delegation, the discontent in Belgium over the refusal to make Brussels the League's capital as well as over certain other matters in which she was interested, and the plain intimation that rejection of Japan's claim was likely to be followed by refusal of Japan to enter the League,—all combined to exert a tremendous pressure upon the one member of the Council of Three who was free to act. President Wilson had his heart set upon a League of Nations and felt that its establishment was a matter of greater importance than the protection of the rights of a single state.

Provisions of the Treaty

The Council finally decided the question on April 30, 1919, adopting the articles that had been drafted by the Japanese. The Germans subsequently criticised them on the ground that the railway and the mines were private property and not public. The Allied powers replied that if Germany could show that they were private property, they would apply to

them the general principles laid down in the treaty respecting such property.

The articles of the Treaty of Versailles relating to Shantung are numbered 156, 157 and 158 and are as follows:

Article 156. Germany renounces, in favor of Japan, all her rights, titles and privileges—particularly those concerning the territory of Kiaochow, railways, mines and submarine cables—which she acquired in virtue of the treaty concluded by her with China on March 6, 1898, and of all other arrangements relative to the province of Shantung.

All German rights in the Tsingtao-Tsinanfu Railway, including its branch lines, together with its subsidiary property of all kinds, stations, shops, fixed and rolling stock, mines, plant and material for the exploitation of the mines, are and remain acquired by Japan, together with all rights and privileges attaching thereto.

The German submarine cables from Tsingtao to Shanghai and from Tsingtao to Chefoo, with all the rights, privileges and properties attaching thereto, are similarly acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

Article 157. The movable and immovable property owned by the German State in the territory of Kiaochow, as well as all the rights which Germany might claim in consequence of the works or improvements made or of the expenses incurred by her, directly or indirectly, in connection with this territory, are and remain acquired by Japan, free and clear of all charges and encumbrances.

Article 158. Germany shall hand over to Japan within three months from the coming into force of the present Treaty the archives, registers, plans, title-deeds and documents of every kind, wherever they may be, relating to the administration, whether civil, military, financial, judicial or other, of the territory of Kiaochow.

Within the same period Germany shall give particulars to Japan of all treaties, arrangements or agreements relating to the rights, title or privileges referred to in the two preceding Articles.

On May 6, 1919, an abstract, only, of the Treaty of Peace with Germany was presented at a plenary session of the Conference, and the states represented there were asked to approve it. China offered to sign with a reservation as to the articles dealing with Shantung. Permission to do so was refused and China protested. Thus China became no party to the Treaty of Peace with Germany. She became a member of the League of Nations through a Treaty of Peace with Austria ratified on May 26, 1920.

Effect of the Treaty in China

When news of the decision of the Council respecting Shantung reached China, there was an outburst of indignation throughout the whole Republic. The transfer to Japan of the former German rights and properties in Shantung in spite of the protest of the people of Shantung was, of course, in direct violation of one of the conditions of peace laid down before the armistice and agreed to by all the belligerents. It was also contrary to the arrangement agreed to in the Council of Ten for the transfer of German holdings. The feeling in China was so bitter that a boycott of Japanese trade was instituted, which continued with some degree of effectiveness until the final settlement of the dispute in 1922. This boycott no doubt caused considerable loss to Japan. The latter attempted repeatedly to enter into negotiation with China for the carrying out of the stipulations of the Treaty of Versailles, but China refused to recognize the treaty. She entered into separate negotiations with Germany and made peace with that power. The President of China on September 15, 1919, declared by proclamation that the state of war with Germany had terminated. On May 20, 1921, China entered into a new treaty of amity and commerce with Germany, recognizing that the application of the principles of respect for territorial sovereignty and of equality and reciprocity is the only way to maintain good understanding between the peoples. Germany thus acknowledged that her citizens in China were no longer to enjoy the extraterritorial jurisdiction of their own government.

The Shantung Question in the United States

The Senate of the United States refused to ratify the Treaty of Peace with Germany, as negotiated at Paris. There were several reasons for this, the most important being an unwillingness to enter into the League of Nations, whose Covenant formed part of the treaty. But one other reason that was given much weight was that the articles relating to Shantung were regarded as unjust to China. The Senate was no doubt influenced to a considerable degree by the discovery that

three of the five American Commissioners were opposed to the settlement as proposed in the treaty and had so advised the President before the decision of the Council had been made.

As has been stated already, the experts who were called upon for advice were asked merely which of two courses it would be better to take. Of the two courses proposed, the experts recommended that the rights formerly enjoyed by Germany in Shantung should be transferred directly to Japan and that no recognition should be given the treaties extorted by threats from China in 1915. When the decision of the Council was being made, President Wilson called attention to this and stated that nothing that he had said should be construed as a recognition of the notes exchanged between Japan and China in relation to this question. The Japanese on several occasions insisted on the validity of these agreements. But on July 28, 1919, Secretary Lansing reminded the Japanese Embassy that the Shantung settlement in the treaty was independent of the treaty agreements between China and Japan in 1915 and 1918. In a memorandum of August 27, 1919, the Japanese insisted upon the right to invoke these agreements. The Secretary of State replied the same day, saying that the President had given his assent to Articles 156, 157, and 158 of the Treaty of Versailles because he believed that the Japanese government, acting through their accredited delegates, understood and agreed that the agreements of 1915 and 1918 were to be disregarded in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. The Secretary, moreover, said that he was instructed by the President to say that his assent to the Articles mentioned depended upon the acceptance of the condition precedent, and that noncompliance with that condition by the Japanese government might oblige him to consider discontinuing his support of the Articles in question. He added that if the Japanese government found themselves unable to reconsider the position set forth in their memorandum, the government of the United States might feel it needful to raise the question of the validity of such agreements.

The Chientao Affair

The ill feeling of the Chinese toward the Japanese was somewhat increased in the autumn of 1920 by the Japanese

invasion of the Chientao region of eastern Manchuria. This is a very fertile district, embracing the valley of the Tumen River and its tributaries. The Tumen River forms part of the boundary between Manchuria and Korea. Korean settlers have been migrating to the Chientao district for many years, but more particularly since the annexation of Korea by Japan. In a treaty of September 4, 1909, China and Japan agreed that Koreans should be allowed to settle there but with the understanding that they were to be subject to Chinese jurisdiction.

Manchuria has for a long time been infested by Chinese brigands, and since the great war they have been joined by some Russians. In the summer of 1920 these bands of Hunghutzus, as they are popularly called, were very active. In September and October they made several raids into Hunch'un, the principal city of the Chientao region, and on the 2nd of October they burned the Japanese consulate and killed and wounded a number of Japanese. The population of the district is about 300,000, of whom no more than 2,000 were Japanese. The remainder were Chinese and Koreans. Trustworthy reports stated that the brigands were Chinese with a few Russians among them, and that none were Koreans. But there was a great deal of dissatisfaction among the Koreans in Korea and a revolutionary society had been organized in the spring of 1920 with headquarters at Shanghai. The Japanese authorities suspected the Koreans in the Chientao region of being connected with these revolutionists, and there was nothing improbable in that suspicion; but there does not seem to be any evidence that the brigands who destroyed the Japanese consulate had any connection with the Korean revolutionary society.

That the Chinese authorities were remiss in the discharge of their duties in the Chientao district must be admitted; and in the case of attacks upon foreign residents elsewhere in China it has been customary for foreign warships to land marines or bluejackets at open ports for the protection of life and property. There was nothing unusual, therefore, in bringing a few guards from across the river to protect the foreign settlement at Hunch'un. But what was unusual was the bringing in of a division of troops which was employed not in guarding the settlement, nor yet in rounding up the

bandits, but in systematically destroying Korean villages and killing the able-bodied men without trial of any sort. The Canadian Presbyterian missionaries made startling charges of barbarity against the Japanese troops. Their commanders showed especial animosity toward the Christian churches and schools attended by the Koreans and destroyed a number of them. At first the Chinese protested against the invasion and especially against the attempt to establish civil government by Japanese agents in the region, but subsequently Chang Tso-lin, the Military Governor of Manchuria, gave his assent to the movements of the Japanese military forces in return, it was asserted, for certain favors to be received from Japan. Theretofore Japanese assistance had been given to the Anfu party in power at Peking, but this party was overthrown during the summer of 1920, and after 1921 Chang Tso-lin was credited with being in the especial favor of Japan. This, however, is not to be wondered at, seeing that the Japanese have such vast vested interests in Manchuria, of which Chang was the Military Governor until his death in 1928. Chang Tso-lin had been opposed to the Anfu regime at Peking and had united with Ts'ao K'un, the Military Governor of Chihli, and with his subordinate, General Wu P'ei-fu, to make an end of it.

Civil Strife

We must review the circumstances leading up to this situation. The factional government at Canton had refused to recognize the legality of the Parliament chosen in 1918 or the legitimacy of Hsü's election as President. It considered itself to be the only constitutional government in China, though on what grounds it is difficult to see, since the terms of most of the members of its Parliament had expired before it assembled.

For a brief time in 1918 and 1919, however, there was comparative peace in China. The President, Hsü Shih-ch'ang, was endeavoring to reunite the country under one government. In appointing delegates to the Peace Conference at Paris he had chosen not only members of the Peking government but representatives also of the Canton party. These Commissioners all worked together in harmony at the Peace Conference.

But harmony did not last long in China itself. In the spring of 1920 the Canton government split into two factions. In Peking the Anfu party in power was in bad repute and was being opposed by the Military Governors of Chihli and Manchuria, as just intimated. The armies of the northern and the southern governments had been fighting in Hunan and the people there had suffered sorely from both.

The self-styled "Constitutional Parliament" at Canton gradually dwindled away; it had never had a constitutional quorum. The leaders set up what was called "The Military Government of the Southwest." Its troops were drawn from the provinces of Kuangtung, Kuangsi and Yünnan, with a contingent from Chekiang. Provincial feeling is strong in China and jealousy sprang up between these forces and between their several commanders.

In April, 1920, Sun Yat-sen, Wu T'ing-fang and Tong Shao-yi, all Cantonese, seized the seals and the government funds and left Canton for Shanghai. There they made complaints against their colleagues whom they had left behind, that they were not loyal to the constitution and were bent on self-aggrandizement. But these colleagues charged that Dr. Sun was doing more to destroy than to reconstruct the Republic.

In the month preceding the arrival of the three leaders at Shanghai, the President of China, Hsü Shih-ch'ang, at Peking had published an open letter to the South, urging the unification of the country.

When, therefore, the three dissidents found themselves no longer able to rule at Canton, they began to negotiate with Tuan Chih-jui, the Premier at Peking, whom they had formerly so roundly denounced, in an effort to reunite the country. The plan proposed was an excellent one. Both parliaments were to fix dates for closing. A new Parliament was to be elected not later than October 10, 1920. The election law was to be amended so as to reduce the size of the Senate by one-half and that of the House of Representatives by one-third. Both the northern and the southern governments were to be abolished and Parliament was to elect a new President. The Shantung agreements and the several secret treaties, particularly the military alliance with Japan, were all to be canceled.

But the three leaders at Shanghai were not in possession of the southern government, and the Anfu party at Peking was not the most powerful party in the north. The Anfu party was popularly charged with being in the pay of Japan. The government had indeed obtained loans in Japan, as we have seen. Its leader, Hsü Shu-tseng, known as "Little Hsü," was charged with maladministration at Urga and with misappropriation of government funds. In June Ts-ao K'un, Military Governor of Chihli, Wu P'ei-fu, commanding a large army in central China, and Chang Tso-lin, Military Governor of Manchuria, united in a demand upon the President for the removal of "Little Hsü." He was dismissed, but the military supporters of the Anfu party countered with a demand for the removal of Wu P'ei-fu and reduction in rank of Ts'ao K'un.

Wu P'ei-fu objected to being removed and prepared to resist. He entered into an arrangement with the southern government in accordance with which the northern forces were to be withdrawn from Hunan, and negotiations were initiated for a reunion of the whole country. Having his rear thus made safe, he moved his forces toward Peking. On June 23, 1920, the three northern leaders, Ts'ao K'un, Wu P'ei-fu and Chang Tso-lin, met in conference at Paoting Fu and decided that any movement for peace and the unification of the country must necessarily take all parties into consideration and not merely Anfu in the north and three men at Shanghai who claimed to represent the south.

Wu P'ei-fu went somewhat farther than his colleagues. He proposed that a national conference be called that should really represent the people, and that this conference should determine all questions at issue. But the militarists and the professional politicians on both sides opposed this plan and it was not adopted. In the meantime, the three leaders at Shanghai objected to any negotiations with the men in possession of the Canton government.

The approach of Wu P'ei-fu's well-disciplined troops toward Peking alarmed the government. On July 11th some skirmishing occurred between the Anfu forces and Wu P'ei-fu's troops, and on the 13th the Premier delivered an ultimatum to the President, that he should dismiss Wu P'ei-fu and degrade Ts-ao K'un; otherwise he, Tuan Chih-jui, would seize the capital and the government.

On June 15th serious fighting began, and by the 19th Tuan Chih-jui was beaten and returned to Peking. Chang Tso-lin had also sent a force into Chihli, but it was not engaged in the fighting. On July 28th Tuan Chih-jui resigned and retired to a Buddhist monastery to study philosophy.

A change of government at once occurred in Peking, and the negotiations with the party in possession of Canton went on. Peking announced a desire to reunite the whole country, and in October a mandate was issued calling for the election of a new Parliament. The primaries were to be held on March 1, 1921, and the secondary election on the first of April following.

But in the meantime a change had occurred at Canton. The Cantonese army of General Ch'en Chiung-ming had defeated the troops in possession of Canton, and the defeated party, after proclaiming the dissolution of the Military Government and the reunion of the whole country, left for other parts.

This at once changed the attitude of the three leaders at Shanghai, Dr. Sun, Dr. Wu T'ing-fang, and Tong Shao-yi, who no longer wanted peace except upon their own terms. They declared that they did not object to unification, but that a peace conference must first be assembled to discuss the legal questions involved. Naturally they ridiculed the attempt of a defeated government to proclaim the unification of the country. In November 1920 the three leaders returned to Canton, where they set up another government. Subsequently Dr. Sun was elected President by a handful of the members of the old Parliament whose mandate had long expired.

Russian Relations

In the spring of 1920 the Chinese government had received a communication from the Russian Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics asking for recognition, and offering in return to surrender all Russian concessions in China and various other treaty rights including extraterritorial jurisdiction. The proposal met with much favor at Peking and the disposition to accede to it was increased during the following summer through conversations with Mr. Yourin, an agent of the Far Eastern Republic, who had come to Peking ostensibly to arrange for commercial intercourse between his country and

China. The Far Eastern Republic, whose establishment has already been mentioned, eventually turned out to be a stool-pigeon representative of the Bolshevist government at Moscow. As a result of the conferences held, the Chinese government on August 1, 1920, suspended payments on the Russian share of the Boxer Indemnity upon which the Russian diplomatic and consular officers of the Kerensky regime were to a degree dependent. A little later the Chinese Military Governor of Hsin Kiang entered into an agreement with the Soviet authorities in Russian Turkestan revising the commercial regulations on that frontier. Following these steps the Chinese President on September 23, 1920, issued a mandate suspending the recognition of all the Russian diplomatic and consular representatives in China. These had been appointed by the Kerensky government, and, as pointed out by the Chinese Foreign Office, had ceased to be representative of the existing Russian government. The Russian officers having been deprived of their powers, the Chinese government assumed jurisdiction over all Russian residents in China. On the 2nd of October, 1920, the Chinese government entered into an agreement with the Russo-Asiatic Bank regarding the administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway which also passed under Chinese control pending future arrangements with a recognized Russian government. In accordance with this agreement the Russo-Asiatic Bank, representing the shareholders of the railway, appointed five directors and the Chinese government appointed four and the President, the latter to have a casting vote in case of a tie. Much criticism of China followed these developments, both on the part of Russians resident in China and on the part of other governments, whose representatives in Peking made pointed inquiries of the Chinese government and offered certain suggestions as to the administration of the Russian concessions and for the protection of Russian citizens. More recently complaints have been made of the treatment of Russians by the Chinese courts in certain places.

The New International Consortium

Another event of international importance during the year 1920 was the signing on October 15th of the interbank agree-

ment definitely establishing a new international consortium for the making of loans to China. This was the outgrowth of the request of the Chinese government in 1918 for financial assistance to enable it to bear its part in the World War.

It will be remembered that in March 1913 the American group of bankers interested in the reorganization loan to China asked President Wilson whether he desired them to continue to participate in the negotiations looking to such a loan. President Wilson replied, saying: "The Administration has declined to make such a request, because it did not approve the conditions of the loan or the implications of responsibility on its own part which it was plainly told would be involved in the request." Thereupon the American group withdrew from the Six-Power Consortium.

In the summer of 1918 the Department of State was desirous of aiding China to equip herself to be of assistance in the war. A loan from the American government was found to be impracticable because of the more pressing demand for financial assistance in Europe. In this emergency the administration invited the bankers who had been in the International Consortium to come to Washington. Some other bankers were also invited. The Secretary of State then proposed to them that they should form a new American group embracing representatives from all parts of the country who might desire to participate, and associate themselves with Japanese financiers to make the loans needed by China. The bankers expressed themselves as desirous of being of service to the government, but suggested that the participation should be broader, that France and Great Britain should also be represented in the consortium. They proposed that if the conditions then existing in Europe should forbid immediate participation by these bankers in a loan to China, their shares could be carried by the Americans until such time as British and French groups should be able to take them up. This was agreed to, and correspondence with the British, French and Japanese governments followed. At first the European powers mentioned obtained the impression that the Americans wanted to reënter the old International Consortium, but the Washington government made it clear that such was not the proposal. It was to be a new consortium. The hope was expressed that new national groups would be formed large

enough to include the members of the old consortium as well as others who might have legitimate claims to such inclusion. The governments of each of the four participating groups were pledged to give their complete support to their respective national groups, members of the consortium, in all operations undertaken pursuant to the resolutions and agreements entered into by them; and in case of competition, the collective support of the diplomatic representatives in Peking of the four governments was assured to the consortium.

Thirty-one banks representing all sections of the United States united to form the American group, and on May 11 and 12, 1919, while the Peace Conference was sitting in Paris, representatives of the four national groups met in that city and entered into a tentative agreement looking to the organization of the New International Consortium. There was some question at the beginning as to the desirability of including industrial loans since the old consortium had agreed to exclude them from its undertakings, but the new consortium agreed to undertake both administrative and industrial loans. The agreement was made to cover existing and future loan contracts for loans to the Chinese central government or any of its departments, loans to Chinese provincial governments or to any party, provided the transaction should be guaranteed by the Chinese government or any provincial government in China. All options held by members of the several national groups were pooled. This at first was objected to by the Japanese group which proposed that "all rights and options held by Japan in the regions of Manchuria and Mongolia, where Japan has special interests, should be excluded from the arrangements for pooling provided for in the proposed agreement." This, it was stated, was based upon "the very special relations which Japan enjoys geographically and historically with the regions referred to, and which have been recognized by Great Britain, the United States, France and Russia on many occasions." In this connection attention was called to the Lansing-Ishii agreement of November 2, 1917. To this the other national groups were unwilling to agree, and the Japanese eventually gave way after a visit to Japan by Mr. Thomas W. Lamont in the spring of 1920. A frank interchange of views led to an understanding that certain undertakings on which substantial progress had already been

made were excluded by the terms of the tentative agreement of May, 1919. Thus it was agreed that the South Manchuria Railway with its existing branches, together with the mines subsidiary to the railway did not come within the scope of the consortium, that the projected Taonanfu-Jehol Railway and that which is to connect the Taonanfu-Jehol line with a seaport are included within the terms of the consortium agreement; and that the Kirin-Hui-ning line, the Chengchiatun-Taonanfu line and the Ch'angch'un-Taonanfu, the K'aiyüan-Kirin, the Kirin-Ch'angch'un, the Hsinminfu-Mukden and the Ssupingkai-Chengchiatun Railways were all outside the terms of the agreement. The correspondence, as will be seen, consumed more than two years. The definitive agreement was signed on October 15, 1920. But the Chinese government by that time was not disposed to do business with the new consortium. A Belgian group also was admitted to the consortium, but after its organization.

A Great Famine

Besides the questions growing out of the strife between the north and south, the troubles in Mongolia, the matter of Russian relations, and the Chientao difficulty with Japan, the Peking government was compelled to deal with the awful distress occasioned by one of the recurring famines that periodically afflict the northern provinces of China. In the winter of 1917-18 there had been great suffering caused by the floods in the Yellow River Valley and in the province of Chihli. Villages and crops had been destroyed. The American Red Cross had paused in the midst of the World War to send effective relief. Before the region could recover, there had come upon it the bad harvests of 1919 and a drought in 1920 that almost wholly destroyed the crops of 1920. Nineteen millions out of forty-eight in five provinces were face to face with starvation. Relief came from many quarters. The government established a Relief Bureau and borrowed four million dollars in a loan secured by a surtax upon the customs duties. The American Red Cross again manifested its efficiency by the distribution of a million dollars spent in the building of roads in the provinces of Shantung, Chihli, Honan and Shansi, thus giving employment to great numbers of men who were enabled

by their labor to purchase for themselves and their families the rations of grain that were shipped into the destitute districts. It was hoped that the experience gained in the administration of relief would lead to some definite policy for the prevention of such suffering in the future. Afforestation, irrigation and river conservancy would, no doubt, do much to prevent these famines and floods. The prevailing disorder and the chaotic condition of Chinese finances have made impossible thus far any serious efforts in this direction.

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[4] In this chapter I have followed very closely my own diary of events.

CHAPTER XXI

CHINA AT THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND AFTERWARD

Republican Period, 1921-1928

Tzu Kung asked, saying: Is there any one word that will serve as a guide throughout life? The Master replied: Is not reciprocity such a word? What you do not want done to yourself, that do not do to others.

—ANALECTS OF CONFUCIUS.

THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS

THE year 1921 brought no fulfillment of the hopes indulged in by good men north and south that peace was about to be established and the country reunited under one government.

At the close of 1920 there were but two provinces really opposed to the Peking government: Kuangtung and Yünnan. With the return to Canton of Dr. Sun and his party, the propagandists were set to work again and an attempt was made to bring other southern provinces to his support. A new government was set up at Canton of the "Associated Provinces." The old Parliament of 1913, although the terms of its members had long since expired, was summoned to sit at Canton and elect a President of China. Two hundred and twenty-two members out of eight hundred and seventy responded to the call. The constitution, for whose preservation Dr. Sun and Dr. Wu T'ing-fang were so solicitous, required an attendance of two-thirds of the membership for the election of a President, that is, in attendance of five hundred and eighty. Of that number a majority of three-fourths was necessary, according to the constitution, to validate an election. Notwithstanding the lack of a quorum, an election was held and Dr. Sun received two hundred and thirteen votes. Chosen by the fag-end of a Parliament that no longer had any right to sit, and by a vote that lacked more than three hundred of the

necessary majority, Dr. Sun nevertheless accepted the office and called himself the "constitutional" President of China. The election was held on April 7, 1921, and on May 5th he was installed in office.

The War Lords of the North

Ten days after the election at Canton, the two Military Governors who controlled the Peking government, Chang Tso-lin and Ts'ao K'un, met at Tientsin to determine what should be done, now that their plans for a reunited country had been upset by Dr. Sun. After conference with Chin Yün-peng, the Premier, it was decided to issue a warrant for the arrest of Dr. Sun. But to serve it they must first defeat Sun's army. It was thought that Lu Yung-t'ing, a disgruntled commander in the south, who had been defeated by Sun's forces, might be induced to do the fighting. So threats were made of a war to suppress the Canton government, and Canton in turn proclaimed that it was about to march on Peking. The war was chiefly a war of words. Lu Yung-t'ing did, however, undertake a renewal of the strife between the Kuangtung forces and his own army, composed of Kuangsi men, but by July 21st he was defeated and his province passed under the control of Canton.

Foreign Relations

The unfriendly feeling toward Japan continued throughout the year, but the situation in the Chientao region was relieved by the withdrawal of the Japanese troops, announcement of which was made on May 10, 1921. Japan, however, retained a force of gendarmes and built a bridge over the Tumen to facilitate military action.

The Russian camel pushed his way a few steps farther into the Mongol tent. As early as May 6, 1921, China was induced to consent to receive an envoy from Moscow to discuss questions of interest to China and Russia. In July, as we have seen, a Red Army was in possession of Urga and had set up a government called "The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Government." This government was induced by the presence of the Red troops to address an appeal to Moscow to permit

these troops to remain until the menace of the common enemy was removed. In the meantime, the real feeling of the Mongols was shown by the arrival at Peking in the spring of 1921 of an emissary of the Hutukhtu, who suggested the restoration of the old-time relations with China. This was shortly before the defeat of Ungern, but the dissatisfaction of the Mongols was even more marked after the assumption of control by the Soviets, for the so-called "Mongolian People's Revolutionary Government" deprived the Hutukhtu of his temporal powers, removed the Princes from the government of their khanates and levied new and oppressive taxes that caused much dissatisfaction. Nevertheless, the "Mongolian People's Revolutionary Government" entered into a treaty with the Soviet government, or, more accurately, with the Russian Union of Soviet Socialistic Republics on November 5, 1921, in which the two governments gave one another recognition. This was a serious encroachment by Russia upon the sovereignty claimed by China over Outer Mongolia. The treaty also granted each signatory jurisdiction over its citizens resident in the territory of the other. It provided, morever, for two commissions, one to delimit disputed boundaries, the other to fix the rates of import and export duties. Urianghai was the region in dispute between the two countries, but in the end, so it was claimed by the Mongols, the Russians took possession without waiting for the decision of the commission. The treaty was kept secret and did not come to the notice of the Chinese government until the spring of 1922, when China protested it as invalid and as a violation of the repeated declarations of the Soviet government renouncing all encroachments upon Chinese territory. The occupation of Urga by Russian troops led to an agitation among the Chinese for a military expedition to recover control. The task was assigned to Chang Tso-lin, but he was too wise to undertake such a costly adventure.

Origin of the Washington Conference

The Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance was due for renewal in 1921, and the Council of the British Empire, meeting in London in May of that year, had under discussion the advisability of terminating the alliance. The Chinese government on May 11th addressed a communication to the two

allied powers, protesting against any mention of China in the treaty, if it should be renewed, since China was no party to it. A more serious objection to the renewal of the treaty was the feeling in the United States aroused by the terms of the alliance, which in certain contingencies, it was feared, might lead to war between the United States and Great Britain. The Council of the Empire decided to invite the nations interested in the region of the Pacific to a conference.

In the meantime, the Senate of the United States had been discussing the Naval Appropriation Bill, and Senator Borah had introduced a resolution asking the President to invite Great Britain and Japan to a conference on the limitation of naval armament. The resolution was adopted, but the President enlarged the project and decided to invite Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan to appoint delegates to a conference upon the question of limiting all armaments, land and naval. When the American government discovered that Great Britain was considering the matter of an international conference upon Pacific and Far Eastern relations, the American project was still farther enlarged and invitations were sent not only to the four governments mentioned but to China, and also to Holland, Belgium and Portugal, each of which had territorial possessions or other important interests in the Far East. The subject of the conference was altered to "The Limitation of Armament, and Pacific and Far Eastern Questions."

Burial of the Unknown Soldier

The date for the opening of the Conference was Armistice Day, November 11, 1921. The delegations representing the nine powers met that day with a vast assemblage of people in Arlington Cemetery to participate in the ceremonies attending the burial of the Unknown Soldier.

Arlington, before the American Civil War, was the home of General Robert E. Lee, and during the war, the mansion having been taken for a hospital, the grounds became a burial place for thousands of Union and Confederate dead. After the Civil War the estate was purchased by the government for use as a national cemetery and has become an American Valhalla, where our heroes rest in their last long sleep. There on the summit of the hill overlooking the valley of the Poto-

mac and the city of Washington there has been built of white marble one of the most beautiful pieces of architecture in the world, The Memorial Amphitheater. In front of the entrance to the Amphitheater a white marble sarcophagus was placed as a receptacle for the body of the unknown hero, who had fallen in France in the great World War. The American man-of-war that had brought the dead from France steamed slowly up the Potomac on the 9th of November to the sound of booming minute guns. The coffin, draped with the American colors, was placed under the dome of the Capitol and surrounded with flowers. There all day long on the 10th a silent procession of citizens paid reverence to this representative of all those patriots who had given their lives to the service of their country in that war.

The next day, Armistice Day, the President of the United States and the members of his cabinet, Senators and Representatives, officers of the army and navy and a host of citizens followed on foot the caisson that carried the coffin, and marched to the sad strains of the funeral dirge from Washington to Arlington. Observers were deeply moved to see ex-President Wilson, the "War President," himself a victim of that awful struggle, participating in this tribute to the unknown hero, although too ill to follow on foot.

The Secretary of War presided over the ceremonies in the Amphitheater and introduced the President who spoke briefly of the great sacrifice represented by this unknown soldier. The President voiced the feeling of America against war, when he said: "There must be, there shall be the commanding voice of a conscious civilization against armed warfare." As he spoke, the amplifier carried his voice out over the grounds of Arlington where thousands upon thousands who could not enter the Amphitheater, listened reverently. The wires bore his voice into Madison Square Garden, New York, and across the continent to the Auditorium in San Francisco, in both of which places his voice was made audible to other thousands. Thus the whole country may be said to have participated in the solemn funeral service of this unknown lad. Of the tributes delivered by the representatives of the powers attending the Conference, none was more impressive than that of the Earl of Cavan of the British Army. When he placed

two crossed palm leaves upon the coffin, he saluted, but uttered no word save one verse of Holy Scripture:

> As unknown, and yet well known;
> As dying and behold we live.

There could be no fitter introduction to a conference on limitation of armament than this burial service of one of the victims of the war. In the atmosphere created by this service the representatives of the nine powers met the following day in the Memorial Continental Hall, the headquarters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. After an address of welcome by the President of the United States, the Secretary of State as Chairman of the Conference stated the objects of the Conference. Those that concern us relate to China. As to these he said:

> The inclusion of the proposal for the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern Questions was not for the purpose of embarrassing or delaying an agreement for limitation of armament, but rather to support that undertaking by availing ourselves of this meeting to endeavor to reach a common understanding as to the principles and policies to be followed in the Far East and thus greatly to diminish, and if possible wholly to remove, discernible sources of controversy.

China and Japan Confer

When issuing invitations to the Conference, the American government had accompanied them with a list of the topics relating to the Far East which it was proposed to discuss;[1] but the most disturbing question in the Orient, that relating to Shantung, could not be placed upon the agenda, because in international conferences there can be no decision without

[1] The agenda was as follows:

1. Principle to be applied.
2. Application.

Subjects:

(a) Territorial Integrity,
(b) Administrative Integrity,
(c) Open Door—Equality of Commercial and Industrial Opportunity,
(d) Concessions, Monopolies or Preferential Economic Privileges,
(e) Development of Railways, including Plans relating to the Chinese Eastern Railway,
(f) Preferential Railroad Rates,
(g) Status of Existing Commitments.

unanimity, and all the powers to be represented at the Conference, except the United States and China, were already pledged to support the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles with respect to Shantung. These provisions China had rejected. But it was most important that this disturbing question should be settled. Accordingly, it was arranged that the two Far Eastern delegations should conduct negotiations independently outside the Conference. They did so and were assisted in their deliberations by American and British advisers. China and Japan were both anxious to end the discordant relations existing between the two countries, so that rapid progress was made in the disposition of most of the matters in dispute. There was no difficulty at all as to the restoration to China of the Kiaochow leased territory nor respecting the transfer to the Chinese authorities of the public property at Tsingtao. The Chinese readily agreed to allow Japan to retain for the use of the Japanese Consulate at Tsingtao such public property as was wanted and to permit the Japanese community to keep possession of the public schools, shrines and cemeteries that had been established. Japan agreed to withdraw all Japanese troops and turn the customhouse over to the Chinese Maritime Customs Service. It was agreed, moreover, that the whole of the Kiaochow leased territory should be open to foreign residence and trade, and that neither an exclusive Japanese settlement nor one under international control should be permitted, but that the port and city were to be under Chinese administration. All vested rights equitably acquired by foreigners in the leased territory, whether under the German régime or during the Japanese occupation, were to be fully respected. The cables from Tsingtao to Chefoo and to Shanghai were to be transferred to China, except those portions used by Japan for a line between Tsingtao and Sasebo. The radio stations were to be transferred upon payment of a fair compensation by China. One of the most important enterprises that had received enlargement during the Japanese occupation was the manufacture of salt. The manufacture and distribution of this article has been under the control of the government in China since ancient times, and the finest salt is that made along the coast of Shantung. China, it was agreed, should purchase the interests of Japanese in this industry and permit a certain

quantity of salt to be exported annually to Japan upon reasonable terms. The coal and iron mines that had been developed by Germany were to be put in possession of a Sino-Japanese Company, with the understanding that Japanese capital should not exceed that of Chinese shareholders. One concession made by Japan was very important, and that was the renunciation of the preferential right enjoyed by the Germans of an option upon all public works in the province of Shantung that should require the employment of foreign capital or foreign skilled labor.

The only question difficult of adjustment was that relating to the Shantung Railway. The Japanese on taking possession of the line, had insisted that it was public, not private, property. The Chinese argued that upon that assumption, it should be transferred to their government along with other public property. To this the Japanese would not assent. The Chinese then offered to pay cash for the line according to a fair valuation. Chinese bankers offered to furnish the funds. The Japanese asked that China should borrow the money in Japan, and proposed a long-term loan, during the currency of which Japan should have a chief engineer, a traffic manager and a chief accountant. A deadlock ensued which lasted from December 20, 1921, to January 6, 1922. On the latter date negotiations were broken off. Through the good offices of Secretary Hughes and Mr. Balfour, the meetings were resumed on January 11th and an agreement was reached at the end of that month. China was to pay for the railway in Treasury Notes secured upon the properties and revenues of the line and running for fifteen years, but redeemable in whole or in part, at the option of China, at the end of five years or at any time thereafter upon six months' notice to that effect. Pending the redemption of the notes, the Chinese government was to select and appoint a Japanese as traffic manager and a Japanese as chief accountant to serve jointly with a Chinese chief accountant, all of these officials to be under the direction, control and supervision of the Chinese managing director and removable for cause. A joint commission was to be appointed to carry out these agreements. It met in Peking in June 1922 and completed its work in December of that year. At the beginning of 1923 the leased territory was restored to Chinese possession and control.

China in the Conference

While China and Japan were negotiating the matters relating to Shantung, the Nine-Power Conference was giving a great deal of its time to the adjustment of other important questions affecting China. Following the outline of the agenda, the Chinese delegation drew up a list of proposals for which they asked favorable consideration.[2] Although the action taken by the Conference did not in every instance meet

[2] There were ten proposals, as follows:

1. (a) That the Powers should engage to respect and observe the territorial integrity and political and administrative independence of the Chinese Republic.
   (b) That China on her part give an undertaking not to alienate or lease any portion of her territory or littoral to any Power.
2. That China, being in full accord with the principle of the Open Door or equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations having treaty relations with her, should accept and apply that principle in all parts of the Chinese Republic without exception.
3. That, with a view to strengthening mutual confidence and maintaining peace in the Pacific and the Far East, the Powers should agree not to conclude between themselves any treaty or agreement directly affecting China or the general peace in those regions without previously notifying China and giving her an opportunity to participate.
4. That all special rights, privileges, immunities or commitments, whatever their character or contractual basis, claimed by any of the Powers in or relating to China should be declared, and that all such claims or any future claims, not so made known, should be deemed null and void; furthermore, that the rights, privileges, immunities and commitments, known or to be declared, should be examined with a view to determining their scope and validity, and, if valid, with a view to harmonizing them with one another and with the principles declared by the Conference.
5. That immediately or as soon as circumstances would permit, existing limitations upon China's political, jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action should be removed.
6. That reasonable and definite terms of duration should be attached to those existing commitments of China that were at that time without time limits.
7. That in the interpretation of instruments granting special rights or privileges, the well-established principle of construction ought to be observed that requires all such grants to be strictly construed in favor of the grantors.
8. That China's rights as a neutral must be fully respected in future wars to which she is not a party.
9. That provision should be made for the peaceful settlement of international disputes in the Pacific and the Far East.
10. That provision should be made for future conferences to be held from time to time for the discussion of international questions relative to the Pacific and the Far East to determine the common policies of the signatory Powers in relation to such questions.

the desire of the Chinese, yet since no action at all was possible except by harmonizing divergent views, the agreements reached must be considered as fulfilling all reasonable expectations. These agreements were embodied in a number of treaties and resolutions. The most important of the treaties is that relating to principles and policies concerning China. The powers other than China in this treaty promised to respect the sovereignty, independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China. They agreed also to use their influence to establish effectually and maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout China. In all matters of economic right or privilege they promised to be guided by the principles of the Open Door. This is the only treaty relating to the preservation of China's territorial integrity and independence to which she herself is a party. In it China pledged herself to observe the policy of the Open Door in dealing with applications for industrial and commercial privileges. The eight powers entering into this treaty with China pledged themselves not to take advantage of civil strife existing in that country to obtain selfish advantages for themselves, and promised to refrain from further violations of Chinese territory.

Tariff Autonomy

One of China's proposals asked for the removal of all restrictions upon her political, jurisdictional and administrative freedom of action. One result of the request was the signature on February 6, 1922, of a treaty concerning the Chinese customs tariff. In presenting this treaty at the plenary session of the Conference on February 4th, Senator Underwood, Chairman of the Committee that had had the matter in charge, called attention to the inconsistency shown by the delegates in first declaring that they would respect the sovereignty of China and then preparing this treaty which denied to China the sovereign right to determine what duties should be paid on imports into her territories or on exports therefrom.

We have seen already that after China's defeat by Great Britain in the war of 1840-42 she had been compelled by treaties with Great Britain, the United States and France in 1842, 1843 and 1844 to agree to a tariff on imports and ex-

ports based upon an *ad valorem* charge of five per cent. In the Commercial Treaties of 1902 and 1903 with Great Britain, the United States and Japan, China was promised an increase in the rate on condition that the likin or duty on internal transit should be abolished; but inasmuch as other treaty powers would not accept the arrangement, the provisions of the three treaties were never carried out. At Washington China asked for the restoration of tariff autonomy, but the delegates from other countries showed an unwillingness to surrender the advantages enjoyed by them through the low rate of duties allowed by treaty.

The treaty signed at Washington did, however, provide some relief for China. It was agreed that the specific duties should be revised as soon as possible to bring them up to the five per cent *ad valorem,* stipulated in the several treaties. This, in fact, was done very promptly. The treaty also provided for the calling of a Special Conference to prepare the way for the speedy abolition of likin and the fulfillment of the other conditions laid down in the Treaties of 1902 and 1903 with Great Britain, the United States and Japan with respect to the increase of duties. This Special Conference was also to consider the interim provisions to be applied prior to the abolition of likin and the fulfillment of the other conditions mentioned, and was authorized to allow the levy of a surtax at the uniform rate of two and one-half per cent *ad valorem* on ordinary goods and up to five per cent on articles of luxury. The treaty stipulated, moreover, that the Special Conference should make arrangements to secure uniformity in the rates of customs duties levied at all the land and maritime frontiers of China. This looked to the abolition of the preferences allowed Russia, Great Britain, France and Japan on certain land frontiers.

Extraterritoriality

The restoration of jurisdiction over the aliens resident in her territories has been, as we have seen, a long-standing desire of the Chinese government. Such restoration was also asked in her proposals. The discussion of this subject resulted in the adoption by the Conference on December 10, 1921, of a resolution which provided for the establishment of

a Commission to inquire into the existing practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the governments of the powers participating in the Conference their findings of fact in regard to these matters. The Commission was also to recommend the means that might seem to them suitable for the improvement of the conditions of the administration of justice in China and for assisting the Chinese government in the introduction of such reforms as would warrant the relinquishment by the powers of their rights of extraterritorality.

Foreign Post Offices in China

Mention was made in an earlier chapter [3] of the establishment of a national postal service by the Maritime Customs. China from ancient times has had a government courier service for carrying official despatches, and formerly there were also many private companies engaged in carrying letters over various routes of trade and travel, but there was no national post office until 1896 when the service established by the customs was taken over. That service had become necessary for communication between the Inspectorate General of Customs at Peking and the customhouses at the ports. The Inspectorate General was permanently established in Peking in 1865. The foreign legations at the capital were glad to avail themselves of the use of this postal service; but many foreign governments had already established post offices of their own in China to enable the legations and the consulates to communicate one with another and with the home land, and, as time passed, the merchants of various nationalities were permitted to use these foreign post offices. These, of course, deprived the Chinese government of much of the revenue that should have come to it. Even after the creation in 1896 of the national post office, China did not for some years enter the Postal Union because of the existence of these foreign services on her territory. She was admitted to the Union in 1914. But the foreign post offices still remained. There were four powers that maintained these offices. The United States had one at Shanghai, the British government had twelve

[3] Chapter xii.

located at various ports, France had thirteen, and Japan one hundred and twenty-four. These post offices constituted one of the restrictions upon China's administrative freedom whose removal was asked in her proposals.

On February 1, 1922, the Conference adopted a resolution recommending the withdrawal of these offices not later than January 1, 1923, on condition that China should maintain an efficient postal service and agree not to make any change in the existing postal administration in so far as the status of the Co-Director General was concerned. It will be remembered that by the agreement of April 9, 1898, between France and China, the latter was to take note of France's recommendations as to the staff of the national post office. This was taken to mean that China would continue to employ a Frenchman as Co-Director. The postal services of the four powers mentioned were withdrawn as agreed.

Other Resolutions

Other resolutions adopted by the Conference related to the establishment of radio stations and the unification of railways. One declared China's responsibility for the faithful performance of the obligations toward the foreign stockholders, bondholders and creditors of the Chinese Eastern Railway under the contracts that provided for its building; and one expressed the hope that China would take immediate and effective steps to reduce the military forces and expenditures that were responsible in the main for the unsettled conditions then existing in her territories. The last-mentioned does not appear to have been based upon a correct understanding of the relation of these military forces to the Chinese government. For the most part they were not subject to the authority of Peking; many of the commanders were hostile to the Peking government. If the Chinese government were to reduce the forces under its command, it would weaken its ability to resist the opposing armies. It would, no doubt, gladly weaken the opposing forces if it could, but its orders would not be obeyed. The resolution, moreover, came with a bad grace from governments, some of which were maintaining much larger armies than China in proportion to population and with no enemy in sight and while unable to meet their financial obligations.

The Four-Power Pact

The most important treaty negotiated at the Washington Conference was without doubt the agreement between the United States, Great Britain, France and Japan relating to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean. This is the treaty whose signature made possible the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. The high contracting parties in this treaty agreed to respect one another's rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean. They further agreed that if any controversy arising out of any Pacific question and involving these rights should develop between any of the high contracting parties and the controversy should not be settled satisfactorily by diplomacy, they would invite the other high contracting parties to a joint conference to which the whole subject would be referred for consideration and adjustment.

The treaty provided, furthermore, that if the rights mentioned should be threatened by the aggressive action of some power other than one of the high contracting parties, the latter would communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken jointly or separately to meet the exigencies of the particular situation. The treaty was to remain in force for ten years and, upon its ratification, the Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Japan was to terminate. The treaty was signed on December 13, 1921, and on the same day the four powers joined in a declaration as follows:

1. That the Treaty shall apply to the Mandated Islands in the Pacific Ocean; provided, however, that the making of the Treaty shall not be deemed to be an assent on the part of the United States of America to the mandates and shall not preclude agreements between the United States of America and the Mandatory Powers respectively in relation to the mandated islands.

2. That the controversies to which the second paragraph of Article I refers shall not be taken to embrace questions which according to principles of international law lie exclusively within the domestic jurisdiction of the respective Powers.

The first article in this declaration related to questions at

issue between the United States and New Zealand and between the United States and Japan. New Zealand held a mandate over the former German Samoa. In the division of the Samoan Group between the United States, Great Britain and Germany in the tripartite agreement of 1899, each power was given equal trading rights in the islands of the other two powers; but New Zealand was endeavoring to enforce the customs tariff of her own country, as provided in the Treaty of Versailles. The United States had never agreed to the mandates and was unwilling to surrender its rights to free trade in the former German islands of the group. The question at issue with Japan related to the mandate over Yap and the use of that island for landing cables and the establishment and use of a radio station. The questions with Japan as to Yap were adjusted during the progress of the Conference. As to the second article of the declaration, it was meant to except from reference to any conference of the high contracting parties the domestic question of the exclusion by the United States of Oriental laborers as immigrants.

A second declaration was made by the four powers just before the close of the Conference on February 6, 1922, in a supplementary treaty, defining the terms, "insular possessions and insular dominions," as applied to Japan. These terms were to be applicable only to the southern portion of the island of Sakhalin and to Formosa, the Pescadores, and the islands under the mandate of Japan. This was intended to place the home-land of the Japanese in the same category as the home-lands of the three other powers.

Another important declaration with respect to the interpretation of this four-power pact was made by Senator Lodge on behalf of the American government at the fourth plenary session of the Conference on December 10, 1921, in these words: "There is no provision for the use of force to carry out any of the terms of the agreement, and no military or naval sanction lurks anywhere in the background or under cover of these plain and direct clauses." Senator Lodge's statement was endorsed by M. Viviani on behalf of France, by Lord Balfour on behalf of Great Britain and by Prince Tokugawa on behalf of Japan.

This treaty may seem to have only remote relation to China; but in view of the fact that the Treaty of Alliance

which it replaced had as one of its announced purposes "The preservation of the common interests of all Powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunities for the commerce and industry of all nations in China," it seems not inappropriate to state here the terms of the pact that removed an agreement that offended China.

Furthermore, it is not inconceivable that the questions which might give rise to controversies over the rights of one or more of the four powers in their insular possessions in the Pacific might easily involve China, in which case it would be a source of satisfaction to know that an agreement existed providing for the peaceful adjustment of such controversies.

Discussion of the Twenty-one Demands

At one of the meetings of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, the Chinese delegation called attention to the manner in which the treaties and notes of May 25, 1915, had been extorted from China and urged that these treaties and notes be reconsidered and canceled. The Japanese objected to the proposal, and no action was taken at the time. But later, on February 4, 1922, Baron Shidehara made a statement defending the action of Japan and expressing the opinion that no useful purpose could be served by reëxamination of old grievances, adding:

> If it should be recognized that rights solemnly granted by treaty may be revoked at any time on the ground that they were conceded against the spontaneous will of the grantor, a dangerous precedent will be established with far-reaching consequences upon the stability of the existing international relations in Asia, in Europe and everywhere.

To this on behalf of China Mr. Wang Chung-hui replied as follows:

> A still more dangerous precedent will be established with consequences upon the stability of international relations which cannot be estimated, if, without rebuke or protest from other Powers, one nation can obtain valuable concessions from a friendly, but, in a military sense, weaker neighbor and under circumstances such as attended the negotiation and signing of the treaties of 1915, which were not in satisfaction of pending controversies and for which no *quid pro quo* was offered.

Baron Shidehara did, however, on this occasion make three important concessions,—abandonment of Japan's claim to preference in loans for railway building in South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, surrender of Japan's preference in the appointment of advisers and instructors in South Manchuria, and the withdrawal of the reservation as to further consideration of Group V of the demands.

Proposed Return of Weihaiwei

At the fifth plenary session of the Conference, after announcement had been made of the terms upon which China and Japan had agreed for the settlement of the Shantung question, Mr. Balfour arose and on behalf of the British delegation stated that Great Britain under like suitable conditions proposed to hand back Weihaiwei to China. In accordance with this promise, Great Britain and China in September, 1922, appointed a joint Commission to make recommendations as to the terms on which Weihaiwei would be restored to China. Agreement was reached on May 31, 1923. The agreement was ratified by the British government, but the Chinese government asked for certain modifications which apparently have not yet (1928) been accepted by Great Britain. By the terms of the agreement the leased territory of Weihaiwei is to be returned to China, but is to constitute a separate administrative district so that the improvements introduced by the British to protect the health and comfort of the place might be conserved. On the island, Liukung Tao, in the bay, China was to loan to Great Britain for ten years with right to renewal of the loan, certain properties desirable for use in the summer. These include the use of the jetties, coaling facilities, the hospital, cemetery, golf course and tennis courts, and a number of residences and storehouses. The disturbed condition of China probably accounts for the delay in completing the settlement of this question.

The Tariff Commission

The treaty signed at Washington providing for the abolition of likin and an increase of customs duties, was not ratified by France until July, 1925. Upon the receipt in Washington

of the ratification, the American government at once notified China, and the Chinese government issued invitations to the eight nations concerned with her in the negotiation of the treaty, as well as to other nations whose treaties with China contained provisions relating to the customs duties, to attend a conference at Peking, which assembled on October 26, 1925, to carry out the provisions of the Washington Treaty.

The United States, China and Japan each presented a plan for the restoration to China of tariff autonomy, conditioned upon the abolition of likin, and containing various proposals as to an interim increase in the duties. These were ordered to be coördinated and submitted for the consideration of the Conference. There was a wide difference between the surtaxes which it was proposed by the United States and Japan to allow on certain luxuries and those which China desired to impose, but the Conference agreed upon two articles as follows:

> The Delegates of the Powers assembled at this Conference resolve to adopt the following proposed articles relative to tariff autonomy with a view to incorporating them, together with other matters to be hereafter agreed upon, in the treaty which is to be signed at this Conference:
>
> The Contracting Powers other than China hereby recognize China's right to enjoy tariff autonomy, agree to remove the tariff restrictions which are contained in existing treaties between themselves respectively and China, and consent to the going into effect of the Chinese National Tariff Law January 1, 1929.
>
> The Government of the Republic of China declares that likin shall be abolished simultaneously with the enforcement of the Chinese National Tariff Law and further declares that the abolition of likin shall be effectively carried out by the first month of the eighteenth year of the Republic of China (January 1, 1929).

The negotiations dragged along during the winter and spring, and in July, 1926, the Commission adjourned with its work unfinished. The powers other than China, with one exception, were prepared to agree to interim import surtaxes of five per cent on staples and seven and one-half per cent on luxuries; Japan would not consent. There was a divergence of views also as to the allocation of the revenue from these increases. Some of the powers asked that a portion be set aside for the service of certain foreign loans. The disorders in China and the rapid changes in the government at Peking delayed the

work, and in the summer of 1926 the meetings were suspended.

The Commission on Extraterritoriality

On January 14, 1926, the International Commission to investigate the practice of extraterritoriality in China met at Peking and made an examination of the codes and the judicial system of China. Visits were made to the courts at Peking and in various parts of the Republic outside the capital. A number of prisons, too, were inspected. The military operations of Wu P'ei-fu and Chang Tso-lin led to the overthrow of the Peking government and interrupted the work of the Commission, but its report was published at the close of 1926. This report recommended the introduction of certain laws and the protection of the courts against interference by other branches of the government. It urged the extension of the system of modern courts and prisons to replace the Magistrates' Courts and old-style prisons. It suggested to the treaty powers certain improvements that ought to be made in their exercise of extraterritorial jurisdiction. It was suggested, too, that a progressive scheme for the abolition of such jurisdicion might be agreed upon.

More Civil War

The disorders that broke up the conferences at Peking were due to rivalry between several military leaders for control of Peking. This rivalry became very keen when it seemed likely that China was to obtain tariff autonomy and the Peking government, in consequence, to secure a larger revenue.

But to understand the situation, it is necessary to relate briefly the events that created it. After Dr. Sun had set up his government at Canton in 1921, he continued to urge preparation for an expedition to punish Peking. In this effort he found himself opposed even by some of his own followers. The year 1921, that of the meeting of the Washington Conference, passed without any serious conflict, but early in 1922 it was evident that more trouble was brewing. There were four principal parties involved: Chang Tso-lin in Manchuria, Lu Yung-hsiang, a partisan of Tuan Chih-jui and the Anfu

Club, in Chekiang, Dr. Sun in Canton and Wu P'ei-fu in central China. Peking was under control of Liang Shih-yi, who was having the support of Chang Tso-lin. Liang is a Cantonese, but has long been identified with northern interests. He was a strong supporter of Yüan Shih-k'ai and had been made Premier by President Hsü. He was a shrewd financier but had a reputation for unscrupulousness.

Dr. Sun sent Wu Chao-chü, a son of Wu T'ing-fang, to Mukden to consult with Chang Tso-lin. It was reported that Chang sent $300,000 to aid the Canton exchequer. On January 13th Wu P'ei-fu sent an ultimatum to Liang Shih-yi, saying that if he would resign within three days, nothing would be done against Peking. If he did not resign within five days, Wu would appeal to the country, and if Liang did not vacate office within seven days, he, General Wu P'ei-fu, would march on Peking. Liang did not act promptly and Wu appealed to the country. Six provinces gave him support. Liang took leave of absence, and later resigned, but the President did not accept the resignation. By the first of April, 1922, Chang Tso-lin and Sun Yat-sen were reported in alliance. Chang was quoted as saying that Wu P'ei-fu must be suppressed. He declared, moreover, that the only solution of the problem was the establishment of a strong government at Peking and the unification of the country. Unlike Dr. Sun, Chang Tso-lin did not approve of the constitution. He said that it was of Western origin and unsuited to conditions in China. But "What is the Constitution between friends!" So the ex-brigand chief and the apostle of constitutionalism joined hands to attempt the overthrow of General Wu.

The coalition against Wu embraced much more than the armies of Chang and the promises of Sun. The friends of Tuan Chih-jui were included, especially the Military Governor of Chekiang. Moreover, one of Wu P'ei-fu's subordinates had been induced to lead a mutiny in Honan.

Dr. Sun's promises of an attack from the south to cause Wu to divide his forces failed of fulfillment, because General Ch'en Chiung-ming, the principal officer in Sun's army, refused to have anything to do with the movement. On April 12th, General Wu had a considerable force at Paotingfu and began moving troops to Changsintien, near Peking. Fighting began in that vicinity late in April. A false report of the death in

battle of General Wu brought about the promised mutiny in Honan. But Wu had foreseen the possibility of such a move and had brought into Honan a division of troops from Shensi under the so-called "Christian General," Feng Yü-hsiang, who quickly suppressed the rising.

General Feng had won considerable celebrity by his strict enforcement of discipline. He tolerated no gambling, opium smoking or other immorality. His troops were compelled to attend worship on Sundays and hundreds were enrolled as members of the Church. Like Cromwell of old, he went into battle relying on the Lord God of Hosts. A portion of Feng's division was transferred by General Wu to Changsintien and was the force relied upon to turn the right flank of Chang's army. It is reported of the men in this force that they wore arm bands bearing in the Chinese the words, "Trust in God and show no mercy." They succeeded in turning Chang's flank and by the 4th of May Chang's army was in flight. Chang returned to Manchuria and Liang Shih-yi was compelled to go into hiding. President Hsü dismissed him from office, but too late.

On May 30, 1922, Wu announced his intention of summoning the old Parliament dismissed in 1917, and suggested to President Hsü that he ought to retire. The President did so on June 2nd. Li Yüan-hung had been President when the Parliament was broken up, and therefore, General Wu, to restore the *status quo ante,* suggested to Li that he should return to Peking and assume the office temporarily until Parliament could meet and hold an election.

In all this General Wu seemed to be taking the course best calculated to remove the source of southern dissatisfaction, and one would have supposed that the Cantonese party would at once come to his support. But Dr. Sun would not support Wu P'ei-fu, even when he was doing that which Sun had demanded. Sun found a pretext for objection in the return of Li Yüan-hung to the Presidency. Meantime, the breach widened between Sun and General Ch'en Chiung-ming. On June 16th the latter attacked and took Canton and Sun was once more a fugitive. In his wrath Dr. Sun directed his war vessels to bombard Canton. This was done without giving the noncombatants a chance to escape, and Dr. Sun was severely censured by the world for his action.

To further the plan for reunion of the country, General Wu invited Wu T'ing-fang, the strong man of the Canton government, to come to Peking and take the post of Premier. But the veteran diplomat was already near the end of his career. He died on June 23rd, broken-hearted over the plight of his country.

On August 1, 1922, the old Parliament assembled at Peking and a long struggle began for the control of the two Houses. Early in 1923 it was evident that Ts'ao K'un, Military Governor of Chihli, was seeking the Presidency. The jealousy of Sun was at once aroused. He made a strong effort to break up the quorum in Parliament. It was the first time the Parliament had had a quorum since 1917. About two hundred and fifty members were induced to go to Shanghai, but they could do nothing there and stronger inducements were offered them to return to Peking. They did so. Thereupon Dr. Sun cried "Bribery!" Sir Robert Ho-tung, a Chinese subject of Great Britain who was trying to effect a reconciliation between the north and south, said that the charge of bribery would be made in any case. The charge was probably well founded, but it is likely that attempts at bribery were not confined to one party.

During the summer of 1923, as the time for the election of a President drew near and it was seen that the holding of the office by Li Yüan-hung without being elected thereto was regarded as an offence by Dr. Sun, it was suggested to Li that he had better withdraw. It had been agreed when he returned to Peking that his occupancy of the Presidency was but an emergency measure and that he was to retire upon the election of a President by Parliament. He was quite unwilling to retire, however, before the election, and had to be compelled to do so by General Feng Yü-hsiang, who was in command at Peking. The election was held as scheduled on October 6, 1923, and Ts'ao K'un was duly elected. He was inaugurated on October 10th, the national holiday. As soon as elected, he insisted upon the adoption of the new constitution which had been in the making since 1913. It contained all the provisions for which Dr. Sun's party had so earnestly contended, and granted to the provinces the largest measure of local autonomy consistent with national unity. But the adoption of this constitution, even by the reassembled Parliament of 1913,

although it was almost wholly the work of the Kuo Min Tang, the party of Dr. Sun, was not recognized by the factional government in the south. Later, as we shall see, it was suspended in the north, so that there is today (1928) no constitutional government anywhere in China.

Ts'ao K'un's election was anathema to Dr. Sun, to Tuan Chih-jui and to Chang Tso-lin. Tuan charged him with being uneducated. He was indeed not a graduate. He had risen from poverty and obscurity. His success seemed amazing to many, but it was not without precedent. Such an incident would not cause much wonder in the United States, and in Chinese history the rise of a common peasant to the head of the state has occurred a number of times. Ts'ao K'un a few years ago was a peddler on the streets of Tientsin. Business was dull, so he entered the army as a private. He was alert, obedient and good-natured. He won the favor of a superior who sent him to a military academy where he took a short course and qualified for a commission. Later he attracted the attention of Yüan Shih-k'ai who made him Military Governor of Chihli, the metropolitan province. After his election to the Presidency, however, his enemies formed a coalition and plotted his overthrow.

Soviet Influence

The promised Soviet envoy, M. Joffe, arrived in China in August, 1922, and early in September proposed to the Chinese Foreign Office that negotiations be begun to restore normal relations between Russia and China. The Chinese demanded the evacuation of Outer Mongolia as a condition precedent. A little later Joffe attended the Russo-Japanese Conference at Ch'angch'un, and in January 1923, finding that China was not ready to negotiate, he left for Japan by way of Shanghai. At Shanghai he found Dr. Sun in exile. They had a conference and agreed upon a joint statement, implying future cooperation.[4]

[4] The substance of the statement was as follows:

(1) Communism and sovietism are not suited to China.

(2) Joffe reaffirms Karakhan's statement of 1919–1920 that Russia is willing to enter into negotiations on the basis of renunciation by Russia of all treaties and exactions imposed upon China by Tsardom, including treaties concerning the Chinese Eastern Railway.

(3) Sun agrees that the management of the Chinese Eastern Railway

This appears to have been a bid on Sun's part to obtain Russian support as against Peking, and, on Joffe's part, an effort to stir Peking to action. Notwithstanding the declaration that communism and sovietism were unsuited to China, the seed sown in Dr. Sun's mind by his conversations with Joffe seems to have taken root, for we find the fruit later in the formation of a communist group at Canton and in the friendly attitude shown there toward the Moscow government. Russian advisers, civilian and military, were welcomed, and under their direction the workers were organized and an army was equipped for the subsequent march northward.

Dr. Sun in the spring of 1923 (before the election of Ts'ao K'un to the Presidency), had been able to return to Canton through the failure of Ch'en Chiung-ming to retain control there. The precious constitution, of which Dr. Sun regarded himself as the defender, was now in force at Peking. The Parliament, upon whose recall he had insisted as a condition of peace, was in session at Peking. President Hsü, whose retirement he had demanded, had retired. Apparently Sun's demands had been met, and there seemed no good excuse for setting up a rival government at Canton. But Sun, nevertheless, organized a military government there without any regard to the constitution or the Parliament. This was before the enforced retirement of Li Yüan-hung, whose return to Peking offended Sun. Yet even after Li's removal, Sun clung to his hostile attitude, for he saw no chance of his own election by Parliament, and he had the hardihood, in spite of his ridiculous position, to ask the foreign governments to withdraw recognition from Peking. He had great difficulty in obtaining the funds needed for the support of his government and of the Hunan, Kuangsi and Yünnan troops by whose favor he was enabled to remain in Canton. He was driven in his extremity to the seizure of public property. The agricultural station, after ten years' good work, was sold. Yamens were sold. Eight hundred and forty-eight temples, some of them famous, were reported to have been seized and sold. The young communists talked of the nationalization of property.

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should be reorganized without prejudice to the interests of either party.

(4) Russia has no intention of pursuing an imperialist policy in Mongolia and Sun does not regard immediate evacuation of Outer Mongolia by Russian troops as necessary.

The Yünnan troops were hated by the populace and defied the laws against opium smoking and gambling. They treated Canton as a conquered city, extorted all manner of taxes, seized and held wealthy merchants for ransom and impressed coolies into their service. In 1924 the merchants, in self-defense, combined a number of volunteer companies into one body, which in October came into conflict with the troops of Dr. Sun and was badly defeated. Thousands of men were killed and the damage to property amounted to several millions of dollars.

Peking also to a degree came under Russian influence. After Joffe's departure for Japan, M. Karakhan was sent to negotiate with China. He arrived at the end of July, 1923, and after many months' negotiation a treaty was signed on May 31, 1924, which gave Russia the desired recognition and restored normal relations between the two countries. There are six important provisions in the treaty:

(1) Russians are to be employed on the Chinese Eastern Railway.
(2) Russian jurisdiction over Russians in China is abrogated.
(3) China is to restore to Russian possession all Russian public property in China except the former Russian concessions at Tientsin and Hankow.
(4) The Russian Church property is to be handed over to some person or organization to be designated by the Russian Soviet government.
(5) The Boxer Indemnity due to Russia is to be returned to China but is to be expended for educational purposes under the supervision of a joint commission, an arrangement similar to that arranged for the expenditure of the indemnity returned by the United States.
(6) The government of China is not to recognize as valid any treaty or agreement between Russia and a third party made since the overthrow of the Tsarist régime and affecting the rights and interests of China.

This last-named provision refers to the treaty between the Russian Soviet government and the People's Revolutionary government of Outer Mongolia.

A few days before the signature of the treaty of 1924 the unhappy Hutukhtu at Urga died. The treaty recognizes Outer Mongolia as part of the Republic of China, and on March 6, 1925, the Russian Ambassador notified China that

the Red Army had been withdrawn from that region. Nevertheless, Russian Soviet influence seems to prevail at Urga.

Overthrow of Ts'ao K'un

By the autumn of 1924 the jealous foes of President Ts'ao were prepared to attempt his overthrow. On this occasion they did not rely wholly upon military force. Marshal Chang Tso-lin by some means that may be guessed was able to persuade the "Christian General" Feng to abandon his superior, Marshal Wu P'ei-fu, at a critical moment in the conflict. The result was that Wu's army was overwhelmed and crushed in the latter part of October, 1924. General Feng seized Peking on October 22nd and three days later imprisoned the President whom he had helped to elect. On the 5th of November he expelled the Emperor, Hsuantung, from the palace, deprived him of his title and reduced the pension which the Republic had guarantied him, from four million dollars to five hundred thousand.

On the 10th of November Chang and Feng met at Tientsin and persuaded Tuan Chih-jui to return to Peking as chief executive. Dr. Sun was also invited to the conference, but did not arrive until later. He reached Peking on December 31st in a very feeble condition. A week earlier Tuan had issued a mandate for a Reorganization Conference, which met on February 1, 1925. Dr. Sun objected to the method employed for selection of the members. He wanted representatives to be elected somewhat on the soviet plan, that is, he proposed that the various industrial, educational, agricultural, labor and student organizations should be asked to send representatives; but Tuan and Chang preferred "hand-picked" delegates of their own choosing. The Conference accomplished nothing. Dr. Sun's illness increased and resulted in his death on March 12, 1925. His remains were placed in the Pi Yün Ssu, a Buddhist monastery in the hills west of Peking, to be guarded there until a fitting mausoleum could be built for them at Nanking.

An Appreciation of Sun Yat-Sen

Sun Yat-Sen, according to Dr. Cantlie, his biographer, was born in 1867 near Macao. He ought, therefore, to have been

in full vigor at the time of his death; but he had an adventurous life, full of danger and hardship, and may be said to have sacrificed himself in the cause of Chinese liberty.

He studied medicine in an American mission at Canton and later graduated from a British medical school at Hongkong. He was a successful physician, but in 1894 he became interested in the Young China Party and abandoned medicine for revolutionary agitation. He sowed the seeds of rebellion far and wide, but in all his attempts to create a rising, from 1895 to 1911, he failed utterly; and when the revolution came, it began in an unexpected quarter without his assistance or direction. His followers, however, took advantage of the outbreak and with the assistance of other forces, north as well as south, the movement was pushed to a successful completion. For many years a huge price was put upon his head, and many a time he narrowly escaped death.

All who knew him acknowledged his power to win friends, whom he bound to himself with "hooks of steel." His biographer said of him: "If I were asked to name the most perfect character I ever knew, I would unhesitatingly say, Sun Yat Sen." The present writer found him to be a man of distinct charm, when he called at the American Legation in 1912. At that time he was filled with enthusiasm. He expressed perfect confidence in Yüan Shih-k'ai. When disillusionment came, he seemed to grow irascible and at times quite bitter. Only in this way can we explain his employment of mercenaries to conquer Canton and his cruel bombardment of that city without notice to noncombatants. After all that may be said very truthfully of his devotion to the cause of liberty, it must be admitted that his strength was that of the iconoclast, not that of a constructive statesman.

It is to his credit that in a land where public office has too often been identified with self-enrichment at public expense, Sun Yat-Sen died poor. Toward the close of his career he devoted much time to lectures upon the Three Principles of Popular Government. Dr. Sun realized that to make popular government a success in China it was important that these principles should be understood. The first is Nationalism. Patriotism has been too parochial in China. To many Chinese the clan is more important than the province, and the province than the central government. National conscious-

ness, however, has been gradually aroused since the establishment of the Republic, although sectional jealousy is still too powerful. The second principle is Democracy. The Chinese still enjoy, as of old, a good degree of self-government in local affairs. The transformation that is taking place in China has been greatly exaggerated in the minds of the American people. The masses of the people have been very slightly affected by the reforms that have been promulgated. The central government has been changed, and Viceroys and Governors in the provinces have been replaced by military commanders; but excepting the suffering due to civil war, there has been very little change in the condition of the common people over a great part of the country. Away from the ports, where modern industrialism is taking hold, the people in the country villages and in the sleepy interior cities live as they have lived for centuries. The tithings still function. The Elders still seek to preserve peace and good order. The people govern themselves without a thought of Peking or Canton save to avoid the ravages of the soldiery or the collection of unusual taxes. But Dr. Sun aimed at something more than this age-old local self-government. He wanted democratic control of the county, the province and the Republic. His conception of Democracy as a principle, too, meant the introduction not only of popular suffrage, but of the recall as well, and also the use of the initiative and the referendum in legislation. The third principle is Economic Improvement. He wanted a government that would provide for the legitimate needs of all the people: food, raiment, shelter, that is to say, employment and a living wage. He seems to have had in mind some form of state socialism.

Dr. Sun was without doubt sincere in his desire to promote the welfare of the common people, but his idealism at times caused him to ignore practical considerations. Since he had faced danger and death through a long period of years in his efforts to promote revolution, he not unnaturally expected more than ordinary consideration to be given to his views, and he failed to give due weight perhaps to the opinions of others. His impetuous temper seemed to have driven him to hasty actions which his sober judgment would not have approved. To accomplish his ends he joined hands with those whom he had previously condemned and adopted measures

of more than doubtful propriety. Won by the friendly advances of the Russians, he accepted their proffers of assistance and thus unwittingly brought increased misery and suffering rather than relief to his countrymen.

In the presence of his bier the voice of criticism was hushed. He has become the idol of his race. His faults are forgotten.

RULERS OF THE PERIOD

	A.D.
President Hsü Shih-ch'ang	1918-1922
Acting President Li Yüan-hung	1922-1923
President Ts'ao K'un	1923-1924
Acting Executive, Tuan Chih-jui	1924-1926
Acting Executive, Chang Tso-lin	1926-1928

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CHAPTER XXII

NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

Republican Period, 1926-1928

I fear the Greeks bearing gifts.
—VIRGIL.

Gray-bearded Use, who, deaf and blind,
Groped for his old accustomed stone,
Leaned on his staff and wept to find
His seat o'er thrown.

. . . .

Take heart! The Waster builds again—
A charmed life old goodness hath:
The tares may perish—but the grain
Is not for death.
—WHITTIER.

THE KUOMINTANG

THE revolutionary society that, prior to the establishment of the Republic, supported Dr. Sun in his efforts to overthrow the Manchus, was called the Ko Ming Tang, meaning "Revolutionist Party." After the Republic had been set up, the name was no longer appropriate, so its leaders chose a new name similar in sound to the original, Kuo Min Tang, meaning "People's Party." It was commonly translated "Nationalist Party." Today the three Chinese words are commonly written as one, Kuomintang. This is the party that opposed the policies of President Yüan Shih-k'ai in 1913, the party that is responsible for the provisional constitution and chiefly also for the constitution now in suspense. It is the party that created the Red army at Canton and that launched the expedition against the north in the autumn of 1926 which captured the Wuhan cities. What were the aims of this movement, and by what means did the leaders hope to accomplish them? Wuchang on the Yangtze was taken on October 10, 1926. On the 21st of November, the generalissimo of the nationalist forces, Chiang Kai-shek, declared that the movement aimed

to abrogate all treaties with foreign powers, to abolish immediately the extraterritorial privilege of foreign residents, to secure the removal of the foreign supervision of the customs, the return of the foreign concessions to China, and the destruction of "imperialism" throughout the world. He defined "imperialism" as the holding by any country of territory outside its natural boundaries, such as the occupation of the Philippines by the United States.[1] This certainly was an ambitious program.

Russian Gifts

We have seen that in 1923 Dr. Sun came under the influence of Joffe, the Russian envoy. Although the two men agreed in a declaration that China was not a proper field for communist activity, Dr. Sun was not long afterward persuaded to accept Russian advisers. Of all the Western powers Russia was the only one that showed friendliness. What Dr. Sun wanted was financial assistance and a supply of arms and ammunition. These were promised and were given in large amounts, but to obtain them he had to take the advisers. He probably did not know at the time that Russian communists had been at work organizing communist groups in China since 1919. These became sufficiently numerous by 1921 to justify the holding of a conference and the organization of a Chinese communist party. The chief political adviser sent to China was the man known in China as Borodin, but in various other countries by other names. He organized communist "cells" in various parts of China and at the same time gathered large numbers of mechanics in the cities and of farmers in the country villages into labor unions. He also established a bureau of propaganda and circulated vast quantities of literature intended to inflame the minds of the poor against the rich and especially to stir up hatred of the Western capitalist and the Christian missionary.

Meantime the Russian military officers who had been sent to Canton were busy organizing a Red army. The cadets of the Military Academy formed the nucleus. This was the army that was to be used to punish the north. It illustrates the methods employed by the Soviet government to note that at

[1] *Current History*, January 1927, p. 586.

the very time that Russia was obtaining recognition from the Peking government, Russian agents sent by Moscow to Canton were preparing an army to attack Peking. The real object, of course, was to produce a condition of chaos in China which would facilitate control by the Communist International and forward the cause of world revolution.

Russia was generous with her gifts of money and arms and especially with experts in all branches of the military and civil services. Among other gifts was that of an excellent radio station.

As the work progressed, Dr. Sun appears to have become thoroughly reconciled to the methods of his Russian advisers. According to the *Chinese Students' Monthly*,[2] on the day before his death he wrote to the Soviet government a letter expressing his high appreciation of the assistance given him by that government and stating that he had instructed his party to continue to work with them. The authenticity of this letter is supported by the cable message sent on December 18, 1927, by Madame Sun, then in Moscow, reproaching General Chiang Kai-shek for his break with Russia.

While all this preparation was going on in south China, the Soviet government in May 1925 was reported to have signed an agreement with the "Christian General" Feng in which Russia was to supply money and arms in return for the privilege of spreading propaganda in all districts under his control.[3] How many Russian agents were attached to General Feng's army is not known, but there were not less than 120 connected with the Southern forces at Hankow before the break between the Kuomintang and the Soviet government took place.[4]

The Shanghai Massacre

The organization of a labor union in a cotton mill in Shanghai owned by Japanese capitalists, led to a strike there in the spring of 1925, during the progress of which the Chinese workmen broke into the mill and destroyed several thousand dollars' worth of machinery. The guards who were protecting the mill were attacked by the strikers and fired into the crowd, killing one of the workmen. This stirred up a bitter feeling

[2] February 1928.
[3] *North China Daily News.*
[4] Eugene Pick, *China in the Grip of the Reds*, p. 18, Shanghai, 1927.

against the Japanese. Members of the labor unions and students from the schools gathered on the street corners of the International Settlement on May 30th to harangue the passing crowds and demand the abolition of the extraterritorial privileges of foreign residents which prevented the jurisdiction of Chinese courts in affairs of this sort. The assembling of Chinese for political agitation inside the limits of the foreign settlement had been forbidden by a municipal ordinance ever since the riots there of 1919. The police ordered the crowds to move on. When they refused to obey, a number were arrested and taken to the police station. They were followed by a mob that attempted to rush the station. The police, whose officers were British, fired, killing nine persons and wounding many others. This greatly aggravated the situation. The agitation spread to other ports, to Hankow, Kiukiang, Chinkiang and to Canton, in all of which places disorders occurred. At Hankow British bluejackets were landed to protect the settlement from a mob that invaded it. They fired into the crowd and killed a number of the rioters. On June 23rd at Canton, Chinese students and others who were parading in protest against the Shanghai killing, and who were acting under the direction of Russian officers, fired into the British concession, killed one European and wounded four others. The British replied with machine guns. Fifty-two of the paraders were killed, and one hundred and seventeen wounded. These acts of the British military, added to the affair at Shanghai, for which British police officers were held responsible, turned the tide of hatred away from Japan and against Great Britain; but foreigners of all nationalities became involved because of the extraterritorial status of most of them, and a loud cry went up from the whole nation for the abolition of the unequal treaties. This demand became more insistent after the Tariff Commission met in Peking in October, 1925. The Russian advisers at Canton skillfully fanned the flame of antiforeignism.

The Punitive Expedition

While Marshal Wu P'ei-fu was busy at Peking in 1926 driving Feng Yü-hsiang beyond Kalgan, the Red army at Canton

prepared to carry out the long-planned invasion of the north. The communist groups by that time were well drilled. The peasant unions and the labor unions were primed with anti-capitalist propaganda and anti-Christian bias. Even the Chinese Christians were affected in places and deserted the Church. Students who owed their education to foreign generosity and nurses in mission hospitals who owed their training to American and European physicians, turned upon their benefactors and drove them away. The army that marched northward through Hunan found little resistance until it reached the Yangtze, and the army which came up the east coast fought no serious battle until in the vicinity of Hangchow. The troops were well equipped and well drilled, but in the taking of the three Wuhan cities, Wuchang, Hanyang and Hankow, they found silver bullets more efficacious than lead. Wu P'ei-fu's subordinates were bought outright, and this great commercial center fell into the hands of the nationalists. The troops in possession of Shanghai made serious resistance, but there, too, the work of the propagandist had undermined the strength of the northern forces. By the end of March 1927, all China south of the Yangtze was under control of the Red army. The nationalist capital was moved to Wuchang, and at once there began a systematic attempt to foment labor strikes, destroy the commerce of the region and make conditions so uncomfortable for Europeans and Americans as to drive them from their homes. Workers of all occupations were compelled to form unions. Those who objected were intimidated. Men in the employ of foreign concerns were forced to strike for higher pay. Generally the wages in such establishments are much higher than in native industries, but they are still pitiably low even there. The demands, however, were purposely made so extravagant that they could not be granted. The laborers, who had been filled with hopes of greatly improving their condition, were disappointed to discover that they had merely cut themselves off from all employment. Large establishments closed their doors, and tens of thousands were made destitute. This probably was the object aimed at by the Russian communists, since destitute men and women make fine fuel for the flame of revolution.

Foreign Settlements

One of the insistent demands of the nationalist party was that the foreign settlements in China should be placed under Chinese control. Antiforeign demonstrations were made on several occasions during December 1926 in the settlements at Hankow. British marines were landed to give protection. On January 3, 1927, a Chinese mob attempted to rush the British Settlement. The marines, the police and the fire brigade held the rioters at bay and, under strict orders not to fire, these defenders bore with considerable patience the taunts, the insults and assaults with stones. The British authorities finally agreed to allow the Chinese to police the settlement. Negotiations were then opened for the return to the Chinese authorities of the settlement concessions at Hankow and Kiukiang. This was accomplished by an agreement of the 19th of February, 1927.

The French Concession at Shanghai and the International Settlement at that port in all probability would have met with a similar fate, but for the prompt action of the British government followed by that of France and the United States in landing large forces of infantry and marines and constructing strong defences. The northern forces were driven out by the nationalists from the districts under native control, but the foreign settlements were kept inviolate. Serious attacks were made, however, upon foreign residents in other ports that were under nationalist control. Priests and nuns of the Roman Catholic mission in Foochow were grossly insulted and, with many of the Protestants there, were compelled to leave the place.

The demand for the return to Chinese control of the settlement concessions was based in part upon a misunderstanding or, perhaps in some cases, upon a misrepresentation of the facts. One sometimes hears the statement made that Europeans and Americans have taken possession of the finest cities in China and are governing them to suit themselves. The truth is that the Chinese from of old have had a superiority complex. They looked down upon men of other nations than their own, and especially upon men of another race, as undesirable. The Hindus and Arabs of the ninth and tenth centuries were compelled to live in a quarter by themselves, just as some of

our American cities segregate the Orientals or the Negroes. When Europeans came to China, they were treated in the same way. They were pariahs, not permitted to live inside the city walls. When, after the first war with Great Britain, five cities were opened to foreign residence and trade, the ancient precedent continued to be followed. Certain areas outside the city walls were set aside for the "barbarian" settlements. It was almost invariably the least desirable location from the Chinese point of view. At Shanghai it was a low, muddy flat, much of it at high tide likely to be under water. When Shameen outside the gates of Canton was set aside for the British and French in 1861, it was a sandy island in the river. The beautiful cities that have grown up in these open ports were not built by Chinese nor by Chinese capital. The European and American had to pay rent for the ground occupied by them, and in these swampy or otherwise undesirable places they built their homes and warehouses. They drained the lowlands and diked them. They made roads, brought carriages from home, created parks and recreation grounds, established water works, gas works and electric light plants, lighted and policed the streets, and thus converted the forbidding and unoccupied suburbs into beautiful cities. They were so much better governed than the Chinese cities adjoining them, and so much more attractive, that the Chinese also wanted to live in them, and although, at the beginning, located in many places far from the business quarter, they grew at the expense of the old cities and brought the trade to themselves.

Not only so, but they became cities of refuge for the oppressed who fled from Manchu tyranny, and they are still havens of safety for discredited officials and defeated generals whose lives are sought by their enemies.

Foreign settlements are not all of one sort. There are five types. There are a few ports opened to foreign residence where no area has been set aside for such residence, but where the few foreigners build their homes in some location outside the city walls, selected by themselves. Chefoo is such a port. The second type is one where various foreign governments have each established a national settlement on land either ceded to them or leased for a long term of years from the Chinese government. Such are Canton with two concessions, Hankow with four (formerly six) national concessions, and

Tientsin with six (formerly eight) concessions. These national concessions are governed, as a rule, by the Consulate of the lessee nation. The third type is represented by Shanghai and Amoy, where there are international settlements governed by a Council elected by foreign residents possessed of certain prescribed qualifications. The fourth type is one found at cities that the Chinese have opened of their own volition and where they have laid out a suburb for foreign residence to be policed and governed by the Chinese. Tsinanfu in Shantung is such a city. The fifth type is represented by Port Arthur, Dairen and other towns in the "leased territories," large districts that have been leased to foreign states under duress, and which are governed by these states as though unqualifiedly sovereign there. Out of the 1,800 cities in China, there are about sixty that are open to foreign residence; but this number does not include places occupied as mission stations, for missionaries are permitted to live wherever they please.

The Nanking Outrage

Near the close of the year 1925 the Russian inquisition, known as the Cheka, was introduced into Canton.[5] It was suppressed for a time, but later revived. It bore the same fruits in China as in Russia,—torture, murder, and lesser crimes. After the nationalist headquarters had been removed to the Wuhan cities, its activities became more violent. Espionage was necessary to purge the ranks of the communists of the weak-hearted, the moderates and all who might show sympathy with the *bourgeoisie*. Blackmail and burglary were easy methods of obtaining funds. Not all the crimes committed by the Red army are to be charged to the Cheka, but its introduction at Hankow in January 1927[6] will account in part for the reign of terror that cursed the Yangtze Valley in the spring of that year.

When the nationalist forces reached Changsha in the

[5] Eugene Pick, *China in the Grip of the Reds,* Shanghai, 1927. Pick was a Cossack Captain employed by the Red army. Suspected of espionage, he was condemned to death, but escaped, although wounded. His statement of his personal experiences ought perhaps to be received with caution, but his report of horrible crimes committed by the Red Terror is confirmed by information from other and reliable sources.

[6] *China in Chaos,* a Supplement to the *North China Herald,* Shanghai, April, 1927.

autumn of 1926, they compelled the Yale Mission to turn over the university and the hospital to the Chinese. The American missionaries were sent away, but were not injured. At Hankow and Kiukiang there was much looting and some show of violence. Banks were forced to make loans, workmen were intimidated and employers threatened. Some Chinese capitalists who showed an unwillingness to contribute to the communist funds were put to death.

When Americans and Europeans began to express suspicion of the activities of Russian communists they were assured by their Chinese friends that the nationalists were availing themselves of the military assistance and expert knowledge of their Russian friends, but that China was using the Russians, not the Russians using China. General Chiang Kai-shek, the commander of the nationalist armies, in November 1926 said: "I have no quarrel with Christianity. Missionaries will always be welcome as heretofore." But the Propaganda Department of the nationalists issued vast quantities of literature condemning the work of the missionaries, and by the beginning of 1927 violent attacks upon the missionaries were being daily reported.

The Propaganda Department at Hankow placarded Kiukiang with antiforeign posters which were calculated to inflame the population against the foreign residents. Upon the receipt of a complaint against this action, Eugene Chen, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the nationalist government, ordered the placards removed. They were immediately replaced by the Propaganda Department in the control of Russians.

The missionaries, as a rule, were in sympathy with the Chinese desire to get rid of the unequal treaties. They were disposed to look favorably upon the triumph of the nationalist cause, believing that the tyranny of the northern militarists would be destroyed and that China would be reunited under a progressive government. The native Christians, too, were pro-nationalist. When the nationalist army entered Nanking on March 24, 1927, that city was disposed to give it a welcome. But the outrages began at once. Mission houses were looted. Some of them were burned. Dr. Williams, President of the Nanking University, Dr. Smith, a British physician, Mr. Huber, the harbor master, and two Roman Catholic

priests were murdered in cold blood. The American, British and Japanese Consuls and their families were driven from their homes and the British Consul badly wounded. American women were subjected to gross insults. A number of persons of various nationalities were wounded. By far the greater part of the foreign population was American. Many of these, including the American Consul and his family, fled to the Standard Oil Building on Socony Hill for refuge. This was a rendezvous agreed upon in case of trouble. The fugitives were pursued by soldiers in the uniform of the nationalist army. The women and children hid themselves upstairs. The soldiers forced their way into the house and attempted to get at the women. Then a prearranged signal was given and an American warship lying in the river landed shells among the attackers and scattered them.

Much unjust criticism was made of the action of the American naval officers in shelling what was called an unfortified city. But it is forgotten by such critics that the nationalists were the first to violate the rules of civilized warfare in the insults offered to the representatives of foreign governments and in the attacks upon defenseless women and children and the cruel murders committed. Since there was no other way of saving these American citizens from outrage and murder, the reprisal seems to have been quite justifiable.[7] Investigation of this affair apparently opened the eyes of General Chiang Kaishek to the real situation. He found himself not the commander-in-chief of the nationalist forces, but the tool of the communist executive and particularly of Russian advisers. He was not long in forcing a rupture with the communist group at Hankow. Wholesale arrests of communists and labor agitators were made at Shanghai and subsequently at Canton, and numbers were put to death. A separate nationalist government was established at Nanking. The division in the party prevented any serious attempt at that time to advance farther north. In August General Chiang Kai-shek

[7] The impression of some that American shells were thrown into a crowded city is altogether wrong. The writer lived some years in Nanking and is familiar with the ground. Many years ago the Nanking city wall was extended toward the northwest to include certain hills needed for defence. Thus a large area of open country was taken into the enclosure. This has not been built over, but is occupied chiefly by market gardens, bamboo groves and temple grounds. Socony Hill is in open country, close to the wall, and a suitable place from which to get over the wall.

resigned. He has since returned to active participation in party affairs, first as a civilian, and later as a military officer.

The Nanking faction eventually triumphed over that of Hankow. Some of the Russian advisers appear to have found a refuge for a time with General Feng Yü-hsiang. Others returned to Russia accompanied by Eugene Chen and Madame Sun Yat-sen.

The Peking government also became suspicious of Russia and on April 6, 1927, raided the Russian Embassy. Documents seized indicated the wide scope of Soviet activity in China in the promotion of communism. Some ten million dollars, it appeared, had been spent during the preceding year in support of the nationalist cause, which of course was aiming at the overthrow of the Peking government to which the embassy was accredited. On April 28th twenty-four communists who had been taken in the raid were put to death. The Soviet government in protest against the raid withdrew its ambassador.

In November 1927 the Soviet Consulate at Shanghai was subjected to search, and in the month of December the Nanking government decided to break off relations with Soviet Russia. On the eleventh of that month, in order to suppress a rising of laborers at Canton, six hundred Chinese communists were reported to have been put to death. With them eight or nine Russians were executed, including the Soviet Vice-Consul. No formal trial was given the accused.[8] Elsewhere the Russian Consuls were ordered to suspend their functions and were allowed seven days within which to leave the country. The work of undoing the evil for which the nationalist party is itself responsible was still going on in February 1928. On the twentieth of that month seventeen hundred alleged communists, men and women, were reported in the news despatches as having been executed at Canton. These inhuman massacres have brought discredit to Nationalism. During the spring of 1928 the Kuomintang army joined with the Northern forces of General Feng Yü-hsiang of Shensi and those of Governor Yen Hsi-shang of Shansi in a movement to oust Marshal Chang Tso-lin from control of Peking. The capital fell into the hands of the allied armies in June and Marshal Chang was driven into Manchuria, where he was killed as the result of a bombing attack upon his train.

[8] *Current History,* February, 1928.

Effects of the Movement

China's foreign trade has, of course, been seriously handicapped for some years by the disturbed condition of the country, yet the returns for 1926 indicated a nominal increase of more than eight million taels over 1925. Much of this increase, however, seems to be merely an apparent increase due to the fall in the value of the tael. Outside of Canton trade was not greatly affected in 1926 by the Nationalist expedition; but after its seizure of Hankow and the Yangtze Valley with the labor disturbances that followed and the closing down of large establishments, the trade of 1927 was greatly injured. The Customs revenue of 1927 was 12 per cent less than that of 1926.

Equally serious was the effect upon Christian missionary enterprise. When the antiforeign bias of Nationalism was made plain and the persecution of missionaries began, the foreign powers whose citizens were in danger advised them to leave the interior for ports where they could be protected. Many missionaries heeded the advice and left their stations in the charge of the Chinese Christians. The *Chinese Recorder,* a missionary journal, expressed the belief that there had been some loss in membership, that those who had entered the Church from mixed motives had in some cases recanted; but, generally speaking, the native Christians, it was said exhibited courage and faithfulness. Those who were put in charge of mission property exhibited unexpected resourcefulness. It was pointed out, however, by one of the missionaries that the native Church was too poor to support all the various enterprises connected with the missions,—schools, hospitals, orphanages and other institutions, and would still have to look to the mission boards for help.

The most significant effect of the nationalist propaganda upon the native Christian was his awakening to a realization of the truth that he was still Chinese, that Christianity is not a Western religion, and that the Chinese Church need not be at all like any of the Western denominations. One missionary expressed the opinion that the Chinese felt impelled to interpret Christianity in harmony with the inherited traditions

of their own race. The theological disputes of the West had no interest for them. Already one-third of the Protestant Chinese have united in a Church that ignores the denominational differences of the missionaries. This awakening to independence led the native Christians in some places to insist that the missionaries should be subject to the direction of the Chinese Church. Some missionaries agreed to comply with this demand. The American Board, in fact, issued instructions to its missionaries who were at home to the effect that those missionaries only would be sent back to China who should be invited by the Chinese Church, and that those who should decide to go would be required to identify themselves with the Chinese Church.

In short, nationalism in political circles was echoed by nationalism in the Church. Christianity seemed really to be benefited rather than injured. This was not the opinion of all, however, for one missionary wrote to the *Recorder* a letter in which, among other things, he said:[9]

> Of the immediate future I am profoundly pessimistic. The utter moral disintegration which follows everywhere in the wake of the nationalist movement (a title to which it has no shadow of a claim) fills me with the darkest forebodings. The political activities of the leaders of the Church give no hope of help here. If the Chinese Church has any future at all, it rests with those humble souls in the village congregations for whom the Kingdom of God has not yet been identified with the Kuomintang.

China in Transformation

In our hasty survey of four thousand years of Chinese history we have found many occasions on which China was apparently torn to pieces by internal dissension but subsequently restored to unity. We found other occasions on which foreign influences crept in and left their impress upon Chinese life. Art, religion, and philosophy all felt that influence. Sometimes an alien yoke was imposed upon the Chinese people, but always in the end the Chinese absorbed their conquerors. In assimilating the foreign ideas they always transformed them and gave them a Chinese character. It was never at any time

[9] *The Chinese Recorder,* Shanghai, October, 1927.

true that the Chinese were fossilized and unable to change, as some writers would have us believe.

Now, once more, we find China in ferment under foreign influences, and trying to readjust herself. At present the whole country is in chaos and no one can tell how long it will take to restore it to an orderly condition. China is again undergoing transformation.

The West Against the East

We must not think of that transformation as something already accomplished or something nearly accomplished. No such sudden transformation of four hundred millions of people scattered over a vast empire with poor channels of communication is at all possible. Except that there is an excess of banditry and all forms of lawlessness, life in China runs on much as it has done for centuries. Social and economic changes are in progress in a few regions where foreign influence is strong, but as yet the masses of the people are scarcely affected. It will require many long years to leaven those masses. Western influence is at present in the ascendant and is gradually extending; but what is really desirable and what is likely to happen is not the wholesale adoption of Western civilization by China, but rather a reconciliation of the East and the West, an adoption by China of the best that the West has to offer, but animated by the spirit of the East and transfigured thereby. The graft will bear the desired fruit, but nourishment will come from the soil of China through the old channels and give to the new fruit something of the flavor of the old.

The influences under which China is changing are of several sorts. First in time if not in importance is that of foreign trade. Chinese merchants are keen and successful, but commercial relations have not led to much social intercourse between the Chinese and their foreign neighbors. As we have seen, mandarindom has theoretically looked down on trade, but in reality the official classes have found the merchant a favorite source of revenue. The barrier of language has prevented social intercourse even where it might otherwise have been cultivated. Pidgin English is ill suited to polite conversation. The influence of foreign merchants upon the new China is best seen in the creation of foreign settlements with clean

streets and beautiful homes equipped with the comforts and conveniences of the West. These advantages have attracted myriads of Chinese to these settlements and have also created a desire to improve conditions in the old cities by the introduction of Western inventions.

Foreign merchants have conformed in the main to the commercial practices of the Chinese, but they have introduced some new ideas, such as the organization of joint stock companies. In one respect their influence has been very potent in promoting the present antiforeign sentiment, that is, it was the demand of the European and American merchants for an extraterritorial status for themselves and their insistence upon a treaty tariff that induced the Western powers to force upon China the unequal treaties. That influence is still strong for the retention of these privileges.

Political Influences

Out of commercial relations grew the attempts at diplomatic intercourse which, as we have seen, were very effectively discouraged by the impossible demands of the Chinese imperial Court until after the second war with Great Britain. The superiority complex of the Chinese, induced by long isolation and success in dealing with their feeble neighbors, made rational intercourse with the European impossible. This Chinese arrogance betrayed them into a conflict with nations with whose strength they were unacquainted, and brought humiliating defeat and the imposition upon their country of an inferior political status which they were impotent to resist, but which has rankled ever since in their breasts.

Had China taken the step, which was taken so promptly by Japan, of adopting Western methods of defense and Western branches of learning for her schools, the story would have been different; but again and again after 1860 the pressure of the West forced her to her knees, and when her defeat by Japan had exposed her weakness and tempted the Western powers to seize port after port, mark out for themselves spheres of interest, and talk openly of the division of China, she still refused to learn wisdom and resorted to the supreme folly of the Boxer Rising. The failure of that movement placed her more than ever in the power of the West. An in-

demnity was demanded that disrupted her finances and curtailed her revenue. China was at last aroused to a sense of her weakness and danger. Then there began a hysterical movement for reform which was encouraged by the political pressure of foreign nations and which led to the despatch of commissions to the West to investigate the sources of Western power, the introduction of Western military methods, Western education, Western codes of law and a preparation for representative government. Rival powers struggled for concessions for railway and mining or other industrial enterprises. Loans were offered and accepted and sometimes squandered. The burden of debt increased and finally under the pressure of all this ferment an explosion occurred that wrecked the Manchu Dynasty and precipitated a train of evils culminating in the existing disorder. In accounting for the present situation we must not forget the injustice done China at the Peace Conference and the refusal of the Washington Conference to grant tariff autonomy or to arrange for the surrender of extraterritoriality. But of present-day political influences nothing has been more potent or more disastrous than the friendship of Soviet Russia, which under the pretence of affording assistance has sought to destroy the governments both north and south and create such confusion as might promote the cause of communism.

Christian Missions

Mission work began in China, as we know, in the seventh century, but the modern Roman Catholic enterprise in the closing years of the sixteenth century and Protestant efforts at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Today there are about two million Catholic converts and about four hundred thousand Protestant communicants. There are more than eight thousand Europeans and Americans engaged in missionary activities in China, of whom more than six thousand are Protestants. Of these the largest number are Americans. Many missionaries are school teachers, others are engaged in medical work. There are about seven thousand Protestant schools and more than three hundred Protestant hospitals.

China, as we have seen, has usually been very tolerant in matters of religion, giving equal protection to all faiths. Yet

there is a good deal of latent hostility toward Christianity. At times this has burst into a flame of persecution. There are several reasons for this. Christianity as distinguished from Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism, the three recognized religions of China, is intolerant of other faiths. It claims to be the only true religion and calls upon men everywhere to abandon all other creeds and become Christian. It attacks Buddhists and Taoist idolatry and Confucian ancestor worship. Over the entrance to a temple in the Western Hills near Peking, a temple occupied for many years as the summer home of the American Minister, there is an inscription declaring: "The Three Religions are One." But Christianity makes no compromise with other religions. It thus at once creates a feeling of hostility in the hearts of the adherents of other creeds, and tends to produce division and strife. The words of its Founder are fulfilled: "I came not to send peace but a sword. For I came to set a man at variance against his father and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law."

Another source of hostility has been the circulation of the Bible, especially the unexpurgated Old Testament. This is not done today as a rule; but in the past the Scriptures have fallen into the hands of men who have used them for evil purposes. The adulteries and other crimes of some of the saints of the Old Testament, such as the seduction of Bathsheba by David and his murder of her husband, although such crimes are condemned, are perverted into a foundation for the charges of immorality against missionaries.

A more potent cause of hostility has been the intervention of foreign governments for the encouragement of Christian propaganda and the protection of missionaries by display of military force. Christianity is the religion of most of those states that have seized portions of Chinese territory and forced China to lease important ports. Moreover, the persecution of missionaries has been made the basis of demands for cession of territory, as in the case of Germany in Shantung. On an earlier occasion, the murder of a French missionary brought France into a war against China which resulted in the recovery by Catholic missions of property lost more than a century before, and by fraud the treaty of peace had inserted in it a right of missionaries to own land anywhere in China

for mission purposes. Upon another occasion, after an anti-mission riot, an agreement was forced from China which gave official rank to ministers of religion, establishing the relative position of Bishops and Priests of the Catholic Church as corresponding to those of Viceroys, Governors and Magistrates.

It is not very surprising, therefore, to find the President of the National University declaring that missionaries are political agents of foreign powers and a disruptive force in Chinese life.

Christianity has suffered, too, in China from the multitude of its sects represented there. A prominent statesman in Peking recently asked: "Can Christianity, which has caused and supported so many wars in Western history and is minutely divided in its own household, be a factor to help China in her life and death struggle for national unity?"

The treaties between Western powers and China compelled the latter to grant religious toleration and brought Chinese Christians in this way under the shelter of these clauses. This has tended to denationalize the Chinese Christian and, in the case of unscrupulous members of the Church, has sometimes been a source of injustice. The enforcement of a just claim has sometimes been prevented by the intervention of a missionary who has been deceived into believing that his convert is being persecuted for his faith's sake.

These are some of the reasons for hostility to the work of missionaries. But there is another side to the shield. The missionaries, most of whom are earnest and self-denying, have brought to China as a free gift the noblest things of our Western civilization. In times of famine it has been to the missionary that the American Red Cross and other charitable societies have turned for aid in the distribution of relief. Some have lost their lives in this work, contracting the loathsome famine fever. The missionary has brought with him the Western hospital with its fine equipment, and highly educated physicians have given their services and not infrequently have lost their lives in the healing of diseases. When the plague ravaged north China a few years ago, there was no shrinking from the call for assistance although the least infection might have meant speedy death.

There are many blind in China. To relieve them a mis-

sionary from Scotland established a school and invented a system of raised characters by which the sounds and tones of Pekingese could be represented, and so he taught the blind to read.

An American missionary woman in Shantung was filled with pity for a deaf mute and established a school for such defectives. In many a Chinese city one may find an orphanage for abandoned children. Wherever there is a mission station there you will find a school where the poorest can obtain instruction. The pupils are taught not only to read and write their own language, but are given a course in arithmetic, in geography and history, and, in the higher schools, a knowledge of the elements of natural science. When the Chinese government decided to establish a modern school system, it was to the mission schools that it turned for teachers. The missionary, moreover, fought every form of vice, and thousands have been rescued from slavery to the opium pipe. He pleaded against the cruelty of foot-binding and aided in promoting every moral and social reform that was undertaken by the government. Weighed against these benefits to the Chinese the objections of carping critics seem but as the dust on the balances. The missionary in short seeks to carry out the program laid down by his Master. He brings good tidings to the poor, relief to the captive, recovery of sight to the blind, and consolation to those whose hearts are bruised.

Two million and a half Christians are but few in a population of four hundred millions, but they wield an influence out of all proportion to their number and must be allowed to have had some effect in bringing on the great transformation that is taking place. The missionary has taught them the worth of the individual, so that the Christian is not hampered by family traditions. He is independent and has taken a new outlook upon life. He is interested in moral and social questions, and his education has prepared him to act with understanding. Mission work, therefore, must be counted among those influences that have promoted revolution.

Other Influences

But it is not the mission schools alone that have promoted the new education. We have seen that the government itself

in 1902 took up this question in a very earnest way and introduced a system of public schools. These do not as yet begin to supply the need of the children of school age, but they are doing good work despite the unfavorable conditions that civil war creates. Primary schools, middle schools, colleges and universities are giving to a host of young people an education that aims to fit them for life in the modern world. These young people are remarkable for public spirit. They show an acquaintance with the questions of the day that is astonishing. True, they are often impulsive and hot-headed, influenced too easily by shallow thinkers, and thus they are led at times into violence that is not justifiable; but they do at least think and act. They are not so supine as their fathers were. Perhaps they take the bit and run away when they ought to yield to guidance, but the spirit of independence, even when the act inspired is mistaken, is better than lack of spirit.

Many of the leaders of young China have been educated abroad, more in the United States than in any other foreign country except Japan. If we are disposed at times to criticise them for hasty and unwise action, let us remember that much of the responsibility is ours. It is not alone the American mission school that has given many their training, but the American government in returning the Boxer indemnity to China has provided for the education of thousands in the United States. They have imbibed here a love of the freedom which they here enjoyed and they have gone back to China with a determination to build there a republic that shall be worthy to stand alongside America. These foreign-educated young men and women are having a great part in the revolutionary activity that is going on in China.

Attention has been called elsewhere [10] to the economic condition of China—the state of industry, the low wages paid, the low standard of living, the lack of communications, the bad distribution of population and the periodical recurrence of famine and flood that dishearten the peasant and keep him poor. Such poverty does not conduce to political thinking. The ignorant peasant, like the ryot of India, has no thought above that of providing himself and family with the bare necessities of living.

[10] Chapter i.

His speech is of mortgaged bedding.
On his kine he can borrow yet.
In his heart is his daughter's wedding;
In his eyes foreknowledge of debt.
He eats and hath indigestion,
Toils and he may not stop.
His life is a long-drawn question
Between a crop and a crop.

The artisan in the city is but little better off. His craftmanship is fine, but he cannot compete with the machine. He must give up his independence, forsake his home, and become an operative in some great factory, a mere cog in the machine. The beginning of the industrial revolution helped to bring on the Boxer Rising, and that led to the beginning of reform, and that to the political revolution. Today, under Russian influence, labor has begun to organize itself in a new way. Master and apprentice, master and journeyman have separated. The union takes the place of the gild. And having begun, this movement is not likely to reach a sudden stop. As we have noted, the nationalist movement depended almost as much upon organized labor as upon the Red army. Even the peasants in many districts were led to form unions. No one can say today to what all this may lead. When the peasant and the coolie begin to think politically, will they become the tools of demagogues, or will they find a wiser leadership? Of one thing we may be sure, whatever the form of government that may be evolved out of the present chaos, the Chinese people will remain—sober, frugal, industrious—the foundation of the state, just as in the days of Mencius, and will become the foundation of one reunited nation.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PERIOD

Dictatorship of Chang Tso-lin at Peking
Knomintang at Nanking

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APPENDIX I

The Sources of Chinese History

The Chinese from of old have attached great importance to the compilation and preservation of historical records. Official historiographers have kept a chronicle of current events and commented upon them. They have written with perfect freedom, for contemporary rulers were not permitted to read the record. From these chronicles later writers compiled the official histories. The work which more than any other has served as a model for these histories is the *Shih Chi,* or "Historical Records," of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who lived in the second century B.C. and is sometimes by Europeans called "the Herodotus of China." His work presents a history of his country from the earliest times of which anything was known to the year 91 B.C. Ssu-ma's work was based upon ancient records, of which a number still survive. Chief of these is the *Shu King,* or "Classic of History," which, although not now identical with that compiled by Confucius, contains fifty-nine of the one hundred books said to have been collected and arranged by the sage. The *Shu King* does not profess to give a continuous history of China during the period with which it deals. It is a collection chiefly of official documents of various dates relating to important events between the years 2357 and 627 B.C. For the earliest part of this period the accounts are not contemporary with the events recorded. This appears from the opening sentence of each of these documents, which begins with the words, "Enquiring into antiquity, we find." This indicates that these accounts had been compiled from older traditions or memorials.

Oral tradition among many nations has preserved the memory of ancient events, but such accounts are frequently corrupted as they pass from mouth to mouth and from generation to generation. Myth and fable become mixed with fact. Among the Chinese, however, there would probably be

little need to rely upon oral tradition in matters of importance to the state, for the ideographic writing employed by them appears to have been in use long before the Chinese forefathers came into the land which we call China. The official historiographers were already active in the days of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), who refers to them; and they were employed throughout the whole period of the Chou Dynasty (1122-256 B.C.). Certain passages in the *Shu King* seem to indicate that such officers served under the earlier dynasties of Shang and Hsia (2205-1122 B.C.). Ma Tuan-lin, the great historian (A.D. 1321), would carry their activities still farther into antiquity. He tells us that "the pencil of the recorders was busy from the time of Huang Ti, *i.e.,* from the twenty-seventh century B.C. We may say, then, that it is possible that even the earliest chapters of the *Shu King* are derived from written memorials rather than oral tradition. This, if true, might serve to explain the rather remarkable fact that these very ancient records, unlike those of most nations, are comparatively free from tales of the marvelous. The Chinese have fabulous accounts of primitive times, but they are not found in the *Shu King.* One cannot affirm that the *Shu King,* as we possess it today, is entirely free from error. That is improbable; no historical work is entirely free from error, but this Chinese classic may be ranked among those most free from mistakes. After the attempt of the tyrant, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (213 B.C.), to destroy the classics, the books that make up the *Shu King* were recovered only gradually, and, as the texts were edited and copied during the centuries that passed before the canon was completed, it is not impossible that interpolations may have been made or that glosses may have crept into the text.

Another ancient work drawn upon by Chinese historians is known as the "Bamboo Records." These bamboo tablets were found in A.D. 279 in the grave of a king who had been buried in the year 295 B.C. They contain a chronicle of events in the early history of China, beginning with the legendary period of Huang Ti, which they would place in the twenty-fifth century B.C., and extending to 299 B.C. According to Ssu-ma Ch'ien, we must put the date of Huang Ti's accession in 2704 B.C. The chronology of the "Bamboo Records," therefore, differs considerably from that of the *Shih Chi.*

The two works are in perfect agreement, however, from the year 841 B.C. onward. This date, then, may be accepted as that of the beginning of the historical period.

The *Ch'un Ch'iu* or "Spring and Autumn Annals" of the state of Lu, whose authorship is ascribed to Confucius, is another important source of ancient history. In all probability the work is not that upon which Confucius labored, but a transcript of the official history of the state of Lu, the state of which Confucius was a subject. The commentary of Tso Ch'iu-ming upon this chronicle is of more value than the chronicle itself. He was probably a contemporary of Confucius, who survived him by several decades. Tso's style is lively; the interesting anecdotes which he relates shed a clear light upon the period covered by the "Annals."

The *Chan Kuo Ts'e,* or "Book of the Warring States," covers the critical period that preceded the overthrow of the Chou Dynasty.

Important information touching the classical period is to be obtained, too, from three ritual works, the *Chou Li,* the *I Li* and the *Li Ki.*

The works of Mencius give us a reliable picture of the political and social conditions during the closing years of the Chou period, and many poems in the *Book of Odes* shed a side light upon the customs of ancient China.

There are ancient inscriptions on bronze and many on stone that have historical importance. The Chinese are born antiquarians and have produced many works that deal with these archæological remains. Of the inscriptions on bronze, the most interesting is the San Edict discovered in the last century. It is believed to date from the twelfth century B.C. The most ancient inscription on stone is an account of a royal hunt in the eighth century B.C. preserved on the stone drums in the Temple to Confucius in Peking. Interesting inscriptions that date from the Han Dynasties (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) are found on stone memorials in Shantung. Besides the inscriptions there are sculptured representations of ancient heroes and of episodes in their lives. These have been very fully described by Edouard Chavannes.[1] Other sculptures of later periods are found in various parts of China.

[1] *La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine,* Paris, 1893.

Before the invention of paper, the Chinese books were made chiefly of bamboo tablets strung together. Some inscriptions were upon silk, made with a sort of varnish. The change from the use of a stylus to that of a brush brought a change in the formation of the characters. During the first century of the Christian Era paper began to be used, and from that time to the present books have multiplied rapidly, especially since the invention of printing by the Chinese in the eighth century.

In addition to the official histories, there are many works by noted authors that have been published privately, and there are voluminous local histories. Every province and most districts or counties have their official historians and in many cases the events recorded are of more than local interest. It is, of course, impossible for any one man to read a thousandth part of the material available. Few other countries are as well supplied with source material for historical writing as China, and none have such complete records for as long a period as that from 841 B.C. to the present.

APPENDIX II

The Cradle of the Chinese

The origin of the Chinese people and that of their civilization are two questions that have excited much speculation and some controversy. The author is disposed to believe that both originated in central Asia. It is his opinion that, during the third millenium B.C., a gradual movement of population from northwest to southeast brought various tribes of related people into the valley of the Yellow River and that these immigrants brought with them a good degree of civilization, that they had a written language, various arts and crafts, some mathematical and astronomical knowledge, certain peculiar philosophical ideas and an elaborate religious ritual.

These opinions have already been given expression elsewhere;[1] but since they are not in accord with those of some of the most distinguished Chinese scholars, it is only fair to the student to lay before him the several theories dealing with the subject, with the principal arguments pro and con, so that he may be able to decide for himself.

Fanciful Suggestions

A fair consideration of the arguments in behalf of the theory of an origin outside China of the Chinese people and their civilization has been made very difficult by the extravagant and impossible claims made by early writers upon the subject. These writers were led, by their acceptance of the beliefs prevalent in their day as to the extent of the Noachian deluge and the supposed redistribution of mankind from the plains of Shinar, to assume that the Chinese and their civilization originated in the Mesopotamian Valley. This is not the view advocated here. De Lacouperie's suggestion of a band of immigrants arriving in China from Elam under the

[1] *Journal of Physical Anthropology,* April–June, 1918, and in *China Yesterday and Today,* 1923, chap. ii.

leadership of Huang Ti is preposterous, but such absurdities ought not to prevent a weighing of the evidence for a central Asian origin of Chinese civilization.

Why Seek a Foreign Origin for the Chinese?

It may be very properly asked why it should be thought necessary to assume at all that the Chinese came from any place outside of China. The reply is, that it is difficult otherwise to account for the remarkable similarity, not to say identity, in many of its features, of Chinese civilization with that of certain peoples of western Asia. Moreover, the possession in common by two Asiatic peoples, one on the eastern, the other on the western side of the continent, of a striking physical peculiarity makes it highly probable that there has been not only cultural contact between them but physical relationship as well. These things are most easily explained by assuming a common origin at some point intermediate between the two.

The reason most commonly given for refusing to believe in a foreign origin for the Chinese people is that their ancient records say nothing about an immigration from any other country. The late Dr. John Ross, in his *Origin of the Chinese People,* a work published posthumously, says:

> From what is recorded of the mythical ages of the Chou, Ch'in, and Han Dynasties, we are justified in concluding that the Chinese people are autochthonous and their civilization indigenous.[2]

Professor Herbert Giles, who wrote the introduction to Ross' work, expressed concurrence in this view.

Dr. Frederick Hirth, in an article on China in the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* says:

> Chinese literature contains no record of any kind which might justify us in assuming that the nucleus of the nation may have immigrated from some other part of the world, and the several ingenious theories pointing to Babylonia, Egypt, India, Khotan and other seats of ancient civilization as the starting points of ethnical wanderings must be dismissed as untenable.[3]

[2] Ross, Rev. J., *The Origin of the Chinese People,* Edinburgh and London, 1916, p. 50.

[3] *Ency. Brit.,* eleventh edit., vol. vi, p. 191.

In a later work, however, Professor Hirth is less positive. In his *Ancient History of China* the view expressed is that

> To judge from native accounts, the Chinese must have been living in the northwestern part of the country now called China from the very earliest period of their own history. The safest view we can therefore take of their origin is that of the agnostic.[4]

All this evidence, however, is merely negative. If Chinese history says nothing of a migration from some other part of the world, we ought not to be surprised, seeing that the oldest Chinese historical records extant are fragmentary and that the oldest of these fragments dates from a period a thousand years later than that of the beginning of the supposed migration.

Moreover, it is not assumed that the Chinese pioneers came all at one time, or any of them in one continuous journey that by its suddenness might serve to mark an epoch in their history. There were probably many successive waves of migration, each of which may have halted repeatedly; halted, it may be, for several years at some places, so that the movement as a whole might have consumed centuries. It was not a movement consciously directed from one starting point to a definite terminus, but more likely it happened that while one generation shifted its dwelling place and settled down with no thought of going farther, conditions, physical or political or both, forced their descendants to continue the pilgrimage. And this experience may have been repeated many times.

Indo-China Was Not The Cradle

History does hint, however, at certain movements of population in ancient times; but before considering the bearing of these historical movements upon the theory of a foreign origin for the Chinese people, it would be well to learn what the theories are that hold to an origin of the Chinese people at places outside of China, and upon what they are based. The first of these to deserve attention is that of Père Wieger of the Society of Jesus, a missionary in China. The Chinese people, according to Père Wieger, probably came from the region now known as Burmah. He believes that it is neces-

[4] *Ancient History of China*, p. 4.

sary to represent this entrance into China "not as one far-away migration, but as the gradual extension of a tribe towards the northeast, which remained in touch with its source, from which it differentiated itself later by the adoption of its own particular civilization." [5] The reasons which he gives for his belief are

(1) that the most ancient ideographs of the Chinese indicate a tropical climate for the country where they were invented,
(2) that the Chinese language is tonal and seems more nearly related to those of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula than to those of any other region,
(3) that the oldest sounds of the Chinese language are found in southern China, and
(4) that the Chinese language is purer in the south than in the north and grows more and more corrupt as one advances toward the north.

At first glance the argument seems forceful, but upon careful examination it is seen to be quite otherwise.

We do not know which of the ideographs are the oldest. The oldest inscription extant dates from about the twelfth century B.C., that is, from a period probably two thousand years after the first use of this script. These characters of the twelfth century B.C. represent such plants as the willow and the apple tree, and such animals as the serpent, the horse, scorpion, tiger and rat. Among the primitives of an ancient Chinese dictionary are those for the rhinoceros, the hare, cobra, bear, swallow, ox, yak, dog, sheep, pig, elephant, fish, deer, tortoise, and such plants as the melon, bamboo, clover, wheat, grass, flax and millet. These surely cannot be said to represent the products exclusively of a tropical climate. As for the facts touching the tonal character of the language and its greater purity in the south, it is not at all necessary to assume a southern origin for the Chinese in order to account for these things. These facts, with the relationship between Chinese and the languages of the Peninsula as well as the retention of old sounds in the south and the lessening number of tones as one goes north, are just as well accounted for by assuming that the Chinese came into the Yellow River

[5] *Textes Historiques*, vol. i, pp. 15–16.

Valley in successive waves and that the later comers drove their predecessors southward. This is probably just what did occur. The oldest Chinese were crowded down toward the Peninsula, and the later settlers in the north through constant intercourse with neighboring Tartar tribes modified the racial type and the character of the language in that region.

Chinese history assumes that the early rulers, Yao, Shun, Yü and T'ang, had their capitals in the valley of the Yellow River. Accepting that view, we may easily believe that their descendants would endeavor to extend their kingdom toward the inviting lands of the south. The aborigines, who were not absorbed, would be driven before them. This is evidently what occurred, for we find the Miaotzu, who annoyed the early Chinese of the Yellow River region, living today far to the south in the mountains of Kueichou, Kuangsi and Yünnan. Other aboriginal tribes found in the south are the Tung Chia and Yao in Kuangtung, and the Lolos and Mantzu in Szechuen. The multitude of dialects along the southeastern seaboard may be accounted for in part at least by supposing that an amalgamation of the incoming Chinese with the native tribes took place.

Evidence of Movement from North to South

As evidence that a movement of population from north to south has taken place in historic times, it may be mentioned that several tribes that were living in southern China in the third century B.C. are now found in Indo-China.[6] Even the Shans and Karens, who are related to the Chinese, have been forced out of China into the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, the Shans into Siam and Burmah, and the Karens into Burmah. A Shan state, known as the Nan Chao, spread all over south China after A.D. 345, and in A.D. 938 was known as the Tali Kingdom. It was not overthrown until the thirteenth century of the Christian Era when the armies of Kublai Khan conquered the region. The Karens, according to Colquhoun, formerly dwelt in China near the Tungting Lake and were driven from that region about A.D. 778.[7] The Cantonese

[6] See Colquhoun, *Amongst the Shans,* Introd., p. xxii.

[7] Holt S. Hallett, *Historical Sketch of the Shans,* in Appendix to Colquhoun's *Amongst the Shans,* p. 341.

are probably closely related to the Shans. In quite early times an independent state was established on the southern coast of China, which was not annexed by the northern kinsmen until the close of the third century B.C. Subsequently, it became independent again. Thus, through centuries of separation, the differences between the Cantonese and their northern relatives would become quite marked, while their constant association with the Shans would tend to preserve common traits and common language peculiarities.

Burmese and Siamese Origins

These movements of population from north to south in China during historic times harmonize exactly with the traditions of the Burmese and Siamese respecting the origins of their people in still earlier ages.

As a result of the pressure from the north, a mixture of tribes has been brought about in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The earliest inhabitants of Burmah, according to Grierson, were the Selung or Selon, a tribe of small, black people with curly hair, allied probably to the Negrito race of the Philippines. Grierson thinks they were the progenitors of the Australians.[8] A similar people were the earliest inhabitants of Siam, also. Besides these, there are the Mon-Khmer, found both in Burmah and Siam, who are probably related to the Miao or Miaotzu of China. The Miaotzu call themselves "Meng," a word which, perhaps, has the same root as the Mon of Mon-Khmer. Even to this day, the inhabitants of southern China are sometimes stigmatized by their enemies as "Man-tzu," the original, no doubt, of the "Manzi," used by Marco Polo in referring to them.[9] In addition to the Selung and Mon-Khmer, there are two other distinct peoples in Burmah: the Tibeto-Burman and the Siamese-Chinese. The latter includes the Tai or Shans and the Karens. All of these peoples, with the possible exception of the Selung, came into Burmah from the north; the Tai, according to Scott, from northwest China, and the Mon-Khmer from eastern Tibet.[10] These last were originally displaced perhaps, so he thinks, by

[8] Sir J. G. Scott, *Burma, a Handbook of Practical Information*, p. 64.

[9] Sir H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, third edit., N. Y., 1903, vol. i, p. 36, and elsewhere.

[10] Sir J. G. Scott, *Burma Handbook*, pp. 60–64.

a movement of Tibeto-Burmans. This seems not improbable, if we accept Logan's theory that the original home of the Burmans was on the northern slopes of the Tien Shan or Celestial Mountains and extended across a great part of the Tibetan plateau to the upper valleys of the Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy. If any physical or political occurrence in that region forced the Tibeto-Burmans to move, they would probably find least resistance in pressing into the lands of the Mon-Khmer, who would, in turn, be forced down the Irrawaddy and Brahmaputra Rivers. As the Mon-Khmer pressed into the homes of the aborigines of Burmah, the latter would be driven into the mountains or down to the southern extremity of the land, where indeed we find them. Some may have crossed the sea. Subsequently, the Tibeto-Burmans, by some strong pressure exerted upon them from the north, were in turn forced down the valley of the Irrawaddy where they are known to have dwelt about 600 B.C. Later they, too, moved on into Burmah. We have here a succession of waves of migration into Burmah, all coming from the northwest. First came the Mon-Khmer. They were followed by the Tibeto-Burmans who drove the Mon-Khmer into the hills, just as the Mon-Khmer had driven the Selungs. Some of the Mon-Khmer passed over into Siam. The Tibeto-Burmans were followed by the Siamese-Chinese, or Karens, and by the Tai or Shans. More recently the Chingpaw, so we are told, have followed the trail, but have been stopped by the British occupation of Burmah.

The history of the people of Siam is very similar. A. W. Graham in his *Handbook of Siam* tells us that there is among the mountains of southern Siam a small, black people with curly hair, unlike the rest of the population, and, as he thinks, belonging to the Negrito race, allied to the Adamanese and to certain tribes in Burmah and related to the Negritos of the Philippines.[11]

He adds:

> It is now the very generally accepted theory that during the last few thousand years, Siam and, in fact, the whole of Further India has been subjected to periodical flooding by successive waves of humanity, set moving by natural or social upheavals of population far to the north in central Asia. We may imagine, then, the Negrito population

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

of Siam or rather of that part of what now constitutes Siam, which was then above the sea, leading their primitive existence through countless generations, their condition scarcely advanced beyond that of their celt-wielding forerunners, until there came down upon them one of these great waves of population which broke them up, thrust them aside into the remoter hills, all but exterminated them, and finally settled itself down in their place.

This irresistible tide of humanity was the advance down all the rivers of Further India of the tribes which constituted what is conveniently called the Mon-Annam Family, the savage ancestors of the Mon or Talaing, the Khmer or Cambodian, and the Annamese, civilized races of yesterday and today, and of a host of lesser tribes which still persist in quasi-barbarism.

Graham agrees with Scott in placing the Tibeto-Burman invasion about two or three thousand years ago, and the Mon-Khmer invasion much earlier.

The evidence thus far cited is sufficient to show that the currents of human migration in China have flowed from north to south and not in the opposite direction, so that Père Wieger's theory of a southern origin for the Chinese people must be abandoned.

The Theory of a Western Origin for the Chinese

The only important theory remaining to be considered is that of a western origin for the Chinese. Among the vague intimations in the *Shu King,* or "Classic of History," of an ancient movement of the Chinese people from the west, is a description in the *Tribute of Yü* of a region in western China once known as Liang Chou. The work is a section of the "Classic of History" believed to have been written in the twelfth century B.C. But Liang Chou had not been a part of the kingdom of China for many centuries before that time. The compiler must have had access to ancient records in order to describe as accurately as he does the character of the region, the nature of the soil and the kind of articles that were brought as its tribute to the ancient rulers. Such a record could only have been prepared at a time when the Chinese were sojourning there. But at the time of the writing of the *Tribute of Yü,* the westernmost limits of the kingdom were about five hundred miles to the eastward of Liang Chou. Biot, a French savant, found in this book what he thought

was the history of a progressive extension of a great Chinese colony. These deductions were rejected by Chavannes and others, but there does not appear to be any sufficient reason for so doing.[12]

Other evidence from history having a bearing upon the question is found in the *Shih Chi,* or "Historical Records" of Ssu-ma Ch'ien, who lived in the second century B.C. and wrote a history of China from the earliest times. He begins his work with the reign of Hsüan Yüan, or Huang Ti, as he is better known. This ancient chieftain, who is generally believed to have lived in the twenty-seventh century B.C., moved about without a fixed place of residence, so Ssu-ma tells us. Chavannes, in his translation of the work, comments upon this passage as possibly indicating that the Chinese at that period were nomads.[13] He rejects, however, the theory of a foreign colonization of China at that period. The passage in the *Shih Chi* is of considerable value when taken in connection with certain legends, of which mention will be made later.

According to Ssu-ma, Huang Ti was located for a time, at least, at Cholu, identified today with Paoan, near Hsüanhuafu, about one hundred and twenty-five miles northwest of Peking. But in 2357 B.C. the capital of his successor, Yao, was in what is today southern Shansi, near the north bank of the Yellow River.

There Yao surrendered his throne to a ruler named Shun in 2255 B.C. according to traditional chronology. Mencius tells us that this ruler, Shun, belonged to a tribe known as the Eastern I,[14] translated by Legge as "Eastern Barbarians." The name, I, today is represented by an ideograph composed of two symbols,—that for "great" and that for "bow." We might very properly call this tribe the "Eastern Long Bows." These people were probably related to the Chinese, for Shun is one of the great Chinese heroes, and would not have been called a "barbarian" by Mencius. Under Shun, the Eastern Long Bows either absorbed the infant Chinese state or were absorbed by it. The "Bamboo Records" in one account, make

[12] See Chavannes, *Memoires Historiques,* vol. i, p. 102.

[13] *Ibid.,* vol. i, p. 31, n. 3.

[14] Mencius, Bk. i, Pt. ii, c. xv; *Bamboo Books,* vol. ii, p. 2; see Legge's translation, p. 116, note.

Shun the conqueror of Yao. About the period of Shun's reign (2255 B.C.), another tribe, the Shang, appeared in the valley of the Wei River. Subsequently this tribe was forced to move eastward into the region now known as eastern Honan, from which point in 1766 B.C. it attacked and overthrew the ruling monarch of China and established a new dynasty. The Shangs may have been forced out of the Wei Valley by the incoming of the Chou tribe which followed them there, coming in from the northwest. Mencius tells us that the Chous belonged to the Western I, or "Western Long Bows." He tells us, too, why they were forced to move southeastward into the Wei Valley. They had been continually attacked by non-Chinese people, who are believed to be the same people whom Herodotus describes under the name of Scythians. At the time of which Mencius is speaking, the Chous were living in northwestern Shensi where they were compelled to pay tribute to these barbarians. After enduring much ill treatment from them, the Chou tribe moved over the mountains southward to the south side of the river Wei, near modern Fenghsiang. Afterward they moved again down the Wei Valley to the site of modern Hsianfu. There they developed a highly civilized state. Their continual warfare with the Ti, as the barbarians were called, made of the Chous a race of hardy warriors, and when the House of Shang had degenerated, they overthrew it and in 1122 B.C. established the Chou Dynasty, the longest-lived dynasty in Chinese history. In this attack upon the Shangs they were assisted, so the "Classic of History" tells us, by eight other tribes, which also came from the west.[15]

But the Chous also, after they were settled in the kingdom, found the northwestern frontier still harassed continually by other tribes in that region. One of these, the Ch'in, was made Guardian of the Marches. The Ch'ins were probably non-Chinese in their origin,[16] but as the centuries went by they intermarried with the Chinese, adopted Chinese civilization and eventually their state became recognized as one of the

[15] See the *Shu King,* or "Classic of History," pt. v, bk. ii, and *Bamboo Bks.,* vol. iv, p. 30.

[16] They claimed descent from a legendary Chinese Emperor, Chuanhsü, but their desire to claim relationship with the superior race may have led to the invention of the ancestry.

Chinese states.[17] Because of their constant practice in arms in their fighting with peoples beyond the frontier, they too, just as the Chous before them had done, became the most powerful state in China. They attacked and gradually absorbed the other feudal states, and in 256 B.C. they destroyed the House of Chou and established the Ch'in Dynasty, from whose name the Western World learned to call the whole country "China."

These historical movements, indicating a pressure of peoples from the northwest, are no doubt to be correlated with those other historic movements, already mentioned, which evidence an early migration from the region of the Celestial Mountains across Tibet and down the Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy into Burmah and Siam.

That these movements must have begun before the historical period is intimated by the legends preserved to us in the folklore of China.

The Fairyland of China

This theory of a gradual migration of the Chinese people in ancient times from some region in the northwest will serve to explain the importance attached by Chinese folklore to the lands in the far west and northwest.

It is the *Shan Hai King,* or "Classic of Mountains and Sea," that has preserved for us many strange tales of the "Desert of Moving Sands" and the "Wilderness beyond the Northwestern Sea." It is an ancient work, pretending to be a sort of geography of China and neighboring lands. But it is so full of marvels and absurdities that its evidence is given no weight at all by such writers as Chavannes, Giles and others. Chavannes heartily approved of Ssu-ma Ch'ien's unwillingness to make use of it in his great historical work, the *Shih Chi,* already mentioned.[18] Ssu-ma refers to it as the *Shan King,* which, it is generally believed, forms a part only of the present *Shan Hai King.* The latter is probably a composite work whose portions are of various dates and of unequal value; but the *Shan King* is mentioned in the *Chia Yü,* or

[17] The *Ch'un Ch'iu,* Legge's translation, Prolegomena, ch. ii, sec. ii.

[18] Ssu-ma's statement is: "To the great Yü is attributed the Book of the Mountains, but there are in it so many extraordinary things that I dare not speak of it."

"Family Traditions," of the Confucian apocrypha, and is therefore at least as old as the beginning of the Han Dynasty, *i.e.*, 200 B.C. Some Chinese writers think they find reference to its fables in the writing of Tso Ch'iu-ming, who lived about the time of Confucius. This would carry the date of that portion of the work far back toward the beginning of the historical period. After the second century B.C., China was well acquainted with central Asia, into which region she had repeatedly sent military expeditions; and still earlier, that is, in the third century B.C., the southern regions were for a time annexed to the empire, so that it scarcely seems credible that Chinese writers could have circulated such fanciful descriptions as are contained in the *Shan Hai King* of these regions. Of the regions nearest to the capital or within the boundaries of the kingdom of the classical period, the descriptions are sufficiently accurate; but when the writer deals with distant regions then he gives rein to his fancy.

Of course the work is not to be taken seriously as a geography of China nor read as sober history, but it does have a value as folklore. It transmits certain early traditions concerning the heroes of antiquity and the regions which were the scenes of their great deeds. If we reject altogether the testimony of works that deal with the miraculous and that solemnly tell us of monsters which we are sure have no existence, we shall deprive ourselves of some of the most valuable literature of the ancient world. Attention has been called already to the fact that various portions of the *Shan Hai King* are of unequal value. It is unfortunate that M. Bazin, when he selected a part for translation and publication, should have chosen some of the least interesting and most bizarre passages. Had he selected differently, he might have found something of greater value than he did. M. Bazin ascribes the work to some writers of the modern sect of Taoism who wrote in the fourth century of our era.[19] It is impossible, however, to give all parts of the work so late a date. The book is perhaps referred to not only by Ssu-ma Ch'ien but by the author of the annals in the "Bamboo Books," for the text of these annals makes mention of some of the same marvels that are recorded in the *Shan Hai King*. The "Bamboo Books" were buried in the grave of King Hsiang of Wei in the year

[19] In the *Journal Asiatique*, Nov., 1839.

295 B.C., and were not recovered until A.D. 279. The section of the *Shan Hai King* devoted to the northern region [20] places there very correctly the desert known as Shamo. It states that pheasants are found there, mentions the lodestone and says that snow is found in certain places even in summer. Another section locates Korea under its ancient name on the northeastern border of the empire. A third describes the southern regions, outside the empire, as inhabited by black people, east of whom are people who knock out their teeth. It is true, indeed, that all parts of the book tell of the existence of strange and impossible creatures, but they are really no more monstrous than others, equally impossible, described by Herodotus and Pindar. We do not need to go to China nor to the third century B.C. to find such strange tales. Similar stories of distant lands were believed in Europe in the sixteenth century of the Christian Era.

The book is of interest to us chiefly because of its descriptions of the northwestern part of China and the regions beyond. The portions containing these descriptions also have their marvels and extravagances, but these are less marked than are found in other chapters. There is considerable accuracy in the picture given of the country, the routes of travel across it, and of the wild life of the places mentioned. The Desert of Moving Sands, *i.e.*, the Taklamakan of Turkestan, is properly placed; and if it is made the abode of demons, that is no more than has been affirmed by such travelers as Fa Hsien, who crossed it in the fifth century A.D., by Hsüan Chuang, who passed that way in the seventh century, and by Marco Polo, who traveled through it in the thirteenth century. The early heroes of Chinese history are pictured as half serpent, half human; but Herodotus himself describes a Princess of similar form who is said to have lived in a region adjoining that mentioned in the *Shan Hai King*. Such representations of Fuhsi and Nukua may be seen on the stone monuments of Shantung, whose inscriptions have been translated by Chavannes.[21] The Shantung sculptures date from about the beginning of the Christian Era. These representations of creatures with human heads and serpent bodies were perhaps

[20] The word *shan*, commonly translated "mountain," has also the meaning "region."

[21] *La Sculpture sur Pierre en Chine*, Paris, 1893.

originally intended to be symbolical. The dragon, or serpent, has from most ancient times in China been an emblem of the supernatural, and, secondarily, of the imperial power. According to Chinese cosmology, the world at the beginning was ruled by divine beings. The age following this ancient time was one of the demigods, and possibly it was to indicate this character of the ancient worthies that such a grotesque form,—half dragon, half human,—was given to them. Such symbolical representations are common in all apocalyptic literature.[22] But it is quite possible that what is originally intended to be symbolical may later be taken quite literally. Some monsters described in the book are not so easily accounted for. Most are no doubt due to the faulty observation and brilliant imagination of travelers. Others perhaps are due to a misunderstanding of travelers' tales. Some, possibly, are the outgrowth of early traditions relating to events that, as they have receded into the past, have become transfigured in the imagination and taken on new accretions from age to age. Such are the legends that have gathered around the name, Wangmu, which may once have been that of a monarch or of a kingdom in the vicinity of the Kunlun Mountains. To represent this name in the Chinese written language the characters chosen were *Wang,* meaning "king" or "royal," and *mu,* meaning "mother." Subsequently the words came to be taken in their natural meaning as referring to a queen, "The Royal Mother." Her dominion gathered to itself many wonderful features. Primitive legends that told of miraculous occurrences were localized there. She became the Fairy Queen. The *Shan Hai King* represents her as a woman with a leopard's tail. Her palace is a castle of jade; her garden, one of many delights. In it there blooms the peach of immortality. Her subjects are the happiest of creatures, fed upon ambrosial nectar and Phœnix eggs.

This work, which locates the home of the Fairy Queen on the Kunlun Mountains and describes the cave into which the sun retires at the close of day, finds the childhood home of the race in a far-away land beyond the Northwestern Sea.

[22] We have only to recall the "Living Creatures" with four heads:—those of a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle—and four wings each, and with the feet of a calf, described by Ezekiel. Another such representation is that of the "Beast" of the Book of Revelation, which is described as being like a leopard with the feet of a bear and the mouth of a lion.

Among the strange stories told of that distant land is one that relates to a state inhabited only by women.[23] Not far away is another inhabited by husbands. This story has been echoed in ancient and modern writings of the West from Herodotus to Pigafetti. As told by Herodotus,[24] the story places the Amazons on the southeastern coast of the Black Sea, somewhat farther west than does the *Shan Hai King.*

We are also told that in that region northwest of China there is a land of one-eyed people,[25] a story that is also echoed by Herodotus, who places them among the Scythians,[26] that is to say, in the same locality as does the *Shan Hai King.* Headless people, too, are mentioned as dwelling in a neighboring land.[27] Mediæval writers repeat this tale. Tylor suggests that such stories might have arisen from reports of tribes that were without chieftains, that is, without political heads.[28] Olearius makes an equally reasonable suggestion to which he was led by his observation of the customs of the Samoyedes. He says:

> When the cold is extraordinary, they put their cosaques over their heads and let the sleeves hang down, their faces being not to be seen but at the cleft which is at the neck, whence some have taken occasion to write that in these Northern Countreys there are people without heads, having their faces in their breasts.[29]

This tallies exactly with the description by the *Shan Hai King.* There are dwarfs and giants, of course, as in all fairylands. There are cows with birds' wings and serpents' tails. There are mermaids and three-headed men.[30] In fact, of curious quadrupeds, birds and reptiles, there is no lack. Imagination has run riot. There are dogs that run like the wind.

[23] *Shan Hai King,* xvi: 5.

[24] *Herod,* ix: 27. Two Mohammedan travelers who visited China in the ninth century A.D. tell of two islands, lying off the coast of Arabia, which were inhabited, one by women, the other by their husbands. Hsüan Chuang repeats the same story and places the islands in the same region as Marco Polo also does. Chau Ju-Kua, at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., places the island of women east of Java, and Pigafetti locates it below Java major. Many ancient and mediæval writers repeat the legend.

[25] *Shan Hai King,* bk. vii; 1.

[26] Herod., *Arimaspi,* iii, 116, and iv, 27.

[27] *Shan Hai King,* xvi, 8.

[28] Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* vol. i, p. 390.

[29] Olearius, *Travels of the Ambassadors,* London, 1662.

[30] *Shan Hai King,* vi, 5.

They have human faces and their appearance forebodes a typhoon. There are birds with two heads, reptiles with human heads, horses with tiger stripes, fishes with wings, a monkey with a human face with bird's wings and a dog's tail, a rat with wings, foxes with horns, serpents that change to fishes,[31] and many other monsters. Yet some of these creatures are, no doubt, really existent. The winged rat is the bat, and the monkey with wings may be the flying fox. The striped horse may be zebra. These bizarre forms are no more remarkable than those of which we read in accounts written by mediæval travelers. A huge bird found in the north, powerful enough to devour men, and called the *lolo,* may perhaps be identified with the roc.[32] In short, there is scarcely a tale in the *Shan Hai King* which cannot be paralleled in much later works of Western origin.[33] One cannot but suspect that they have a common source. They merely bear witness to the credulity of primitive man who, unacquainted with natural history and the laws of biology, mistook what he saw; or he readily believed and repeated the tales of unscrupulous travelers.

Yet, with all its superstition and mistaken natural history, the *Shan Hai King* is valuable for the legends which it preserves and which testify to a belief of the Chinese forefathers that their ancestors had come from a distant land, "west of the Great Desert" and "beyond the Northwestern Sea."

The Ancestral Home

Ssu-ma Ch'ien begins his *Shih Chi,* or "Historical Records," with Huang Ti, commonly called "The Yellow Emperor," whose name was Hsüan Yüan and whose period is variously dated between 2698 B.C. and 2491 B.C., but an introductory chapter, written in the eighth century of the Christian Era by Ssu-ma Cheng, has gathered up certain traditions relating to earlier, but legendary, rulers. Chief of these are Fuhsi,

[31] *Ibid.,* xvi, 10.

[32] Pigafetti tells of a garuda that could carry away a buffalo or an elephant.

[33] Mandelslo, *Travels into the Indies,* 1698, p. 35, tells of a serpent with a head at each end. Louis LeComte repeats the story, and describes trees in Siam whose leaves turn to grasshoppers, which, he declares, "is no less to be wondered at than that, whose leaves dropping into the sea, turn to Soland geese, as some naturalists would make us believe."

the traditional date of whose reign is 2852 B.C., and Shennung, whose accession is put at 2737 B.C. Fuhsi is the mythical founder of the Chinese social order, the inventor of numbers and, with his reputed sister, Nukua, the author of the marriage rites. Shennung, the "Divine Husbandman," as his name indicates, was the first teacher of agriculture. In the legends of the *Shan Hai King,* these ancient worthies are mentioned along with others, such as Chuanhsü, grandson of Huang Ti; Kungkung, the rebel; Shuchün, the inventor of the plow; Shihchün, the first potter, Ch'ang Ch'in, the maker of music; Houchi, progenitor of the Chou tribe and sower of the hundred grains, and others of no interest to us.

In the "Outside" region, beyond the Northwestern Sea, according to the *Shan Hai King,* is the land of Hsüan Yüan, or Huang Ti, in the northern part of which is his grave, guarded by four serpents that surround it.[34] One dares not shoot an arrow there toward the west because this grave makes the place sacred. West of the Great Desert is the Garden of God. The Great Desert is no doubt the Taklamakan, the Desert of Moving Sands. What bodies of water are meant by the Western Sea and the Northwestern Sea can only be surmised. Some make the Caspian or the Sea of Aral to be the Western Sea;[35] but if any credit is to be given to the mileage in the *Shan Hai King,* the Koko Nor is more probably meant by the "Western Sea," and in that case the Lob Nor or Lake Balkash would well serve as the "Northwestern Sea."

In that land where Hsüan Yüan lived, his predecessor, Shennung, taught the people agriculture. There Kungkung raised a rebellion that was suppressed by Chuanhsü. The story tells us that the rebel chieftain, after his defeat, butted his head against the northwestern pillar of the sky and broke it.[36] It was Nukua, the sister of Fuhsi, who repaired the heavens with many-colored stones. North of this country is a land of white people. It was in the land of Hsüan Yüan or near it that Houchi, ancestor of the Chou kings, was born, according to tradition, but his grave lies far to the east, near

[34] *Shan Hai King,* vii: 4.
[35] Giles, *Chinese English Dictionary,* under Hai.
[36] *Shan Hai King,* xvi: 1.

the great marsh, surrounded by mountains. Possibly the region of the Lob Nor is indicated.

The legends, as repeated in various chapters of the book, sometimes contradict one another in details, but they agree in making the northwestern region the scene of the great deeds of these ancient worthies. It is this fact, that the *Shan Hai King* attaches so much importance to the region west of the Great Desert and beyond the Northwestern Sea, that makes the work of value in this discussion. When considered in connection with the historical movements, already mentioned, of tribes that migrated from the region of the T'ien Shan down the Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy into Burmah and Siam, and of Huang Ti and his followers across what is modern Shensi to the region that today we call northern Chihli, and the later movements of the ancestors of the Shang rulers and the House of Chou from west to east, as well as the continuous invasion of the northwestern frontier of China by barbarous hordes, there seems good reason to believe that these historical migrations were but a continuation of tribal movements from central Asia toward the southeast that began in prehistoric times.

The Cause of Migration

The theory of a central Asian origin for the Chinese people is much strengthened by the discovery in recent years of the great physical changes that have taken place in the central portion of the continent of Asia which have compelled the peoples of that region to migrate in large numbers both westward and eastward. In 1903 and again in 1904 Professor Pumpelly of Harvard led an exploring party into central Asia and opened two mounds that were found to contain remains of an ancient civilization. At Anau, near Askabad, the stratification of the *débris* indicated the existence there at various times of a city that had been repeatedly destroyed and rebuilt.[37] Various articles found at different depths were submitted to Professor Duerst of the University of Berne, who estimated the age of those found in the lowest stratum at more than ten thousand years, that is to say, as dating from

[37] See the report of R. Pumpelly, *Explorations in Turkestan, Expedition of 1904*, Carnegie Inst. of Washington, Publication No. 73, 1908, p. 37. Huntington, *Pulse of Asia*, also deals with the subject.

the ninth millennium B.C. This is considerably earlier than any evidences of civilization found in Egypt or Babylonia.

It appeared that even at that remote period the inhabitants of Anau had already learned to cultivate wheat and barley, that they had houses of sun-dried brick and hunted wild animals.

Professor Duerst further estimated their domestication of the ox, pig and sheep as having taken place during the eighth millennium B.C. and that of the camel and goat during the fifth millennium. It was the opinion of Professor Pumpelly, expressed in the report, that at the close of the last glacial period there had existed a number of great inland seas in six basins, lying in a region three thousand miles east and west by sixteen hundred north and south, extending from the eastern boundary of Mongolia to the western end of the Black Sea.[38] For a long period the climate of this region must have been moist and the soil productive. On the shores of these seas ancient cities had grown up and flourished like that whose remains had been partially uncovered at Anau. Professor Pumpelly argued that western Asiatic civilization probably originated in this region.[39] With the melting of the ice cap from northern Asia the climate became dryer. Moreover, the lofty mountains on the south, the Hindukush and the Kunlun, would prevent very much moisture being brought to that region from the Indian Ocean by the south winds. With the gradual desiccation of central Asia the great seas for the most part disappeared, leaving only the brackish lakes of Mongolia and Turkestan, Lake Balkash, the Sea of Aral, the Caspian and the Black Seas as their remainders. Much of the land that once bordered these seas became desert. The soil refused to yield sufficient food for the people and they were forced to migrate. Such movements of the population have been going on for thousands of years. Cities that flourished there in the days of Alexander the Great are buried beneath the sands of the Taklamakan Desert, well-called by the Chinese the Desert of Moving Sands. Some of these deserted towns have been uncovered in recent years by Sir Aurel Stein and others.[40] The migration of Chinese farmers

[38] Huntington, *Pulse of Asia,* p. 356.
[39] Pumpelly, *op. cit.,* p. 357.
[40] *The Sand-Buried Ruins of Khoten,* and other works.

some thirty years ago from certain parts of Turkestan because of the lack of water and the infertility of the soil was reported by Huntington.[41] It would seem to be not improbable that it was just this great physical change in central Asia that caused the Sumerians to move southwestward into Mesopotamia, carrying with them the higher form of civilization which, Professor Jastrow tells us, they imposed upon the Akkadians. Jastrow merely says that they came from the mountainous regions of the northeast.[42] But thus far the only region northeast of the Mesopotamian Valley in which any ancient civilization is known to have flourished is in central Asia.

Racial Affinity of the Sumerians

The Sumerians, according to Jastrow, were not Semites. Their features were Turanian. L. W. King says that the representations of the Sumerians upon the monuments found in Babylonia show that they had eyes placed obliquely in the face.[43] This suggests a racial connection with the Chinese. The surmise tends to become a conviction when we add to this physical peculiarity the possession of certain cultural elements. It is not necessary, of course, for us to believe in the racial identity of the Sumerians and Chinese in order to believe that they may have migrated from neighboring regions and carried with them elements of culture that they may have possessed in common; but it adds to the probability of such migration from a common center to learn that this physical peculiarity was characteristic of both peoples. Among the cultural elements possessed by Sumerians was an ideographic script, developed from earlier pictographs. Many of these symbols are strikingly like ancient Chinese characters. This is the more remarkable when we reflect that the earliest forms of Chinese that have come down to us date from as late a period as 1200 B.C., a date later perhaps by 1,200 years than any Babylonian inscription with which they can be compared. That some of the symbols are identical cannot well be doubted; that others show less resemblance is explicable by the separation of the two peoples through a long period of

[41] Huntington, *op. cit.*, pp. 219 and 266–267.
[42] *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria,* pp. 106, 107.
[43] *History of Sumer and Akkad,* p. 54.

time and the gradual modification in different directions of the two systems of writing.

We are not yet in a position to affirm that the two languages were one, but it seems highly probable that they were related. We cannot argue from the possession of a common script that the two peoples spoke a common tongue, for it is well known that Chinese, Koreans and Japanese all use the Chinese ideographs and yet speak three different languages. Chinese and Sumerian, however, do appear to possess certain other features in common. Both languages are tonal.[44] Both group words together in classes by the use of determinatives.[45] Neither language makes much attempt to distinguish gender. In both the inversion of syllables at times occurs. The plural of primitive Sumerian was indicated by doubling the word. This is true of some words in Chinese. In classical Sumerian the inflection of the definite plural was regularly *me;* in Chinese the plural of personal pronouns and of some nouns is *me n.* The genitive is formed in both languages by a suffix. Other similarities may be pointed out, but there appear also to be numerous differences.

The civilization of the ancient Chinese had a number of features in which it resembled that of western Asia, features the possession of which it is difficult to explain except upon the supposition of a very early contact between the peoples of the two regions. The twenty-eight lunar mansions used in Chinese astronomy, according to Kingsmill, are identical with a similar division of the sky used in India and in Persia.[46] The cycle of sixty is well known to be a Chinese method of reckoning time and was used also in ancient Babylon. Five revolutions of Jupiter complete the cycle of sixty years, so that Jupiter was and is the Chinese Year Star. The *Yi King* speaks of the return of the seventh day, indicating a seven-day period. Such a period, as is well known, was observed in Babylonia and later in Palestine. The Temple of Heaven in

[44] See Haupt in *Journ. of Amer. Oriental Soc.,* Dec., 1917, and J. Dyneley Prince, *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.,* vol. xxv, 1904, p. 51.

[45] Langdon, *A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy,* p. 50, says: "A difficult problem arises as to whether these determinatives, which were borrowed by the Semites, were really pronounced." In Chinese the determinative or radical is combined with a phonetic to form a single character. The sound of the radical does not enter at all into the pronunciation, which is indicated by the phonetic. The office of the radical is to indicate the meaning.

[46] *Journal of the China Br. R.A.S.,* vol. xxxii, p. 20.

China where the Supreme God, *Shang Ti,* was worshiped was divided into courts, as was that of the Hebrews, the inner court being held more sacred than the outer. No image was used. Offerings were made on two altars. Upon the altar of burnt offerings a young bullock without spot or blemish was offered in sacrifice at the winter solstice. Upon the high marble altar the offerings of incense, flesh, baked meats and fruit, with gems and silk and the libations of wine, were in some respects unlike those of the Hebrews; but in most particulars they were of a similar character and, as among the Hebrews, were shared with the worshipers, being in the nature of a communion with the deity. The Emperor as High Priest changed his robe before worship, putting on a priestly dress, and washed his hands before ascending the altar in token of purity, much as the Hebrew priest bathed in the laver. In both religions the worshiper faced the north.

The ancient "Book of Rites" explains that the blood was offered because it contained the life,[47] a statement that may be compared with a passage in the book of Leviticus: "The life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls." [48]

In the sacrificial hall of the temple at the tombs of the Emperors, the first article of furniture which one sees is the altar of incense. Just beyond it in the center of the hall is a table of shew bread, whose cakes are changed every new moon and every full moon, just as was done by the Hebrews in tabernacle and temple. The bodies of slain beasts are placed before the high altar upon which are other offerings, and behind this altar are the throne chairs upon which the tablets of the deceased monarchs are placed. This room is separated from a most holy place by a richly embroidered curtain. Upon entering one of these dark chambers in the T'ai Miao in Peking I found a beautifully shaped ark or box, covered with gold lacquer. Within the box wrapped in cloth of gold were tables of stone, a green jade, on which in deeply incised letters of gold there was engraved a eulogy of the dead Emperor who was worshiped there. Beyond at the back of the chamber was a shrine before which there hung a curtain of cloth-of-gold. Within the shrine was a tablet, about fifteen inches

[47] *Li Ki,* v: 11.
[48] Lev., xvii: 11.

long, covered with gold leaf, and on it the posthumous name of the Emperor.

These remarkable resemblances between the religious rites of the Hebrews and the Chinese do not at all mean that either has borrowed from the other. It is impossible to believe that; but they do seem to indicate that both have derived these rites, in so far as they are similar, from a common source.

Ancient Chinese culture had other peculiarities which, it is alleged by various writers, were also found in Babylonia. Among these was the use of a solar year and lunar months, the calendar being periodically corrected by the addition of an intercalary moon. There was a ten-day cycle and there were twelve signs of the zodiac. The Chinese divided the day into twelve hours as the Babylonians did. They fixed the seasons by the culmination of certain stars. They used personal seals, so common in Babylon too. They attached great importance to certain numbers, five being one of these. They had five colors which were symbolic of five planets and five elements, and correlated with the five directions: north, east, south, west and center.

A Summing Up

We have discovered some very interesting facts. Various tribes, some of them Chinese, some of them of other races, appear to have come in ancient times into southeastern Asia from the northwest. The Sumerians appear to have gone into western Asia from some region northeast of Mesopotamia. The Sumerians were of the Turanian race and had eyes placed obliquely in the head, as they were represented on the monuments. They used a script very like that of ancient China and they carried into Mesopotamia a high type of civilization, many of whose features are found also in ancient Chinese culture. Various elements of this civilization of the Sumerians were communicated to Semitic and other peoples of Western Asia.

We have learned of great physical changes that have taken place in central Asia that converted a region once fertile and populous into a sparsely settled country, much of which has become desert. The desiccation of that region compelled people to migrate. These movements of population have been

going on even in our day. It does not seem improbable, then, that this great physical change may have been the cause of the migrations southeastward which are known to have taken place in ancient times, and that the same change may have been the cause of the migration of the Sumerians. It becomes quite credible that in the movements of Huang Ti and of later heroes of China we have traces of such a movement of the Chinese forefathers, and that these forefathers and the ancient Sumerians may have departed from neighboring regions,—one group to the southwest, the other to the southeast,—carrying with them a common written language and many other elements of a common culture. It does not seem too much to hope that further exploration in the near future of the unopened mounds of central Asia may bring to light further and more conclusive proof of a relationship between the two peoples.

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